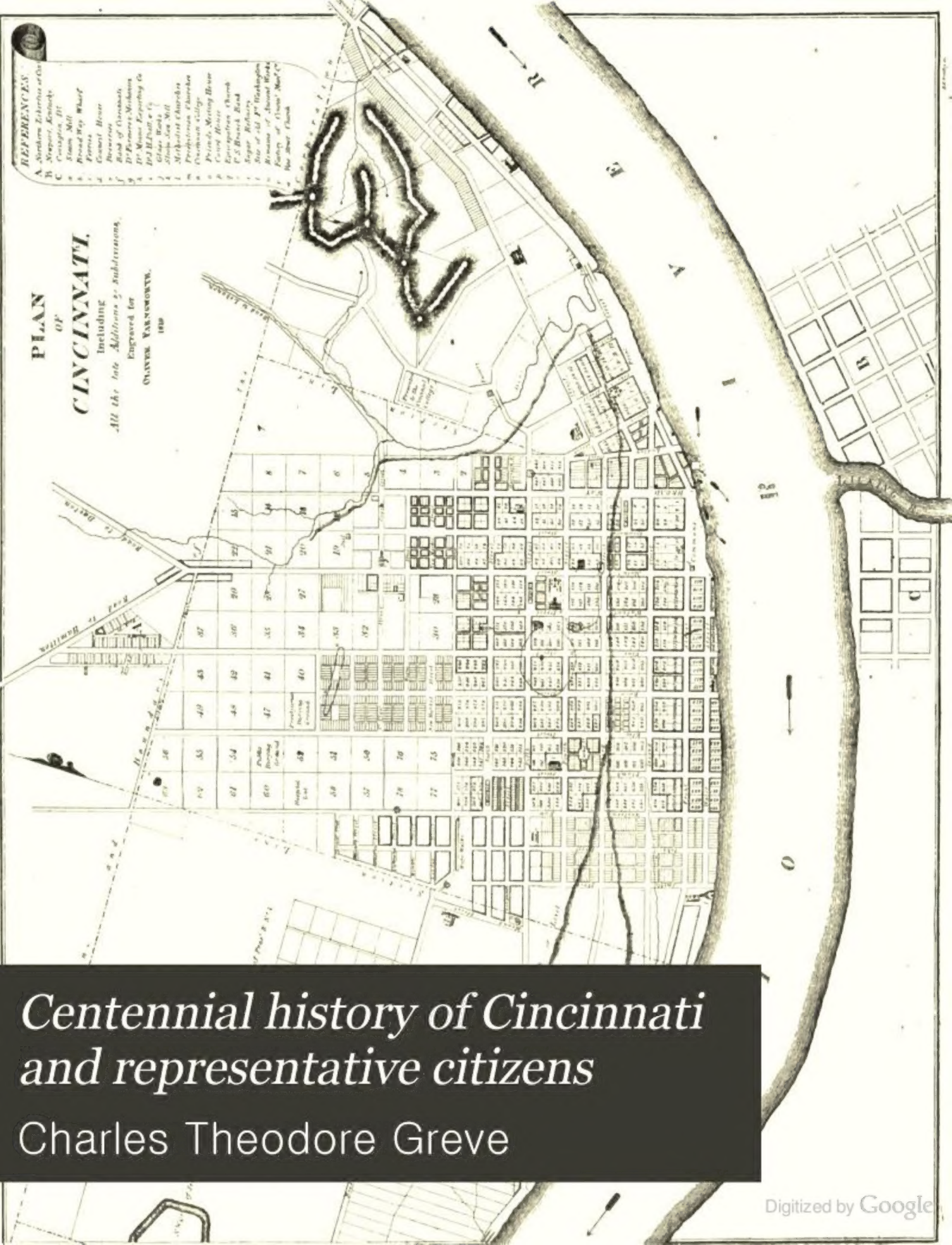

Centennial history of Cincinnati and representative citizens

Charles Theodore Greve

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF CINCINNATI

AND

REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS

BY

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"History is Philosophy Teaching by Examples."

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

The task of writing an account of so limited a portion of the earth as a single city does not in itself seem a very difficult one. Only those who have attempted it can appreciate the amount of labor such a task involves and the number of omissions and errors that must necessarily creep into such a work. These speak for themselves, and it is not necessary to call attention to them beyond expressing regret that they will be undoubtedly found in this volume as in others of its class.

The effort to present the subject of the history of Cincinnati to some extent in a chronological form rather than according to a topical arrangement has involved much more labor than the writer anticipated, and also has necessitated many repetitions and no doubt a number of apparent contradictions. The necessity of getting a work of this character and extent upon the press, thereby making impossible a complete revision, has also contributed to these repetitions and possible contradictions. As the work developed it became apparent that even a chronological arrangement must fall more or less under topical headings. The effort therefore to treat certain topics with relation to the different periods of time and with relation to the development of the city in other respects may not seem to have been entirely successful. It is thought, however, that this effort has resulted, in some measure at least, in giving a more comprehensive view of each period under discussion than could possibly be obtained by the treatment of the various phases of the city's development each by itself.

A history of a city should be neither a directory, a guide book, nor a chronological table, and yet it is hard to avoid giving to it some of the qualities of all these valuable methods of treatment. The interesting part of a city's development is of course the formative period. After a city has reached an undisputed position among the large municipalities of the country, its history, in the main, is similar to that of all other cities of its class. Cincinnati is no exception to this rule, and in its later years, with the exception of certain extraordinary events, it had the commonplace character that belongs to all successful undertakings well established upon a secure and firm foundation. For this reason much the larger portion of this work has been given to the earlier period of the city's development, and in the treatment of that period the suspicion may sometimes arise that the combination of directory and guide book is quite manifest. After all, however, it is the names and institutions of the early days that are of interest to those living in the place where their own institutions are legitimate descendants of the early ones and where the people that live about them and the streets and public places make familiar the names of

the earlier city builders. For this reason an early city directory is perhaps a more interesting book with relation to the city of one's residence than any other form of account, however well written, about the same period. It is felt therefore that no excuse is necessary for the copious extracts from the contemporary works relating to the earlier days.

On the other hand, when a city has reached the position of being the tenth in the country, with a population looking to it as a center of business, social and intellectual life of not less than a half million people, the number of interests has become so varied and the institutions so numberless that it is impossible to give more than a mere suggestion of its many features. To attempt more than this would be attempting the compilation of a directory, which field in Cincinnati fortunately is already admirably filled.

It is impossible for the writer to enumerate all to whom he feels that thanks are due for assistance rendered and kindly interest taken in this work. First of all he feels under obligations to the publishers, who have shown most remarkable patience and an effort to do all that lies within their power to make the book a worthy one. The writer is also under obligations to the writers of the various special contributions, N. D. C. Hodges, John M. Nickles, E. W. Glover, Max B. May, Dr. Arch. I. Carson, Henry Z. Ezekiel and S. S. Bassler, and to the officials of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio and Mrs. Susan Lord, librarian, and also to those of the Cincinnati Public Library, who have placed the resources of those great institutions entirely at the disposal of the writer. The ordinary citizen of Cincinnati has no conception of the wealth of materials in both of these institutions and of the facilities that are offered by the officials to any person desiring to use them. The author also feels under obligations to James Wilson Bullock for the contribution of the picture representing Cincinnati at the beginning of the 19th century, which was painted at his request expressly for this work. Griffin T. Miller kindly loaned the photographs of the pictures of the city in the "thirties," whose originals hang upon the walls of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. All the other illustrations except those of modern date are from paintings or plates in the possession of that society. To enumerate specifically all who have been of assistance in the preparation of the work would make necessary the mention of almost the entire acquaintance of the writer.

The books to which the author is indebted constitute a library in themselves, and to give a list of them would be to print a bibliography of the city of Cincinnati, a work which would be indeed very valuable but which would be sufficiently large to constitute a volume in itself. Cincinnati has been fortunate in the number of writers who have thought her history and phases of her life worthy of record.

The writer is responsible only for the historical portion of the work. The biographical portion has been in charge of the publishers.

May, 1904 C. T. G.

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CINCINNATI IN 1802.

(From a Painting. Copyright 1903, by Rud. Tschudi. Artist. Cincinnati. Ohio.)

Centennial History of Cincinnati

CHAPTER I.

CINCINNATI.

DESCRIPTION—ANNEXATIONS—THE GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CINCINNATI.

DESCRIPTION.

Cincinnati, the chief city of the Ohio Valley, is situated on the north bank of the river Ohio in Hamilton County which is the extreme southwestern county of the State of Ohio. The city extends along the banks of the river covering about the middle third of the distance between the east and west limits of the county. It is midway by river between the cities of Pittsburg and Cairo, being approximately four hundred and eighty miles from the former and five hundred and fifty miles from the latter. It lies in latitude 39° 6′ 30″ north and in longitude 84° 24′ west.

With relation to other large cities, it may be said that it is approximately seven hundred and forty-four miles from New York, six hundred and ten miles from Washington and about three hundred miles from Chicago and St. Louis. In its own State the nearest large cities are Columbus about one hundred and ten miles north and Cleveland two hundred and fifty miles north.

The city lies almost directly opposite the mouth of the Licking River, which fact was apparently the determining point as to its original location. It is the center of a region, extending about two hundred miles in every direction, which for fertility and natural beauty of the simpler type is unsurpassed in the world. The Miami Valley of which it is the central point has been compared in fertility to the basin of the Nile and the accounts of the early settlers indicate that they believed that they had at last reached the land of promise.

The city proper, by which is meant that portion mainly occupied for business purposes, lies on two narrow plateaus which are surrounded on the northeast, north and northwest by high hills easy however of access by modern methods of transportation. On these hills are built the beautiful suburbs which have made the name of Cincinnati famous as a residential city throughout the world. The altitude above sea level of the business portion of the city averages about five hundred feet and the highest hills about are almost four hundred feet higher. The low water mark in the Ohio River is 432 feet above the sea and the altitude of Mount Harrison just north of Price Hill is 460 feet higher. The altitude of Mount Auburn at the corner of Wellington place and Auburn avenue, which is about midway between the eastern and western limits of the city and in the lower third of the line between the northern and southern limits of the city at that meridian point, is 459 feet above low water.

At the time of the settlement, the country was traversed by many small streams which found their way directly into the Ohio or into its two principal tributaries Mill creek and Deer creek

at the west and east end of the city respectively. These two last named streams are spoken of as possessing great beauty and to the former was given the poetic name of "Mahketewah." The beauty that inspired the immortal pen of William D. Gallagher to write the "Spotted Fawn," whose scene is "On Mahketewah's flowery marge," has long since disappeared, at least within the city limits, and the sentiments felt by the present observer are more properly expressed by Lewis Cist's "The Spotted Frog," in which the same scene is mentioned as "On muddy Millcreek's marshy marge." Here until 1870 were the western limits of the city.

Deer creek on whose banks occurred so much of the early life of the settlement has almost entirely disappeared forever and now through the Eggleston avenue sewer the waters which formerly purled through grassy banks are emptied into the Ohio.

At the time of the first settlement, Deer creek was the practical eastern limit of the community although this was outside the first location. The description given by Dr. Drake in the first work of any consequence relating to the city—"Notices concerning Cincinnati," which, published in 1810, is the rarest book in existence relating to the city,—applies in the main as well to-day as at the time it was written. Speaking of the original city he says:

"Its site is not equally elevated. A strip of land called the BOTTOM (most of which is inundated by extraordinary freshes, though the whole is elevated several feet above the ordinary high-water mark), commences at Deer creek, the eastern boundary of the town, and stretches down to the river, gradually becoming wider and lower. It slopes northwardly to the average distance of eight hundred feet, where it is terminated by a bank or glacis, denominated the HILL, which is generally of steep ascent, and from thirty to fifty feet in height. In addition to this there is a gentle acclivity for six or seven hundred feet further back, which is succeeded by a slight inclination of surface northwardly, for something more than half a mile, when the hills or real uplands commence.

"These benches of land extend northwestwardly (the upper one constantly widening) nearly two miles, and are lost in the intervale ground of Mill creek. The whole form an area of between two and three square miles—which, however, comprehends but little more than a moiety of the expansion which the valley of the Ohio has at this point. For on the southern side, both above and below the mouth of the Licking river, are extended, elevated bottoms.

"The hills surrounding this alluvial tract form an imperfectly rhomboidal figure. They are between three and four hundred feet high; but the angle under which they are seen, from a central situation, is only a few degrees. Those to the southwest and northwest, at such a station, make the greatest and nearly an equal angle; those to the southeast and southwest also make angles nearly equal. The Ohio enters at the eastern angle of this figure, and, after bending considerably to the south, passes out at the western. The Licking river enters through the southern, and Mill creek through the northern angle. Deer creek, an inconsiderable stream, enters through the northern side. The Ohio, both up and down, affords a limited view, and its valley forms no considerable inlet to the east and west winds. The valley of the Licking affords an entrance to the south wind, that of Mill creek to the north wind, and that of Deer creek (a partial one) to the northeast. The other winds blow over the hills that lie in their respective courses. The Ohio is five hundred and thirty-five yards wide from bank to bank, but at low-water is much narrower. No extensive bars exist, however, near the town. Licking river, which joins the Ohio opposite the town, is about eighty yards wide at its mouth. Mill creek is large enough for mills, and has wide alluvions, which, near its junction with the Ohio, are annually overflown. Its general course is from northeast to northwest, and it joins the Ohio at a right angle. Ascending from these valleys the aspects and characteristics of the surrounding country are various. * * * No barrens, prairies, or pine lands are to be found near the town."

The two plateaus as noted above were in the early days known by the names of Hill and Bottom. The Bottom lands at about the mouth of Deer creek were very narrow. This plateau lay at the top of an abrupt rise from fifty to sixty-five feet above the river as it stretched westwardly widening and lowering. Its average width is not over eight hundred feet. The Hill is from fifty to one hundred feet higher and runs back in all directions to the base of the surrounding hills on the north and east and sloping towards the west to the Mill creek bottoms which are annually subject to overflow.

In the early days of the town much controversy existed as to the manner of treating the descent from the Hill to the Bottoms, many

favoring a distinct terrace and others a gradual slope. The latter plan has been adopted so that to-day the city rises gradually in an easy incline from the river to about Third street and from there by a slightly more precipitate ascent to Fourth street. From Fourth street north the level is fairly maintained with a slight rise until the base of the hills are reached at the north and east. On the west the ground slopes gently toward the river. On the early maps this ridge of the second plateau was well defined. It began in out-lot 20 a little northeast of Hunt and Sycamore. It ran in a southeasterly direction to about where the Little Miami depot now stands and then southwestwardly, crossing Broadway about Pearl street and along the southern side of Third street as far west as Elm where it divided; the lower bank ran down in a southwesterly direction toward the river and the upper ridge ran almost west to a point a little beyond, where the present Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot is located by which time the Bottoms were reached. By the gradual grading of the streets in all directions these precipitate banks have disappeared altogether and are indicated by slight changes in the grades of ascent.

The principal business section of the city is still within the original lines of the settlement although the enormous manufacturing interests of Cincinnati are located in many instances at points many miles remote from this. In the heart of the city representing the original settlement, the streets are formed in accordance with the original plan which was modeled after that of the city of Philadelphia. They are at right angles to each other; the streets running from the river to the hills take the general direction from southeast to northwest; those crossing them run from southwest to northeast. The variation from the north, south, east and west lines is about sixteen degrees. All other parts of the city, excepting those parts which lie on the river banks or on Mill creek or which are affected by the slopes of the hills or the contour of the vicinity, are in the main cut by streets running with the points of the compass north and south and east and west.

Along the entire southern portion of the city runs the river Ohio in a very tortuous course, so much so that its most northerly point in the neighborhood of Pendleton is almost four miles north of its most southerly point at Riverside and over a mile north of the eastern boundary of the city at Columbia just east of Pendleton. So twisting is the river in its course that the line of vision extending from an eye of an observer, in the southwestern part of the city, in a northeasterly direction will cross the river four times. The frontage along the river extends for over ten miles. The average width is about two miles although at the western end at Riverside the north corporation line approaches within less than twelve hundred feet of the river and the north line of Cumminsville is over five miles from the river. The principal beauty of the situation is given by the hills which begin with Price Hill at the southwest near the river a little west of Mill creek and thence run in a northeasterly direction and then in an easterly direction until they almost reach the river again at Mount Adams. As a result of these hills, no other large city in the United States can afford such a variety of position and scenery. At the east they border the river at a distance of five hundred yards for four and one-half miles and then receding form an amphitheater about the original plateau, returning by the bold promontory to the river about three miles below, from which point they follow the windings of the river less than one thousand feet from the shore until they pass beyond the western corporation lines. The beauty of these hills attracted the attention of writers about the city from its very earliest days. In Drake's and Mansfield's "Cincinnati in 1826" they are spoken of as presenting "to the eye of the beholder one continued ridge, irregularly elevated, and of diversified configurations—always beautiful and picturesque," with their gentle and varying slopes covered in the main with native forest trees. The so-called improvements of recent years swept away the forest trees and cut into the banks of the hills so that from the city they show in many points rough surfaces of stone and clay but the view there described is open to any observer to-day.

"One of the views most worthy, perhaps, of attention, may be had at an early hour on one of the foggy mornings of August, or September. A spectator, under such circumstances, placed upon one of these hills, will find himself elevated quite above the dense vapours of the river: he will behold the sun rising free from all obscurity, while the plain below him is lost in one unbroken sheet of fog, presenting the appearance of an unruffled lake. As soon, however, as the rays of the sun fall less obliquely upon this expanse of vapour, it becomes rarefied, and assuming the appearance of fleecy clouds,

passes away to rarer regions, gradually disclosing the city, the river, the villages, the numerous steamboats, and all the countless objects of the valley." (Cincinnati in 1826, 26.)

The panorama thus disclosed including the river, the bridge, the Kentucky hills and the nestling villages at their foot and the city of Cincinnati itself cannot be surpassed by any view of the character on the continent. From the hills to the north an almost equally beautiful view can be had, lacking of course the river, but rich in the charm of fertile hill and valley. The view to the west from the northern edge of Clifton and up through the Mill creek valley is another that once seen will never be forgotten.

The river itself, flowing with gentle current about three miles an hour, is at this point (Cincinnati), about six hundred yards wide. At points below and beyond the city it is also of great beauty. This is particularly true of the upper Ohio. While it possesses no such scenery as that of the Palisades of the Hudson, its stretch from Wheeling to Cincinnati far surpasses in beauty the much more praised New York river.

It is subject to great variation in the stages of water. The highest recorded stage was that of February 14, 1844, when it reached the height of seventy-one feet and three-fourths of an inch above low-water mark. The stage of the river September 18, 1881, was one foot and eleven inches.

[The boundaries of Cincinnati are very irregular; this is by reason of the many annexations at different times explained hereafter. Its total area is 37.09 square miles. The boundary line begins on the river a little west of the section line between sections ten and sixteen of the third township of the first fractional range being the western line of the village of Riverside. It runs in an irregular line northeastwardly along the Anderson's Ferry road to the section line about two-thirds of a mile north of the river. The line then runs southeast, south and east and then northeast in a very broken course along the northern line of Riverside until it reaches the line running along the east tier of sections of the township at the southeast corner of section six. It then runs north to the south line of the sixth section; thence west along the section line to the middle of the south line of section twelve, thence north to the north line of section twelve, the north line of the township; thence east to the southeast corner of the second township in the second fractional range or Green township; thence north along the east line of section one to its northeast corner; thence west along the section line to the middle of the northern line of the section; thence south to Lick Run pike; thence by an irregular course in a general northwestwardly direction along Lick Run pike to Ross road and Werk road to about the central point of section fourteen; thence north to the north line of section fourteen; thence east along the section line to the corner of the section; thence in the northeastwardly and northerly direction skirting the line of Westwood to the north section line of section nine a little west of Wardall avenue. The line from this point runs east along the section line to the northeast corner of section three of Green township; thence south along the section line to the northeast corner of the second section, then east along the section line to Mill creek north of Fairmount; thence in a general northwestwardly direction along Mill creek and the west fork thereof past the Wesleyan Cemetery to the section line between sections twenty-eight and thirty-four of the third township; thence north along the section line past Badgeley road to a point about the middle of the eastern boundary of section thirty-five; thence east to the section line between sections twenty-nine and twenty-three and south on that section line to the southeast corner of section twenty-nine and thence east along the section line to the western boundary of Spring Grove. The line then runs in a southeasterly direction between Cumminsville and Spring Grove to the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton road and then runs northeast a little distance along the line of that road and then southeastwardly crossing Mill creek to the canal. It then follows the canal in the northeastwardly direction to about the central point of section sixteen to the southwest corner of St. John's Catholic Cemetery in St. Bernard. It skirts the southern line of this cemetery to Carthage pike and runs south along that pike to the section line between sections fifteen and sixteen being the northern boundary of Avondale. The line then turns east and runs along the section line to Reading road, forming the northern boundary of Avondale. It then by a curious loop runs northeastwardly along Reading road and Hopkins avenue to Woodburn avenue, and thence to Williams avenue and the section line. From this point it turns west and runs along the section line to the northeast corner of section

nine; thence south along the section line to Redway avenue, east on Redway avenue to Glen Lyon avenue and south a short distance thence east, south again and finally west until it reaches the section line at a point where Glenwood avenue continued would strike it. From this point it turns south to the southeast corner of section nine at the boundary between Avondale and Walnut Hills and south of Idlewild. Here the line turns east and runs along the section line straight to the Little Miami River bank at Red Bank, having on its south, Walnut Hills, Mount Lookout and Linwood and on its north Idlewild, Evanston, Hyde Park and Red Bank. The line runs along the west bank of the Little Miami River south to its junction with the south section line of section thirteen in the fourth township of the second fractional range. It turns then to the west, running along the section line to a point a little west of the southwest corner of section thirteen and then takes a turn directly northwestwardly to the Turkey Bottom road; thence it runs in the southwestwardly direction along Turkey Bottom road to Davis Lane at which point it turns and runs northwestwardly for a short distance then southwestwardly; thence northwestwardly and thence southwestwardly until it strikes the river at a point almost due west of the place where Turkey Bottom road struck Davis Lane. From this point to the beginning the Ohio River forms the boundary. (1902.)]

This extraordinary irregularity of outline is as has been stated caused by the different annexations as a result of the growing population of the neighborhood. After the settlement became assured the growth of population developed along certain well defined lines. The settlement spread along the Ohio River eastward until connection had been made by way of Pendleton with Columbia and westward along the base of the hills until Sedamsville at Bold Face creek and Riverside just beyond became important points. The line of Mill creek was another line of settlement and here at Ludlow's Station, afterwards Cumminsville, and Camp Washington and Fairmount gradually developed a large population. Another line of settlement was along the important roads leading between the hills out towards other communities. One of the most conspicuous of these was the Lebanon turnpike, now the Reading road, along which settlers chose land sites which developed into such settlements as that of Avondale. The Montgomery road known for a great part of its course as Gilbert avenue attracted many settlers and formed a nucleus of Walnut Hills and in recent years Idlewild, Evanston, Ivanhoe, Elsmere, Norwood and Pleasant Ridge, all of which will probably be incorporated in the city in a very short time.

At the head of Main street above Liberty there branched to the northwest the road to Hamilton which is at present known as McMicken avenue. Subsequently along the line of the road running to Carthage was established the settlement of Corryville, beyond Mount Auburn, the first hill suburb.

In this way without going into details it is apparent that the city first formed itself along the lines of least resistance, that is along the valleys and the roads. Afterwards the hills were settled, the principal ones of them being Price Hill, Fairmount, Clifton, Corryville, Mount Auburn, Avondale, Walnut Hills and Mount Adams, and on the east Tusculum and Mount Lookout.

Many of these suburban hills are occupied by residences of very great beauty, placed in the midst of large grounds improved to the highest degree of landscape art. The tendency to remove the residence portion of the city to the hills seems to be growing each year and as a result the basin or original plateau has been almost entirely surrendered to business uses and residences of the cheaper class. Many of the superb old mansions that were the glory of the early days in the history of the city still remain in the East and West ends but they have been given over to offices, hospitals, hotels and private institutions of all sorts. The central point of the business life of the city is in the neighborhood of Government square, Fountain square and Fourth street from Main to Race. All the traction lines from the surrounding parts of the country including those from Kentucky pass through this section. The principal structures are in this general neighborhood and it is here that the activity of the city it most easily observed. The appearances in this respect are somewhat deceptive however, for the immense manufacturing establishments which constitute so much of the wealth and importance of the city are scattered in all directions along the river, in the East and West ends, through the Mill creek valley and even upon the neighboring hills and in the suburbs beyond them not yet incorporated in the city. It is true of Cincinnati as of course it is of all large cities that one who has been a resident of it for a lifetime may pass years of his life in active business in the city and be utterly unconscious of many

of the principal streams of activity going on about him. It is only when an observer makes an effort to get a comprehensive view of the life of such a city that he begins to realize even in a small way the breadth of that life and its multifariousness. In Cincinnati almost every department of human activity is represented and well represented. Its professional life will compare favorably with that of any city. It has contributed in the past and contributes to-day some of the leading men of authority to the professions of law, medicine and of the church. Its educational system including the public schools and private institutions, the high schools and the university afford opportunities to the poorest of its inhabitants which make it unnecessary for any to seek elsewhere for an education of the highest type, nor are these opportunities confined to a general education alone but they extend to specialization in law, medicine and theology. The artistic and musical side are no less represented. Cincinnati's musical festivals and her schools and colleges of music have given her a position preeminent among the countries of America in things pertaining to music. Her art school and art museum afford opportunities for development in this line unsurpassed on the continent.

The business life of the community is no less a matter of proper civic pride. Cincinnati has ever maintained the highest degree of credit in the business world and her merchants stand among those of the highest repute for business integrity and enterprise within the bounds of reasonable conservatism. She has had her business failures but throughout the whole period of her life the general tendency has been towards a higher and broader development in the line of material prosperity. Her manufacturing and commercial interests are enormous to a degree far in excess of the average in cities of the same size. The Queen City of the West on the banks of the beautiful river in her garlands dressed is a bee-hive of industry in which there are few drones. From the point of view of other large cities both in this country and in Europe, Cincinnati has no poor; it is not meant to imply by this that there is not a great demand for charitable work and a great response to that demand. In every city of a half-million inhabitants the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest is easily observed and many fall by the wayside but there is no considerable proportion of the idle or pauper class to be found in Cincinnati and there never has been.

The city more to-day than ever justifies the prophecy made years ago by Judge Hoadly that it would be "a city fair to the sight, with a healthy public spirit, and high intelligence, sound to the core; a city with pure water to drink, pure air to breathe, spacious public grounds, wide avenues; a city not merely of much traffic, but of delightful homes; a city of manufactures, wherein is made every product of art,—the needle-gun, the steam-engine, the man of learning, the woman of accomplishments; a city of resort for the money-profits of its dealings, and the mental and spiritual profit of its culture,—the Edinburgh of a new Scotland, the Boston of a new New England, the Paris of a new France."

ANNEXATIONS.

At the time of the incorporation of the city in 1819 the boundaries were Liberty street and a line continuing that street to the river, the river on the east and south and Mill creek on the west which included an area of three square miles. On April 14, 1849, there was added to this territory the tract bounded on the south by Liberty street and on the east by Hunt street and the Lebanon turnpike or Reading road and on the west by Millcreek extending as far north as McMillan street; this territory included two and one-fourth square miles. It included within its limits what was called the Northern Liberties, lying immediately north of the old city limits and just west above the Hamilton road, now McMicken avenue.

On the plan of Cincinnati prefixed to the Directory of 1819 are shown within this section a few small lots lying mainly to the east and west of Vine street as continued beyond Liberty to the point where that street connects with the Hamilton road, now McMicken avenue, and another line of lots lying along the west side of the Hamilton road south of its junction with Vine street. Parallel with Vine was New street now Bremen and cutting through New street were Green street, then running northwestwardly, and North street, now West Elder. To the east of Vine were marked Poplar now Huber and Elder street running east and west, and north and south Pleasant street now Hamer. To the southwest of Hamilton road and running parallel was Back street now continued to Walnut, where Moore street joins the two just south of McMicken avenue.

The plat of the Northern Liberties was dated

March 31, 1837, but this section had been known long before this as a subdivision of Mill creek township. In a plat prefixed to the Directory of 1834, were shown two more short streets, Hughes running north and south and Williams now Schiller, parallel to Liberty street, lying east of Main street and the Dayton road west of Sycamore street and north of Liberty. The upper waters of the west branch of Deer creek were shown as going through this tract. In those days the Dayton road ran from the head of Main at the corporation line (Liberty street) to the northeast, making an angle of about 67 degrees with Hamilton road now McMicken avenue.

Included in this same territory was the section or village lying north of the original town site and to the west of Vine known as Mohawk. It was at this point then a striving village along the Hamilton road at the base of Mount Auburn where Mrs. Trollope first set up her household in 1829. She describes it "a little village about a mile and a half from the town, close to the foot of the hills formerly mentioned as the northern boundary of it." There was no plat of this section placed on record and its exact limits were very indefinite. The name is preserved to this day in Mohawk bridge and Mohawk street.

Brighton included that part of the present city reaching from Mill creek to Freeman avenue at the junction of Central avenue. It was here that the stock yards were formerly maintained, and here for many years was the old Brighton House, a popular hotel with stock raisers, and a favorite suburban resort. Ernst Station afterwards Brighton Station and Fairmount were within this suburb.

Texas was in the northwestern part of the city, while Bucktown, still in a general way called by that name, lay east of Broadway in the Deer creek bottoms.

In the following year by an act of Legislature passed March 22, 1850, there was annexed the territory in section seven of the third township of the second fractional range, bounded on the west by Reading road, on the south by Liberty street, on the east by the west line of Fulton and on the north by McMillan street, including three-fourths of a square mile. This became by ordinance the Eleventh Ward, March 29, 1850. The act gives the new boundaries of the city as follows:

Commencing at the northeast corner of said section No. 7, thence west along the north line of sections No. 7, 13, 19 and 25 in said third township to Mill creek thence down Mill creek with its meanders to the Ohio River; thence eastwardly up the Ohio River with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio to the east corner of fractional section No. 12 in the first fractional range; thence west with the south line of the town of Fulton to the southwest corner thereof; thence northeastwardly with the west line of said town of Fulton to the place of beginning.

In 1854 another strip including a square mile and then called the Seventeenth Ward was added by ordinance. This extended along the Ohio River north and east from the line of Liberty street to the village of Pendleton and was known as the village of Fulton. A preliminary ordinance submitting the matter of annexation to the voters of the city and to those of the incorporated village of Fulton, which included almost all of Fulton township, was passed by the Council on August 23, 1854, and in October following both the municipalities voted in favor of the plan. The terms of annexations were formally approved on December 27th. Fulton was almost entirely made up of a single long street extending eastward between the hills and the river and formed the connecting link between the old city and Columbia, the two earliest settlements, being on the direct line of travel between these two points. A large number of people settled there at an early time. The principal occupation of the people at that time was boat building and it was at the Fulton landing that the explosion of the "Moselle" occurred in 1835.

The year 1869 was noted for extensive annexations. The first included the territory three and one-eighth square miles in area, known as Storrs township extending from Mill creek on the east to the river on the south and Liberty street on the north and west to the section line. In this tract were included the villages of Sedamsville along the river bank and Price Hill along the hills. A small part of the township was in the village of Riverside which was not included.

Sedamsville took its name from Cornelius R. Sedam, who was colonel of the Continental army from New Jersey, who fought at Princeton, Monmouth and Germantown. He came to Losantiville with Major Doughty at the time of the building of Fort Washington. Afterwards he took part in the St. Clair campaign and was wounded in the fight. Shortly afterwards he purchased a large tract of land about the mouth of Bold Face creek, in sections 34 and 35, where

he built his house in 1795. He was a justice of peace for Storrs township from 1759 until the time of his death in 1824, when his son, Henry F. Sedam, was appointed to succeed him. His son held the office until 1869. Both father and son engaged largely in trading down the river to New Orleans in flat-boats. Probably no two men who ever lived in Hamilton County have been the subject of so many anecdotes and reminiscences as the two Sedams. The date of the ordinance authorizing the annexation of Storrs township was September 10, 1869.

In the same year by ordinance of November 12th came the annexation of a two and one-half square mile tract in Spencer township, bounded on the north by Linwood road and Observatory avenue, on the east line by section line 26, the village of Columbia and by Crawfish creek to the Ohio River and on the south by the Ohio River and including the village of Pendleton to the former western line of the former village of Fulton and on the west by said line and the east line of the village of Woodburn. The following year, on March 5, 1870, there was annexed the villages of Walnut Hills, Mount Auburn and Clintonville, including Corryville, and Vernon village, constituting two wards.

The ordinance of annexation was passed September 10, 1869, and received the vote of the people on October 12th of the same year. In the same year, 1870, on September 21st was added a large strip of territory to the west, five and one-eighth square miles in area, known as the election precincts of Camp Washington, Lick Run and Mill creek township, including Mount Harrison, Barrsville, Fairmount, West Fairmount, St. Peters, Lick Run, Clifton Heights and Camp Washington west from Clifton avenue and from Mill creek and north from McMillan street to the Liberty street line.

The territory added by this ordinance was incorporated into the city under the designation of the Eighteenth Ward which was the old election precinct of Camp Washington and the Twenty-first Ward the former election precinct of Lick Run and the tract in the Spencer township as a part of the twenty-fourth ward. The exact boundaries of these additions are set forth in the ordinance authorizing these annexations. (Coppock and Hertenstein, 16: 17: 18.)

This same year an effort was made to annex Clifton, Avondale, Woodburn, Columbia, Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Winton Place, St. Bernard and Riverside.

The annexation was carried at the election by the people but the enabling act was declared unconstitutional by the courts.

The village of Columbia including the oldest settlement in the Miami country, in area one and one-eighth square miles, was added to Cincinnati on December 13, 1872. Cumminsville the original seat of the Ludlow family was annexed March 12, 1873. This tract including two and three-eighths square miles became known as the Twenty-fifth Ward and so continued until the date that the new code of 1902 became effective. In the same year, March 29, 1873, the village of Woodburn was added to the city; this included one square mile; this was added to the First Ward. The Zoological Garden and contiguous territory including one-fourth of a square mile were added to Cincinnati December 7, 1888.

The Legislature passed an act April 13, 1893, authorizing the annexation to the city of the villages of Avondale, Riverside, Clifton, Linwood and Westwood and their school districts. This annexation was approved of by the voters of the city and villages and the terms thereof were determined by a Board of Annexation Commissioners, consisting of Judge C. D. Robertson, W. B. Melish and L. C. Robinson. The annexation went into effect, December 31, 1895, at midnight and added eleven square miles to the territory of Cincinnati.

On April 28th, 1902, there was added section six and the east half of section twelve of the third township in the first fractional range, being one and sixty-nine hundredths square miles lying west of Price Hill.

The original area of the city at the time of its incorporation was but three square miles. Its present area as a result of the annexations above mentioned is 37.09 square miles.

THE GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CINCINNATI.

By John M. Nickles.

The geological history of that part of the earth's crust which underlies Cincinnati and vicinity is comparatively simple. The strata which form the framework of Cincinnati's hills consist of alternations of limestone layers and clay shales. The mineral composition and the structure of these strata show that they were formed in a wide sea stretching from the Appalachian highland westward, as far, perhaps, as the backbone of the Cordilleras. This sea swarmed with animal life. The remains of these animals, falling upon the floor of the sea, formed the layers

of limestone. At times the currents swept along their waters surcharged with fine sediment brought from distant shores. This, settling slowly down, formed the clayey shales, in which the remains of the creatures of long by-gone ages are often beautifully preserved.

From the great thickness of stratified deposits formed in this Mississippian sea, of which the present Gulf of Mexico is a much reduced vestige, we may infer that the sea bottom was slowly settling down. After this sinking had continued long enough to permit the accumulation of strata two thousand or more feet in thickness, a contraction in the earth's crust produced a gentle fold which brought above the surface of the sea a long, rather narrow island extending north and south. This uplift has been called in geological history the Cincinnati anticline, as the strata dip gently away from the crest of this island eastward and westward.

The uplift probably took place about the close of Silurian times and involved formations belonging to the Silurian period, the Ordovician (or Lower Silurian) period and underlying formations. The formations now exposed about Cincinnati belong to the Trenton and Cincinnati stages of the Ordovician period. Over these were originally, without much doubt, the Clinton and Niagara stages of the Silurian period, but in the many millions of years which have elapsed since the anticline was formed, these Silurian formations and a large part of the Cincinnati formation have been eroded away.

The rocks of the Cincinnati period comprise three stages, the Utica, Lorraine and Richmond. All of the Richmond and part of the Lorraine have been eroded away from Cincinnati and vicinity. A small part of the Trenton period, about fifty feet vertically, is exposed in the south bank of the Ohio River from West Covington to Ludlow. A much greater exposure vertically is found between New Richmond and Point Pleasant, Ohio, about twenty miles east of Cincinnati, as the axis of the anticline passes here in its north and south trend. The Trenton contains with its shale much good building stone. In the early days of Cincinnati stone was quarried from the south bank of the Ohio. The name "Low River Quarries" still survives. A large amount of stone was also formerly quarried from the Trenton in the vicinity of Point Pleasant.

The lower parts of the hills around the city expose the Utica. This formation consists mainly of shale. Some of the limestone layers would make building stone suitable for cellar work, etc., but nowhere can it be profitably quarried. The thickness around Cincinnati is about two hundred and sixty feet.

Overlying the Utica and forming the upper part of the Cincinnati hills is the Lorraine, which has altogether a thickness of about three hundred feet, but at Cincinnati only the lower two hundred feet are shown. All above has been carried away. It is in these beds that the quarries have been opened which have supplied foundation work for the residences of Cincinnati's citizens. Several of the churches and other quasi-public buildings show that the stone can also be very tastily employed for architectural purposes. Formerly a large amount of lime was burned from this stone, but of late years better grades brought into the city have displaced the home-made article except for cellar work.

The Richmond is exposed in a belt from fifteen to twenty-five miles wide, surrounding Cincinnati in a semicircle through Indiana and Ohio at a distance from the city of from thirty to sixty miles.

All the formations about Cincinnati are very prolific in fossils. From the earliest times when the "blue limestone" began to be quarried by the early settlers, Cincinnati has been noted as one of the finest fossil collecting grounds in the world. A host of collectors have brought to light a wealth of animal remains. Over eight hundred species have been described from the Cincinnati period, and two or three hundred more are known that await description. Judging from the large number of before unknown forms discovered within the past two decades, it may be safely predicted that many more wait for the keen eyes of diligent collectors. Several very large collections, notably those of C. B. Dyer, U. P. James, and E. O. Ulrich, have been gathered, but to the shame of Cincinnati be it said that she has never given the proper encouragement to scientific labors, and so these large collections, which can never be duplicated, have been allowed to slip away to the large scientific institutions of the East.

Among the many who have helped to unearth the fossil treasures and make these riches known to the world may be mentioned Dr. John Locke, who reported upon Southwestern Ohio for the First Ohio Geological Survey in 1836-7, S. T. Carley, Robert Buchanan, U. P. James, R. B. Moore, R. M. Byrnes, H. H. Hill, C. B. Dyer, S. A. Miller, Geo. W. Harper, A. G.

Wetherby, E. O. Ulrich, R. S. Bassler, and C. L. Faber.

After the Cincinnati anticline had brought to the surface the new born island, it became the prey of the elements which are unceasingly at work tearing down the land surface and transporting the debris to the seas. Many millions of years have elapsed since rain, frost and running water began their work on this new surface. These elements work very slowly, but in the long ages that have elapsed since they began their work, they have brought about great changes in the appearance of the land. Originally the surface was almost level, but soon drainage channels were established which were cut deeper and deeper. We do not know how much the surface of this old island has been worn down, but probably on an average it has lost between three hundred and four hundred feet vertically.

It is a very interesting study to trace the old drainage channels through which this great mass of rock and shale was carried seaward in the form of mud. Only a beginning has been made. It would seem that it ought not to be difficult, and it would not be, had it not been for a most surprising event in geological history. This was the advance from the north in comparatively recent times—geologically speaking—of a great, thick sheet of ice, an immense glacier, which covered over the surface of the land, filled up the hollows, planed off some of the eminences and swept around others, blocked the rivers and often compelled them to carve out for themselves new channels. When the ice sheet melted away, it left undisturbed over hill and hollow an immense amount of wastage in the form of gravel, sand, silt, bowlders and till. The valleys around Cincinnati quite generally show this glacial debris and some is found even on some of the hill tops.

By this ice invasion, which had its southern limit only a short distance south of Cincinnati, the drainage of this region was profoundly modified. The ancient drainage was obliterated, though it has here and there left its traces. The Ohio, at least as far down as Lawrenceburg, Indiana, is a young river, occupying mainly the channels of several very old streams; in some places, as at Cincinnati, it has carved out for itself a new channel.

An examination of the surface features about Cincinnati shows that the older portion of the city occupies a somewhat semi-circular, depressed area, surrounded by hills except on the south where it is bounded by the Ohio River. Covington and Newport occupy a similar, smaller half-basin intersected by the Licking River and semi-circled by hills. The hills surrounding this basin are comparatively steep, though their surface now is not what it was when the city was first settled. Then the slopes of the hills were densely wooded. Only here and there did the small streams cut through to the bed rock. The growth of the city caused many quarries to be opened into the hillsides, and later, when the city spread out over the hills, many cuts and fills were made for streets and residence sites. All in all, great changes were thus made, yet the general features are about as they were when the floods caused by the melting of the ice sheet as it finally retreated had done their work.

What are called hills are not really hills, but only the escarpments of a rolling table land in which the Cincinnati-Covington-Newport basin has been hollowed out to a depth of about 300 feet below the general level of the country.

The western part of the basin is occupied by the broad Mill creek valley which continues north, then northeast. Several miles west of the Mill creek is a high ridge running from the Ohio River north through Westwood and Cheviot. From this ridge several spurs extend eastward. The one at the south is quite wide. It is occupied by Price Hill. That between Fairmount and North Fairmount is comparatively narrow. The Fairmount valley, drained by Lick run, now changed into a sewer, and the North Fairmount valley, and their side valleys, illustrate finely the amphitheatres which occur at a certain stage in normal erosion. So also does the valley of the West Fork, west of Cumminsville. In fact most of the small valleys about Cincinnati are of this shape. It is easily seen that from Mill creek west was a table land, which, as the result of erosion, has become a series of ridges and valleys.

The high land on the north of the basin forms a watershed from which several short streams in rainy weather flow down into the basin or, rather, did before they were deflected into sewers. Ravine street and Vine street occupy two such small water courses. Deer creek, in the valley between Mount Auburn and Eden Park, was another. The high ridge has been utilized in part for McMillan street. The north side of this watershed, occupied by Burnet Woods, Clifton, Avondale, Idlewild and Hyde Park, sends its drainage streams off to the north and northwest and eventually their waters find their way

into Mill creek. Walnut Hills occupies the broad eastern end of this high ridge.

The present topography of the Cincinnati region presents some instructive features which serve as clues to the ancient drainage. These are some of them: the very wide valley of the Mill creek with such an insignificant stream flowing in it; the valley of the Little Miami River for several miles above its mouth much wider than that of the Ohio from this point down; a broad low valley extending from the Little Miami at Red Bank westward to the Mill creek, in which are situated the suburbs Madisonville, Norwood and Bond Hill.

The explanation of these peculiarities is that in pre-glacial times, a stream, known as Old Limestone, heading somewhere in the vicinity of Maysville, Kentucky, and Manchester, Ohio, and occupying what is now the channel of the Ohio from Maysville down, flowed for several miles through the channel of the Little Miami northwardly, then westwardly through the low valley just mentioned, to the neighborhood of St. Bernard. At that point it was joined by the Licking River which flowed northwardly through the lower part of the valley of the Mill creek. With its volume much augmented by the water of the Licking, Old Limestone continued on up the Mill creek valley to Hamilton, Ohio. Upon its course from this point different views are entertained, but the weight of evidence favors the view that the river continued its course through a now abandoned channel from Hamilton southwestward into the valley of the White Water near Harrison, Ohio; thence, through the lower part of the White Water to its junction with the Great Miami River not far from Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Walnut Hills was directly connected with the highlands in Campbell County, Kentucky, lying east of Newport, Kentucky. Price Hill was continuous with the hills of Kentucky lying to the south. When the ice sheet advanced from the north, it blocked up Old Limestone, the stream flowing north in Mill creek valley to Hamilton, damming its waters into a lake until they rose high enough to cut across the lowest parts, or cols, of the old ridges at Walnut Hills and Sedamsville, thus beginning the present course of the Ohio at Cincinnati. During the time which has elapsed since this event the Ohio has cut down these gaps to their present level. The steep slopes of the hills abutting on the Ohio in the First Ward of Cincinnati and the Twentieth Ward, Sedamsville and Riverside, are noteworthy and in very great contrast with the gentle slopes of hills carved out of the same kind of rocks which have been subject to normal erosion during long geological ages.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC INHABITANTS.

Ancient Remains—Mound Builders.

The first white man that came to the site of Losantiville could hardly have failed to notice the indications of the numerous presence at this point of an earlier people. The Indian as he has been known within historic times left little or no trace of his occupancy of any part of the land, but on the small table lands that constituted the site of Losantiville were structures which were unmistakably the remains of a different race and one whose name, character, history and antiquity are left to mere conjecture. In the excitement of the chase and the dangers that encompassed the pioneers who first must have seen these remains, their presence aroused little or no attention. But after the settlement had located itself there were men who not only became inquisitive as to the peculiar structures but made a record of them. The earliest of these records of any importance is that contained in Dr. Drake's invaluable "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815. As a scientific observer, Dr. Drake unquestionably stands at the head of the early residents of the city and his record is so accurate and at the same time so well expressed that it is best presented in his own words.

"No objects in the State of Ohio seem to have more forcibly arrested the attention of travelers, nor employed a greater number of pens, than its antiquities. It is to be regretted, however, that so hastily and superficially have they been examined by strangers, and so generally neglected by ourselves, that the materials for a full description have not yet been collected. The former have too often contented themselves by copying from each other; and the latter have commonly substituted wonder for examination. In the United States, there is indeed no redundance of time or money; but even in this young and parsimonious State, it is not uncommon to see appropriations of both, to objects of greater expense and lesser interest, than a survey of these curious relics. In the reflection, that I shall add one more to these crude and partial accounts, there is not much either to exalt pride or gratify ambition; but as a description of any part of the State of Ohio that did not embrace these vestiges of former population, would by many be considered palpably defective in its plan, the present chapter cannot be omitted. Its imperfections, however, will not only fit it for being compared with the treatises that are already extant on the same subject, but make it better correspond with the articles among which it will appear.

"Before proceeding to examine the remains which are termed ancient, it may be advantageous to distinguish them, if possible, from those which are evidently modern. In several places are to be found the sites of Indian villages, which are indicated by hearths of flat stones; by ashes, charcoal and calcined earth; and by vast quanties of the broken bones of those animals on which the inhabitants subsisted. About the same spots, but not confined to them, are found various articles fabricated of clay, coal, grit, flint, granite and other hard stones; and which from their form are denominated hatchets, axes, chisels, arrow heads, pipes or ornaments. Fragments of earthern ware, also, are picked up, which exhibits in its composition, pounded mussel and other river shells; and on its surface, many ornamental lines, either straight and parallel, or curved; al-

ways formed by indentation or incision. None of it appears to have been glazed; but most of the fragments have, it is obvious, been subjected to a strong heat. All which I have seen were parts of vessels, and are unquestionably a manufacture of the same species with that carried on by some of the Southern tribes of Louisiana at the present time. The remaining works of a modern date are stone and sometimes earthen tumuli, which are distinguishable from the ancient by their diminutive size, and from being disconnected with any extensive fortifications, or other remains. I have seen three of these Indian graves examined. They were situated on the top of a high ridge, in Kentucky, where none of the common vestiges of ancient population exist. Two of them were composed of stone, the other of earth. In the latter the dead bodies had been laid on the surface of the ground, and were surrounded by ashes, calcined loam and fragments of charred wood. They were covered with flat limestones, surrounded by others set edgewise. Over the whole had been erected a circular mound of little convexity, being nearly 36 feet in diameter, and not more than three in height. The others had nearly the same internal construction; but their framers chose to bring up stone from the creeks 200 feet below rather than erect a mound of earth; and when we take into consideration the tools which they must have used for the latter purpose, their preference of the former cannot excite much surprise.

"Having premised these remarks, we are better prepared to understand what relates to the works which are more ancient. Among these there is not a single edifice, nor any ruins which prove the existence, in former ages, of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column; no bricks; nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered. The fabrics of wood must have long since mouldered away; and the only relics which remain to inflame curiosity and excite speculation, are composed of earth, with which rude and undressed masses of stone have been sometimes combined. These vestiges consist of mounds, excavations, and embankments or walls, of various forms and dimensions. Cincinnati affords specimens of each. They are extensive and complicated, but not conspicuous, and have therefore attracted less attention than the relics at some other places. Their relative position may be seen by a reference to the frontispiece. The principal wall or embankment encloses an entire block of lots and some fractions. It is a very broad ellipsis; one diameter extending 800 feet east from Race street; and the other about 660 feet south from Fifth street. But its figure is not mathematically exact. On the east side it had an opening nearly 90 feet in width. It is composed of loam, and exhibits, upon being excavated, quite a homogeneous appearance. Its height is scarcely three feet, upon a base of more than thirty. There is no ditch on either side. Within the wall the surface of the ground is somewhat uneven or waving; but nothing is found that indicates manual labor. On each side of the gateway or opening, exterior and contiguous to the wall, there is a broad elevation or parapet, of an indeterminate figure. From one of these may be traced a bank, not more than twelve inches in height, on a foundation nine times as great. It extends southerly about 150 feet, till it reaches within one or two rods of the border of the upper plain or *Hill*, when it turns to the east, and terminates in a mound at the junction of Main and Third streets, distant nearly 500 feet. From the parapet of the opposite side, no wall of this kind can be traced; but immediately north of it, and at a short distance, are two other shapeless and insulated elevations more than six feet in height, which, it seems probable, could not have been formed on an alluvial plain, but by the hands of man. Upwards of 400 yards east of this, between Broadway and Sycamore streets, there is another bank, of nearly the same dimensions with the one last described. It can be traced from Sixth to the vicinity of Third street; and is evidently the segment of a very large circle, the centre of which would lie within or immediately south of that already described. From near the southern end of this segment, to the river, a low embankment, it is said, could formerly be traced; and was found to correspond in height, direction and extent, with another, more than half a mile distant, in the western part of the town; but neither of these are now visible. In Fifth street, east of all that have been described, there is a circular bank enclosing a space 60 feet in diameter. It was formed by throwing up the earth from the inside. It is not more than a foot in height, but 12 or 15 in horizontal extent. In the northern part of the town, between Vine and Elm streets, at the distance of 400 yards from the ellipsis first described, there are a couple of convex banks, 760 feet long, and less than two feet high, connected at each end. They are exactly parallel and 46

feet asunder, measuring from their centres, for two thirds of their distance; after which they converge to 40. In the southern of these banks, about the point where their inclination to each other commences, there was an opening 30 feet wide. The direction of these elevations, as ascertained by the compass, does not vary two degrees from a true east and west line. The site of our town exhibits many other inequalities of surface, which are no doubt artificial; but they are too much reduced, and their configuration is too obscure to admit of their being described. It is worthy of notice that the plains on the opposite side of the river have not a single vestige of this kind.

"Of excavations, we have but one. It is situated more than half a mile north of the figure first described, and is not perceptibly connected with any other works. Its depth is about 12 feet; its diameter, measuring from the top of the circular bank formed by throwing out the earth, is nearly 50. Popular speculation could not fail to make it a half filled *well;* but no examination has yet been undertaken.

"The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure so often referred to, at the distance of 500 yards. Its present height is 27 feet, and about eight feet were cut off by General Wayne, in 1794, to prepare it for the reception of a centinel. It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two to one. The longer runs 17 degrees east of north. Its circumference, at the base, is 440 feet. The earth for 30 or 40 yards around it, is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner; from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface; which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to the centre, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil, with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattering and decayed human bones, a branch of deer's horn, and a piece of earthern ware, containing mussel shell. At the distance of 500 feet from this pyramid, in the direction of north eight degrees east there is another about nine feet high, of a circular figure, and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the centre of its base, without affording anything but some fragments of human skeletons, and a handful of copper beads, which had been strung on a cord of lint.

"Northeast of the last, at the distance of a few hundred yards, is another of the same figure, but not more than three feet in height; which upon being partially opened, has been found to contain a quantity of unfinished spear and arrow heads, of flint.

"The mound at the intersection of Third and Main streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connection with the lines which have been described. It was about eight feet high, one hundred and twenty long, and sixty broad; of an oval figure, with its diameters lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. It has been almost obliterated by the graduation of Main street; and its construction is, therefore, well known. Whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance beneath the stratum of loam which is common to the town. The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire, and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed. Of the articles taken from thence, many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most curious:

"1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite and some other stones—cylindrical at the extremities, and swelled in the middle; with an annular groove near one end.

"2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as if for an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. It has a number of small perforations, disposed in four equidistant lines, which run from the circumference towards the centre.

"3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations; but composed of argillaceous earth, well polished.

"4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

"5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle.

"6. A mass of lead ore (*galena*) lumps of which have been found in some other tumuli.

"7. A quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*) plates of which have been discovered in and about other mounds.

"8. A small ovate piece of sheet copper, with two perforations.

"9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

"These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the American Philosophical Transactions, by Governor Sargent and Judge

Turner; and were supposed, by Professor Barton, to have been designed in part for ornament, and in part for superstitious ceremonies. In addition to these, I have since discovered in the same mound:

"10. A number of beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

"11. The teeth of a carnivorous animal, probably those of the bear.

"12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus *buccinum;* cut in such manner as to serve for domestic utensils, and nearly converted into the [so in original].

"14. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concavo-convex plates; the interior one of each set connected with the other by a hollow axis, around which had been wound a quantity of lint; the whole encompassed with the bones of a man's hand. Several other articles, resembling this, have been dug up in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper, covered with the green carbonate of that metal. After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specific gravities were found to be 7.545 and 7.857. Their hardness is about that of the sheet copper of commerce. They are not engraved or embellished with characters of any kind.

"15. Human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes enclosed in rude coffins of stone, but oftener lying blended with the earth —generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal. The quantity of these bones, altho' much greater than that taken from the other mounds of the town, was small in proportion to what was expected—the whole tumulus not having contained perhaps more than 20 or 30 skeletons. With a view of comparing these bones with those of the present Indian tribes, I endeavored to collect and preserve them; but they were generally in such a state of decay that nothing more could be inferred, than a sameness in the height of the two races. At length I was so fortunate as to procure the skull, nearly entire, of a middle aged man; and have compared it with that of a Wyandot Indian—presented to me by John Johnston, Esq. The facial angle of the ancient, which may be termed the fossil skull, is 74°—that of the Wyandot 76°—and in their length and breadth there is but little difference. On placing and examining them, however, in the manner directed by Blumenbach, it is seen that a section made through the forehead and the occiput would exhibit in the fossil skull almost a regular oval; in the Wyandot, the figure of an egg cut lengthwise, after being flattened at its smaller end. The face of the Indian head, moreover, is shorter and broader than that of the fossil; the upper jaw projects less, and the cheek bones are more distant, broad and prominent. Those of the fossil skull, are, however, of greater height than the cheek bones of most European faces. But what little reliance is to be placed on a single comparison, appears from this—that the upper part of another skull found in this tumulus exhibits the same horizontal section with the Wyandot, except that the forehead is remarkably convex, instead of being flatted. The fossil teeth, which I have seen, were generally sound, and had nothing peculiar in their figure.

"No earthen vases were found in the Main street tumulus but a small one, composed in part of pulverized mussel shells, was lately dug up and broken to pieces, about 500 feet from that mound. Other vessels have been discovered in similar situations in the country. A comparison of these, as to form, composition and ornament, with the vases made in later times or by distant nations, might lead to interesting results; but the bigotry of Spain in the 16th century seems not to have been more destructive to the historical paintings of Mexico, than the indifference, negligence or idle curiosity of many of our citizens are to these interesting relics."

Dr. Drake also gives some account of the ancient works of Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami and with those lower down on the same river near the mouth of Hole's creek. He speaks briefly of the fortifications near Hamilton and the old stone fort so called, above the confluence of the Great Miami and the Ohio. General Lytle furnished him with information concerning the fortifications near Milford and those further up the Little Miami, near Deerfield and Lebanon, are noted and some particular information is given about a mound near Chillicothe. His general observations are not without interest. He concluded that the lakes and the Gulf of Mexico are the northern and southern boundary of the region containing these works, and that they extend from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. They are found in the greatest magnitude and grandeur in the southern provinces of Mexico. Another circumstance is that they are generally found in the valleys of the great streams but on the second and third banks counting from the rivers. The forests, he maintains, exhibit no appearance of more recent growth than the forests in the neighbor-

hood. He concludes that they were obviously built for purposes of defense, although as to some of the valley remains he concludes there are grounds for a different opinion, citing the fact that General Wayne did not believe they were for that purpose. He finally seems to reach the conclusion that the upland works were for defense and those in the valleys for residence purposes. All the mounds were burying places. He speaks of the two theories relating to the builders. One is that they were a nation which had been expelled from this part of the continent and had become extinct, and the other that they were the ancestors of the existing Indian tribes who had degenerated from their earlier higher grade of civilization. He seems to incline to the latter view.

Another description of interest is that given by Judge Burnet, one of the most prominent of our earlier citizens and in some respects our most valuable authority upon the early history of this neighborhood. Judge Burnet, in his "Letters to Delafield," speaks as follows:

"When I first came here the town had advanced but very little from a state of nature. The surface of the site, on which it stands, was undisturbed, except where some rough houses and humble cabins had been erected, to shelter its inhabitants. The works referred to were in a perfect state of preservation, though depressed in height, by the natural causes which had operated on them for ages. Within the limits of the town, as originally laid out, there were two large circles, one near the eastern boundary, and the other in a western direction, near the centre of the plat. The former, though sufficiently distinct to be traced, was not as elevated, or as perfect as the other. It was about the same diameter, and was uniform in its curvity. The circle near the centre passed through the block which I owned, south of Fourth, and between Vine and Race streets. It was an exact circle, about six hundred feet in diameter. The earth which composed it had been gradually washed down, till its base had spread about twenty-five feet, and its apex was reduced to about eight or ten feet above the plane of its base. On the north side, near Fifth street, there was an aperture, ten or twelve feet wide, and there might have been another, which has escaped my memory. The arc within my enclosure, subtended by a chord of about three hundred feet, was preserved with care, while it was in my possession. On that part of it, I am confident, there was no break, or opening. These works were entirely on the upper level of the town-plat, and did not approach the break of the hill nearer than four hundred feet. About one hundred and fifty rods west of the circle last spoken of stood a beautiful mound, thirty-five or forty feet high, constructed with great exactness, and standing on a base unusually small, compared with its height. When the army under the command of General Wayne was encamped at this place, in 1792-3, he had a sentry-box on its top, which commanded an entire view of the plain. In the neighborhood of this structure two or three smaller ones were standing, which were found to contain human bones, as is the fact with regard to most of them. Besides these, there was another of a medium size, compared with the others, standing on the brow of the hill, about midway between the circles and in advance of them, in the direction of the river, about three or four hundred feet. By digging down, and grading Main street, this structure was entirely removed many years ago. While that process was going on, many articles which it contained were found, some, if not all of which, were probably deposited there, after the country had been visited by Europeans. Among them were marine shells, pieces of hard earthen-ware, a small ivory image, finely wrought, of the Virgin Mary, holding an infant in her arms, which had been much mutilated; also a small metallic instrument, complex in its construction, much corroded and decayed, and supposed by some to have been intended to ascertain the weight of small substances. The skeleton of a man was also found, under its apex, a few feet below the surface, contained in what might be called a coffin, composed of flat stones, so placed on all sides as to protect the body from the pressure of the earth. Other discoveries were made which my memory does not retain, with sufficient accuracy, to enable me to describe them. * * *" (Trans. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 35.)

In 1874 ancient graves were discovered by Dr. H. H. Hill, on Brighton Hill, at the west end of the city. This had been the site of a former mound which had been washed away by the rain. The bodies were discovered within a circular spot, about forty feet in diameter, but the bones were so decomposed as to fall to dust almost immediately; it is thought that Indians were buried here as well as mound builders. Many other articles were found at this place including teeth, tusks of animals and implements, the bone and mica together with stone hammers,

pipes, arrow heads, spear heads and awls of copper and bone. Another so-called ancient remain was what has been designated the "dug-bone" which was about one-half mile north of the ellipse described. This is the well, referred to by Dr. Drake.

The ancient works were marked on a number of the earlier maps of the city. They are plainly shown on the "Plan of Cincinnati" which is prefixed to Drake's "Statistical View of 1815" as well as on the maps prefixed to the first and second directories of the city, published in 1819 and 1825. A large ellipsis is shown as surrounding completely the block between Fourth, Fifth, Race and Vine and includes more than the western half of the block to the east, which also takes in parts of the blocks to the north and south. The large mound west of the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut on the site of the present Johnston Building was clearly shown. Another large mound is shown west of the southwest corner of Fourth and Walnut, which extended from the middle of Fourth street half way down to Third, occupying the western half of in-lots 162 and 163. It is connected by a single embankment by another large mound at the northeast corner of Third and Main. It is easy with either of these maps to follow Drake's description.

The large mound near the corner of Fifth and Mound was removed in November, 1841, for the purpose of extending Mound street and grading an alley. Just below the surface near the center of the mound was found a part of a human skull and two bones of about seven inches in length. Under the skull was a bed of charcoal, ashes and earth and in it a remarkable stone with markings in curves and scrolls upon it. This since has been called the "Cincinnati tablet" and was the occasion of much discussion in the course of which it was denounced by no less an authority than Charles Whittlesey as a fraud. Subsequently, however, Robert Clarke of this city published a pamphlet in vindication of the stone, as a result of which the Cincinnati tablet has been accepted as a genuine relic of the mound builders' period. Mr. Whittlesey himself admitted that he had been convinced of the authenticity of the tablet by Mr. Clarke's pamphlet. It is described and commented upon in Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley:"

"The material is fine grained, compact sandstone of a light brown color. It measures five inches in length, three in breadth at the ends, and two and six-tenths at the middle, about half an inch in thickness. The se face varies very slightly from a perfec The figures are cut in low relief (the lin not more than one-twentieth of an depth), and occupy a rectangular space inches and two-tenths long by two a tenth wide. The sides of the stone, it observed, are slightly concave. Light l drawn across the face near the ends, angles, and exterior to these are notches, five at one end and twenty-four at th The back of the stone has three deep tudinal grooves and several depressic dently caused by rubbing—probably p by sharpening the instrument used sculpture.

"Without discussing the singular rese which the relic bears to the Egyptian c it will be sufficient to direct attention to duplication of the figures, those upon corresponding with those upon the oth the two central ones being also alike. It observed that there are but three scroll ures—four of one description and two others. Probably no serious discussion question whether or not these figures ar glyphical, is needed. They more resem stalk and flowers of a plant than anyth in nature. What significance, if any, ma to the peculiar markings or graduation end it is not undertaken to say. The su products of the longer and shorter lines ty-four by seven and twenty-five by e three hundred and sixty-eight, three m the number of days in the year: from circumstance the suggestion has been a that the tablet had an astronomical ori constituted some sort of a calendar.

"We may perhaps find the key to its p in a very humble, but not therefore les esting class of southern remains. Both ico and in the mounds of Mississippi ha found stamps of burnt clay, the faces o are covered with figures, fanciful or i all in low relief, like the face of a st plate. These were used in impressin ments upon the clothes or prepared skin people possessing them. They exhibit cavity of the sides to be observed in the question—intended, doubtless, for great venience in holding and using it—as also lar reduplication of the ornamental fig betraying a common purpose. This exp is offered hypothetically as being entir

sistent with the general character of the mound remains, which, taken together, do not warrant us in looking for anything that might not well pertain to a very simple, not to say rude, people."

In addition to the remains of the mound builders already described as found on the site of Cincinnati, there were traces of a period of vegetation prior to the time of the settlement. As to these the best account is given by Judge Burnet in his letter of October, 1837, to Mr. Delafield:

"You have made a particular request for information, relative to the stumps which were found in my well. I have seen in print several exaggerated statements, professing to describe their appearance, and the situation in which they were found. One writer has said, that they had evidently been cut, by a metallic instrument—that the marks of an axe were visible, and that chips, in a state of perfect preservation, were found on, and near them. Another has stated, that the rust of iron was seen on the stumps; and a third has affirmed, that an axe was found near them. Neither of these statements is true. The facts are simply these, that in sinking a well, in 1802, within the circular work above described, at the depth of ninety-three feet, I found two stumps, one about a foot, and the other eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the position in which they grew. Their roots were perfectly sound, and extended from them, horizontally, on every side. Their tops were so decayed and mouldered, that no opinion could be formed as to the process by which the trunks had been severed. The surface of the earth, at the place where they were found, is one hundred and twelve feet above the present low water mark of the Ohio, according to the level of Joseph Gest, city surveyor. They could not have been brought there by a current of water, because their upright position, and the regular, horizontal extension of their roots, proves that they must have grown on the spot, where they were found. There is another fact connected with this matter, worthy of notice. Prior to the time of digging the well, I had never seen a mulberry tree, growing on, or near, the premises, though they were found in the neighboring forests, yet, the next season, they sprang up wherever the excavated earth had been spread, in such numbers, as made it necessary to destroy them and they continued thus to shoot up for several years, though not one made its appearance on any other part of the lot. This fact induced me to conclude that the stumps, or at least one of them, was of the mulberry kind. * * *

"It may throw some light on this subject, to state, that when the town was laid out, the appearance of the forest indicated that the surface of the earth had undergone no material change, probably, in five hundred years; as it exhibited the remains of trees, which had matured, decayed, and fallen, by the side of others still flourishing and giving evidence that they had been growing some centuries. The stump which was supposed to be a mulberry must have been in the situation in which it was found (ninety-three feet below the surface), for an equal period of time, and yet, when the earth about its roots was spread on the surface, where no mulberry tree existed, young mulberries immediately sprung up in great numbers. * * *

"In connection with these facts, it may be proper to state another, of the same character. Mr. Daniel Symmes, when sinking a well, in the eastern part of the town, found a log, quite sound, at the depth of twenty-four feet below the surface. This was also on the upper level, or bench of the town. At the place where this fossil was found, the surface of the ground is much lower than it is at the well first mentioned, being only eighty-one feet above low-water mark in the Ohio. Similar discoveries have been made, in various parts of the city, at greater distances from the river, furnishing proof that the entire plain, from the Ohio to the hills, is a deposit, covering what was formerly the surface of the earth."

As to the character or identity of the people who built these structures, we have little or no information that is of any value. Every observer has made his conjecture and supported that conjecture by what he was pleased to regard as evidence taken from his own observations, but without any disrespect to the great amount of work that has been spent upon the subject, it can be said that little information of any exact character has been obtained. Not the least interesting theory connects itself with the claim of the Irish to have preceded the Norse in Iceland and afterwards discovered America in the 10th century. It is claimed that the mound builders of the Ohio Valley were connected with the race which sprang from these early Irish explorers. Another theory places this European immigration as early as twelve hundred years before Christ. Again the Welsh are alleged to have discovered America in the twelfth century

and one of the evidences of this discovery is the supposed resemblance of the Ohio Valley mounds to some of those in Wales. This possibility is spoken about by Filson in his "Kentucky," and David Jones in his wandering among the tribes west of the Ohio, in 1772, was impressed with the correspondence of Indian words with his native Welsh. A man Griffith claimed to have been taken in 1764 to a tribe that spoke Welsh.

Naturally the old theory that the Indians were descendants of the Jews had as a precedent condition the idea that the mounds were built by these wandering tribes before their degeneracy. The early explorers were unable to get any information about the mound builders from the people whom they encountered. De Soto, in 1540, was assured by the Indians that they had built the mounds, but no credence is given to this statement. Kalm, the Swede, notes the mounds that he observed in 1749, and Carver saw them at Lake Pippin in 1768. David Jones mentions those in Ohio, in 1772, and Adair speaks of them in his book on the American Indians, in 1775. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," published in 1782, speaks of them as barrows "all over the country," obviously intended as burying places. On a map of the Northwest Territory, published by John Fitch, in 1785, it is stated that "this country has once been settled by a people more expert in the art of war than the present inhabitants. Regular fortifications and some of these incredibly large are frequently to be found. Also many graves and towers like pyramids of earth." The reference is to the site of Wisconsin.

Franklin conjectures that the works of Marietta might have been built by De Soto, to which view Noah Webster assented. Professor Barton had first credited the Toltecs with building them; these he thought to be descendants of the Danes. Maj. Jonathan Heart, Loskiel, Bartram and Volney, all mention the ancient mounds in their records and journals. In 1794, Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, reported the exploration of the mounds at Cincinnati in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, with accompanying drawings and "some account of certain Articles, which were taken out of an ancient Tumulus, or Grave, in the Western Country," as follows:

"CINCINNATI, N. W. TERRITORY,
"Sep. 8th, 1794.

"I have the pleasure, my dear Sir, to transmit you a drawing of some matters more extraordinary than have heretofore come under my observation, in all the researches into the antiquities of this country. The multiplicity of my avocations leaves not leisure for more than rough delineations; and you must be contented to receive them in this style. I possess all the originals, and intend by some safe conveyance presenting them to the Philosophical Society, should they believe them of importance enough for a deposit of my disposition to promote the purpose of their institution. The drawing, perhaps, is too imperfect to stand the test of criticism, and it might not be prudent to hazard it to their view. Your judgment, however, should govern.

"It may be proper to add that the body with which this collection was interred was found lying in nearly a horizontal position, about five feet from the surface of the earth, with the head towards the setting sun, and at the S. W. side thereof, or about fifteen feet from, an extensive artificial mound of earth, raised probably for the purpose of a burial ground, upon the margin of the second bank of the Ohio River (suddenly rising fifty feet above the first) and now elevated, in the extreme, eight feet from the general level of the same, with a gradual slope in the various directions, and a base of about 120 feet by sixty. One of the main streets of the town passes through the western part of this grave, and in the frequent repairs of the acclivity, human bones have often been found. You have, I think, been heretofore told by me, and perhaps received a sketch, of very extensive ancient fortifications at Cincinnati, not regular as those at Muskingum, but very worthy of notice. I should not omit to mention to you, that upon this mound are the stumps of oak-trees, seven feet diameter; and within seven feet, one of small size —— years of age. Many, in its vicinity, that might have been of more duration, are removed by the opening of this road, or street. In addition to the matters of which you have the drawing, were several utensils, or ornaments, lost or mislaid. If hereafter they come to my view, you shall receive information."

The letter is accompanied by some admirably executed drawings of the articles found, most of which have already been described by Dr. Drake. This letter, with drawings, is printed in the fourth volume of the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, before which it was read May 20, 1796.

The Delaware Indians convinced Heckewelder of their connection with the fortifications, but the missionary is thought to have been imposed

upon. DeWitt Clinton evolved some theories connecting the Scandinavians with the mounds. Caleb Atwater of Ohio, after considerable investigation expressed the belief that the mound builders were of Asiatic origin and that they subsequently migrated to Mexico and Peru.

The investigations of Squier and Davis, which resulted in the opening of two hundred mounds and the exploration of one hundred earth work enclosures, about the middle of the last century, gave the largest amount of knowledge yet obtained concerning this subject. Their results were published by the Smithsonian Institution. Haven, in 1856, reviewed the whole matter arguing against the theory of the mound builders being a more advanced race and advocating their identity with the Indians, and again in 1877, he held that it might yet be proved that the Indians and mound builders were one in race. This it will be remembered was the theory of Dr. Drake in the early part of the century. The discovery of a considerable number of mound builders' skulls, which in earlier years had been held by some craniologists to favor the theory of a vanished race, has led to more critical study and now the Bureau of Ethnology seems to incline to the theory of the Indian origin of these mounds and their builders. In the fourth report of the bureau, it is said that over two thousand mounds had been opened and thirty-eight thousand relics gathered, but nothing has been found to afford any clue to the language used by the mound builders. The conclusions reached were first that the mounds were as diversified as the Indian tribes, but yield no signs of a superior race. Their builders and the Indians are claimed to be the same, and the accounts by earlier visitors to the Indians found here are confirmed by the disclosures of the mounds; in fact certain kinds of mounds in certain localities are the work of tribes now known.

Cyrus Thomas, the principal advocate of this view, maintained that the enclosures of Northern Ohio were built by the Iroquois Huron tribes, but that the animal mounds, so called, are more ancient than the simpler ones. Strongly in favor of the Red Indian theory was Judge Manning F. Force, for so many years prominent in the life of Cincinnati. In 1874, he read before the Literary Club a paper which with other papers maintained that the race of builders were in the main similar to the modern Indians and flourished about one thousand years ago. Some of them he thought still survived in the Gulf States in the sixteenth century and their developments he places on the plane of the Pueblos, above that of the Algonquins and below that of the Aztecs.

Lucien Carr maintained that the early records show that nothing was found in the mounds that was not described as pertaining to the Indians known to the first travelers. On the other hand Squier and Davis seem to favor the disappeared race theory, although Squier finally concluded that the New York mounds were the work of the Iroquois.

Professor Putnam, who in connection with C. L. Metz made most of the explorations in this neighborhood, seems to believe that many Indian tribes built mounds and earth works but does not accept the proposition that all were built by these tribes as proved. The subject is no nearer conclusion than in the earliest days of discussion. The old idea of relying upon the age of trees as indicating antiquity is not at present considered of much force. The subject has furnished unlimited opportunity for discussion to the literati of this neighborhood as well as to travelers, as it was in Ohio that the first interest was aroused and the principal explorations made. Cutler described the mounds at Marietta in 1789, and Barton describes one at Cincinnati in 1799. Sargent's letter of 1794 has been quoted.

General Harrison regarded this as a subject particularly worthy of his pen, and in his address to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, in 1837, he made the following remarks about the works:

"When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne two years afterwards, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn, was almost endless, and, as I have said, almost covered the plain—many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated; but, by careful examination, and following the direction, they could again be found. Now, if these lines were ever the height of the others made by the same people (and they must have been to have answered any valuable purpose), or unless their erection was many years anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of rain (for it is a dead level) to bring

them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation; and, as the people who erected them would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy and the cultivation of another people, and the probability is that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors. In the question of the fate of the former, and the cause of no recent vestige of settlements being found on the Ohio, I can offer only a conjecture, but one that appears to me to be far from improbable."

He seemed to think that the mound builders might have been driven off by the great flood, "not because of the actual suffering, but from the suggestions of superstition; an occurrence so unusual being construed into a warning from Heaven to seek a residence upon the smaller streams."

One of the best known writers on pre-historic man and on Indian life generally is L. H. Morgan. He felt certain that the mound builders could not be classed with any known Indian stock and that the nearest region from which they could have been derived is New Mexico. This was a natural sequence of his favorite theory of communal life which pervades all his writings. This was to the effect that the communal mode of living accorded with the usages of aboriginal hospitality as well as with their tenure of land. The large structures called palaces by some which were found in Mexico and Central America were regarded by him as joint tenement houses. The earth work structures accredited to the mound builders naturally appeared to him in the same light and led him to connect their builders with the ancient civilization of Mexico. This is all the more easy for him as he scouted the idea of the very high grade of Mexican civilization as reported by the Spanish writers and described by H. H. Bancroft. This theory is discussed by Robert Clarke in the pamphlet already referred to. The central work, the ellipse so often referred to, was held to correspond with the "pueblo" or village. The fact that it was on the upper plain, three hundred and fifty feet from its edge and that it could be screened from view of the river by a grove of trees gave it a measure of security.

"The embankment, three feet high (possibly originally higher), with a base of thirty feet, afforded sufficient foundation for their buildings, occupying the circumference of the ellipse, facing inward, presenting a solid timber wall on the outside, with no entrance but by th way on the east, which may have been pr by a palisade of round timbers, with openings for ingress and egress, and by structures of the nature of blockhouses higher embankments attached externally a side of the entrance. From the lower o blockhouses, it will be remembered, ran t embankment, one foot high, with nine fe southward nearly to the edge of the de and then east to the mound on the cor Third and Main streets. This may hav occupied by a high timber palisade, or a c way leading to the mound, which was so s as to command a full view of the Licking which enters the Ohio on the opposite and was doubtless an important approach, it was necessary should be watched. I right in supposing that the embankment, same dimensions as the last, noticed c Sycamore, running from Sixth street t Third street, turned there and joined the embankment at the mound, and was buil in the same manner, we would thus ha whole front so defended that it would b be forced or flanked by an enemy comin the direction of the Licking River.

"East of this high hill, Mount Adams looking the Ohio, and giving a clear view river for miles, would be a natural outp which it would not be necessary to erect a structure. I have never heard of any r having been found on this hill.

"To the west, the hill next the river distant, and from its position did not co an extensive enough view of the river to s an outlook; so a position was selected n edge of the plain, about five hundred yar of the closed end of the village, and a mound thirty-five feet high was erected which could be had an extensive view Kentucky shore and of the Ohio River bend below the mouth of Mill creek Brighton Hill mound would give an ex view of the whole of Mill creek vall whole, as before mentioned, being part of tensive series of signal stations.

"The minor mounds and other works upper plain may have been connected w supervision and care of their agricultural tions on the rich land between the villa the northern hills.

"Thus we have a village judiciously on a fine, fertile plain, and well guarded

nature of the location and the artificial works erected on a carefully arranged plan."

Probably the final conclusion in this matter is best expressed by our own well known citizen, Judge Force, as follows: "The mystery which enveloped the builders of these and similar works is now largely dispelled and it is generally accepted that they were tribes of Indians differing little from the sedentary and fortified tribes which inhabited the country of the St. Lawrence and the lakes in the time of Cartier and Champlain, or from the tribes which now inhabit the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona."

The matter of the age of the earth works has been as complete a mystery as the race or characteristics of the builders. Mr. Winsor epitomizes three matters of evidence which are usually considered. The first is that very few of the earth works are found on the last of the terraces to be reclaimed from the streams. The second is the condition of the skeletons found which must be considered with relation to the kind of earth with which they were buried. The third is the age of the trees found upon them. Upon this last consideration but little dependence can be placed. The trees may have been planted a long time subsequent to the building of the mounds or after they had been abandoned or they might have been planted immediately upon their completion. As already stated the old idea of measuring the age of trees by rings is an exploded one although Mr. Winsor says that in the temperate zone the best authorities place dependence upon it.

With these statements of the remains found on the site of Cincinnati and with the various views entertained about their origin, the subject can be left to the consideration of the reader with the comforting assurance that the field of inquiry on this subject is still open, that after all nothing has been settled with regard to it and that the opinion of one is about equal in value to the opinion of another. The subject, too, has additional charm in the way of affording unlimited opportunity for conjecture for the reason that any settlement of the matter is probably beyond human wisdom.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIANS.

INDIAN TRIBES—INDIAN CHIEFTAINS—TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

INDIAN TRIBES.

When the first explorers entered the West, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, they found that the greater part of the Ohio region was the hunting ground of the Iroquois Indians, known at that time as the Five Nations. This family of Indians stood foremost among the American savages in the exploits of war and in cultivation, if such a word can be employed in such a connection. At one time or another they were the conquerors of half the continent and included within their sovereignty the choicest hunting grounds, covering the most fertile valleys and the densest forests in the region between the mountains and the Mississippi. In the nature of things the hunting grounds of the Indians were not usually located near their home land. Although much attention was devoted by some of the tribes to agriculture, their principal means of subsistence were the game of the forest and plain and the fish of the rivers. The neighborhood of their villages was naturally the first place to be hunted out and this made it necessary for hunting parties to look for game at greater distances from home. As a result it became usual for the stronger nations to hold large tracts of forests as their special demesne. The division of these tracts among the tribes was well recognized and although it might be possible to pass from one end to the other of any one of them without coming across an inhabited spot or meeting either friend or foe, the right of property in these particular sections was well understood by the Indians. As one race became predominant over its neighbors, its hunting grounds extended and any one who entered upon them did so at the peril of his life.

The Indians that occupied the Western and Middle States two hundred years ago belonged chiefly to two great families, the Iroquois and the Algonquins. In the Ohio Valley, while the influence of the first named nation was very great and its title to the land a matter of much subsequent discussion, the natives with whom the settlers in the main came into contact, belonged to the Algonquin family. The Iroquois at one time or another extended their conquests from Canada to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and although not present in large numbers in the Ohio Valley, their quasi-sovereignty was to some extent recognized by all the other tribes. They are supposed in some measure to owe their triumphs to their home within the central part of the State of New York, where the great rivers and the lakes large and small, offered opportunities for roving throughout the lands adjacent to them. They consisted of five tribes or nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas, to whom, in 1714, were joined the Tuscaroras, after which the Five Nations became known as the Six Nations. Each of these tribes had a separate organization with their sachems and chiefs, but all matters of foreign policy were deliberated upon and decided in the general assembly in a great council house in the Onondaga Valley. By reason of their clannish system, as a result of which the same clan had branches in all of the families of the confederacy, they formed a very united body and their system of descent through the female line, constantly

transferring the power of the sachem to the collateral branches of his family, prevented any one family from obtaining too great a power or influence among them. In the Algonquin family, the descent was through the male line.

The Five Nations from time to time swept the country, practically exterminating their enemies. Their process of extermination was complete. A large number of their captives were destroyed by the most horrible torture at the stake, and the remaining ones were distributed among the different tribes of the conquerors, husbands and wives and parents and children being entirely separated so that the family identity was completely lost. In this way the losses of the conquerors in battle were repaired and the unsuccessful opposing nation was wiped out of existence.

No more terrible story has ever been written than that of the destruction by the Iroquois of the Hurons and the Tobacco Nation, among whom were so many of the Jesuit missionaries, who suffered martyrdom at this time. The Hurons (Iroquois) occupied the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, but before the middle of the seventeenth century they were wiped out of existence as a nation and ceased to exist. Some took refuge among the French in Canada, others fled to the north beyond Lake Superior, from which place they were afterwards, about 1680, driven to Detroit, where along the southwestern shore of Lake Erie and along the banks of the Maumee, they were known to the later settlers under the name of the Wyandots. These Indians, the survivors of the Hurons and of the so-called Tobacco Nation, took an active part on the side of the French in the French and Indian War, and they were among the most formidable enemies of the English in the Indian war under Pontiac.

To the south of Lake Erie dwelt two other members of the Iroquois family. The Andastes were along the valley of the lower Susquehanna, and the Eries or Cats were on the borders of the lake which still retains their name. As soon as the war with the Hurons was over, the Five Nations picked a quarrel with the Eries, who at that time had a treaty of peace with them. A deputation of their principal men had been sent to the great Seneca town to confirm this treaty, but in the quarrel one of the Senecas was killed. In the mêlée that followed, the thirty deputies were slain. This precipitated hostilities in the course of which the Eries captured a famous Onondaga chief. As he was about to be burnt he was successful in convincing his captors that the policy of conciliation was a wise one and they resolved to turn him over to the sister of one of the murdered deputies, to take the place of her lost brother. Under the Indian law this gave her the privilege either to adopt him or burn him, and it was thought that she, although absent, would upon her return immediately accept him as a member of her family; to the surprise of all, however, she demanded revenge and insisted upon his being burnt. With his last breath he warned his tormentors that they were not destroying him alone but the whole Erie nation. As a result of this execution the whole Iroquois confederacy was aroused and the Five Nations, to a number of twelve hundred warriors, took the field.

They advanced over the lake in canoes and drove the Eries into the forests of the West, where the defenders built themselves a fortification of trees. The demand of the Iroquois that they should surrender was received with derision and their assault with poisoned arrows. In the second attack the bark canoes were carried over their heads like shields and upon arriving at the palisades they were planted upright and used as scaling ladders. The fury of the assault was such as to throw the Eries into a panic and when the day was ended the Erie nation had ceased to exist. The victors were obliged to spend two months in the Erie region, burying their own dead and nursing the wounded.

The Iroquois then turned their arms against the sole remaining enemy of their own race, the Andastes. This nation was inferior in number to their three previous antagonists. They were able, however, to postpone their destruction for a much longer time. The war at first was a series of skirmishes, in which the Mohawks took the principal part on the part of the Iroquois. In 1662, however, the Five Nations as a body took up the quarrel, and eight hundred warriors set out to inflict a decisive blow upon their enemies. When they came to the Andastes town they found it was fortified by a double palisade with bastions and was set with several small pieces of cannon which they had received from their neighboring Swedish friends. An assault was out of the question and treachery was tried. Their envoys, however, were tortured to death by fire in the sight of their countrymen and the assailants retired in confusion. Added to this disappointment came the ravages of smallpox, which swept over the Seneca nation with ter-

rible results. The repeated skirmishes, although terminating in many instances in favor of the Andastes, were so weakening their numbers that in 1675 they were reduced to less than three hundred fighting men and became the easy victims of the Senecas. This victory left the Iroquois the undisputed masters of the surrounding country. They had clearly established a Roman peace and the neighboring Algonquin tribes were allowed to exist upon condition of the payment of yearly tributes of wampum. As a result of these many wars, the force of the Five Nations in 1660, we are told, had been reduced to twenty-two hundred warriors, of whom not more than twelve hundred were of the true Iroquois stock, while the rest were made up of the prisoners adopted from the conquered tribes of Hurons, Neutrals and Eries and other nations that had been practically extinguished.

At Onondaga seven different nations were represented, and among the Senecas no less than eleven. In 1714 and 1715, however, a kindred nation of Tuscaroras came from the south and joined the Five Nations, being admitted as the sixth member of the confederacy.

For a time the lands to the south and west of the lakes were practically unoccupied except as the hunting grounds of the all conquering Iroquois. From time to time great hunting parties launched their canoes upon the head waters of the rivers, coming with the flood tides of the spring and fall, and others came by way of the lakes. They scattered through the forest and went up and down the rivers of the Kanawha, Muskingum, Scioto, Kentucky, the Miamis and the Wabash. There were none to oppose them and after their departure, silence and desolation marked the places of their camp fires and temporary villages. As the more easterly lands were given over to settlements to the French and English, the Iroquois found that their attention was more frequently called to Quebec and to Albany, the lands of the North and West and of the far West, and gradually other nations drifted in to the abandoned hunting grounds north of the Ohio River.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country now known as Ohio was distributed in a way among the following nations. That part about the Muskingum and along the upper Ohio and Allegheny was occupied by the Mingoes, who were wanderers and outlaws of the Five Nations, chiefly Senecas and Cayugas. The Wyandots who had seated themselves about Detroit had sent large bodies along the Sandusky River and as far as the Scioto, and at the time of the tour of Christopher Gist (1750), their chief village was on the Tuscarawas, near its junction with the Walhonding. Near the Ohio and along the Muskingum and Scioto were the Shawanees with their chief town at both sides of the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto. To the west, extending from the Wabash to the two Miamis, were certain tribes of the Miamis, known as Twightwees (Tawightis) and the Piankeshaws and Weas (Ouiatanons). Their principal fort and town at the time of Gist's visit was Pickawillany. Among the Mingoes and Shawanees and Wyandots were scattered the Delawares.

Shortly after Gist's tour, the Wyandots withdrew entirely from Muskingum, leaving the territory to the Delawares and the Shawanees. In the same way they spread into the upper valley of the Scioto and to the plains between its head waters and those of the Little Miami. The Delawares, as they were called by the English, the Lenni-Lenape, or original men, as they were called by themselves, were said by tradition to be the parent stock of the Algonquin tribe. At all solemn councils they were called by the title of grandfather, and they called the other Algonquins, children, grandchildren, nephews or younger brothers. The Wyandots and the Five Nations, however, they called uncles, who in turn called them cousins. The legendary history of these Indians is probably the most romantic that relates to the Indian tribes. They are supposed at one time to have lived west of the Mississippi, and it is this nation which with the Iroquois are supposed to have driven out the mound builders whose mounds and forts still remain in the valleys of the different Ohio rivers. After this conquest, the Iroquois went to the North, so tradition states, and the Lenni-Lenape settled in the valley of the Delaware from which they took their name. Here they settled down to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and when William Penn held his council with their sachems, they had degenerated, from the Indian standpoint, to a state of vassalage to the Five Nations. They were then called "Women" and were not allowed the use of arms. When they came to sell their lands to the Dutch, the Iroquois repudiated the transaction, insisting that they had no rights in the land and they were forced to leave their fields and fall back into the Allegheny forest, from which they finally drifted to the upper Muskingum, where they settled about 1740. During the old French War, they became more

vigorous and while the Six Nations fought for the English they took up the cause of the French. They fought later against armies of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, and finally after the battles of Fallen Timbers and Tippecanoe, they were driven with the rest of the tribes to the westward.

"On the Kansas River and its tributaries, the remnant of the once powerful Lenni-Lenape range to-day over a territory of a million acres, still dreaming, it is said, of a time when they will again assume their historic position at the head of the Indian family. A great mass of tradition lives with them of their Eastern conquest, the homes on the Delaware, Allegheny and Muskingum, where the poet had Evangeline visit them in her search for Gabriel. And still the massacre of Gnadenhütten is told to wondering children in Delaware wigwams, which dot the Ozark Mountains, as they once dotted the Alleghany valleys." (Hulbert.)

Adjacent to the Delawares lived the Shawanees, Shawanoes or Shawanese, Chouanons of the French, the Bedouins of the American Indians. "The Shawanese were the only American Indians who had even so much as a tradition of having come to this continent from across the ocean. Like that of the savage Wyandots, the history of the Shawanese before they settled down on the swift Scioto is a cheerless tale. Too proud to join one of the great Southern confederacies, if indeed the opportunity was ever extended to them, they sifted northward through the forests from Florida until they settled between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Here the earliest geographers found them and classified them as the connecting branch between the Algonquins of New England and the far Northwest, so different were they from their Southern neighbors. They remained but a short time by the Cumberland, for the Iroquois swept down upon them with a fury never exceeded by the Cherokees or the Mobilians and the fugitives scattered like leaves eastward towards the Alleghanies. By permission of the government of Pennsylvania, seventy families, perhaps three hundred souls, settled down upon the Susquehanna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By 1730, the number of Indian warriors in Pennsylvania was placed at seven hundred, one-half of whom were said to be Shawanese; this would indicate a total population of perhaps fifteen hundred Shawanese. With the approach of the settlements of the white man and the opening of the bloody French and Indian War, they left the Susquehanna and pushed straight westward to the Scioto River valley, beyond the Ohio. The Shawanese have well been called the 'Bedouins of the American Indians.' The main body of the nation migrated from Florida to the Cumberland and Susquehanna and Scioto rivers. Fragmentary portions of the nation wandered elsewhere. Cadwallader Cobden said in 1745, that one tribe of the Shawanese had gone quite down to New Spain.' When La Salle wished guides from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico in 1684, Shawanese were supplied him, it being as remarkable that there were Shawanese so far North (though they may have been prisoners among the Iroquois) as it was that they were acquainted with the Gulf of Mexico. In the Black Forest, the Shawanese gained another and well earned reputation—of being the fiercest and most uncompromising Indian nation with which the white man ever dealt. They were for the half century while the Black Forest was their home and the Wyandots their allies, ever first for war and last for peace. Under their two terrible well known chieftains, Cornstalk and Tecumseh, they were allied both with the French and with the British in the vain attempt to hold back the tide of civilization from the river valleys of the Central West. Missionary work among them proved a failure. They make treaties but to break them. Not an acre of all the land which lay south of them, Kentucky, but was drenched by blood they spilt. Incited by such hell-hounds as the Girty boys, there was no limit to which the Shawanese could not be pushed and for it all they had been trained by instinct and tradition through numberless years of desperate ill fortune." (Hulbert.)

It was these three nations, the Shawanees, Delawares and Wyandots with their center of population on the Scioto, Muskigum and Sandusky Rivers respectively, and the fierce Miamis with whom the early settlers of Ohio had to cope and their wars were the longest and most successful ever waged by the red race in the history of the continent. They defied the white man for half a century, "triumphing terribly at Braddock's defeat and St. Clair's, the greatest victories over the white man ever achieved by the red."

The Miamis or Twightwees, who formerly lived on the Maumee and Wabash, as well as the Illinois, were never subjugated by the Five Nations, although their numerous wars weakened them very seriously. They were very fierce in battle and very much given to wandering among

the prairies and forests, but they paid some attention to agriculture and the building of permanent dwellings, and at seasons of the year their whole population gathered for merry making and celebrations within their villages. The principal village of the Miamis, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pickawillany, was visited by many pioneers and is described in the accounts of the expedition of Celoron and Gist.

In theory the tribes just described had been admitted to this region with the consent of the Five Nations, who by right of conquest claimed the entire control of this territory. The victories of the Iroquois already related were supposed to have made them masters over all the country north of the Ohio and as far west as the Mississippi. This matter became important in the subsequent claims which the different European powers put forward as to the country out of which Ohio was formed. The steady growth of French feeling and French population in this region finally attracted the attention of the English cabinet and it became necessary to invent some sort of a theory upon which England could lay claim to this land. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Five Nations had been recognized by France as subjects of Great Britain, and of course all their lands were supposed therefore to belong to that country. Sir William Johnson and Governor Pownall therefore shrewdly advanced the proposition of the conquest by the Five Nations of the Western lands referred to, which proposition if correct would naturally vest the title of these lands in England. This proposition was not however conceded by the Indians, not even by the Mingoes, who were the off-shoot of the Five Nations. It was claimed by the tribes that the land was theirs not by permission of the Five Nations, whose conquest was disputed. The two distinguished Englishmen already referred to, as well as Dr. Franklin and others, regarded the rights of the Five Nations to all the hunting grounds of the Ohio Valley "as thoroughly established by their conquest in subdueing the Shawanees, Delawares, Twightwees, Miamis and Illinois, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick in 1697." On the other hand such authorities as General Harrison and Dr. Drake and many others disputed entirely such a proposition, and General Harrison subsequently gave us his conclusion, after reviewing the proof, that without any reasonable doubt "the pretensions of the Five Nations to a conquest of the country from the Scioto to the Mississippi are entirely groundless."

General Harrison supposed that the Miamis had been in immemorial possession, from the Wabash to the Scioto where he found them, and it was upon this supposition that he based his theory. It seems to be the fact, however, that there had been a conquest extending to the Mississippi, but at the end of the seventeenth century a combination of the Miamis, Shawanees and other nations of the Northwest incited by La Salle and his lieutenant, Tonti, had driven the Iroquois back to their original lands. La Salle had been permitted by his allies to build a fort on the Illinois, in the winter of 1682 and 1683, and the Indians had used this as a rallying place. This aroused the indignation of the Iroquois and during the absence of La Salle in France in March, 1684, the Iroquois attacked the fort and besieged it for six days. They were unsuccessful, however, although they made three assaults, and finally withdrew, carrying with them a large number of prisoners. They were pursued by the Miamis and their confederates, the Illinois, and most of the prisoners were regained. This was the first serious rebuff that the Iroquois received and they never again went so far west. The Miamis and the Shawanees and other tribes gradually worked their way eastward until peace was made at the great convention of Indians at Montreal in 1701. From this time as a matter of fact the Five Nations lost their control of the country west of the Muskingum and their claim of title by conquest and the claim of the English depending upon it were mere fictions. The Miamis in the meantime had moved into Ohio and settled at the points where they were subsequently found by Celoron.

INDIAN CHIEFTAINS.

The most famous chief of the Miamis was Little Turtle (Me-che-cun-na-qua). He had been educated in a Jesuit school in Canada and was remarkable for his mental vigor and great common sense as well as for his skill and bravery as a military leader. He commanded the Indians at the time of the expeditions of Generals Harmar and St. Clair in 1790 and 1791 and was also present in the fight at Fallen Timbers at the time of the Wayne expedition in 1794 but was not in command. He is supposed to have urged the Indians not to go into action at this time but to accept the proposition for peace. "We have beaten the enemy twice; we cannot expect always to do this. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The day and the

night are alike to him. I advise peace." He was among the chiefs that signed the treaty at Greenville and took a most prominent part in the proceedings, which he opened on behalf of the Indians. His text was to the effect that the treaty of Fort Harmar was not a valid treaty as it had been made by some of the younger men of the tribes who were irresponsible. He resented the carving out of the Indian territory by the English and Americans without any consideration for the Indians and gave the former boundaries of his tribe as follows: "The prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. * * * It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago on Lake Michigan. * * * I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami Nation where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell, or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me." (Burnet's Notes, p. 222.)

The French explorers found that this statement was practically correct as traces of the Miami were found on the territory mentioned and not elsewhere. They had probably been at one time identified with the Illinois, the enemies of the Iroquois from time immemorial. Those that were in Ohio were divided into three tribes,—the Miamis who occupied the neighborhood of the Maumee or Omi, the Piankeshaws between the Wabash and the Miami rivers and the Twightwees still farther to the south along the head waters of the Miamis. It was a tribe of the Twightwees sometimes called the Pickawillanies, who established a village on the Great Miami in 1748, which was visited by Celoron and Gist and where was the first English fort and station established in this neighborhood.

Any one who follows the discussion at the great council at Greenville cannot fail to be impressed by the eloquence of the Indians particularly by that of Little Turtle, who certainly as far as the mere presentation of facts was concerned was fully the equal of Wayne. He finally with the other chiefs signed the treaty and is said to have adhered to it ever after. He visited President Washington at Philadelphia in 1797 where he was made much of. Kosciuszko then visiting the United States admired him very much and presented him with a pair of handsome pistols which he told him to use in defense of his country. He met Volney the celebrated French philosopher and became quite intimate with him. Volney in conversation with him concerning the origin of the Indians suggested that they had come from the Tartars in Asia, to which Little Turtle responded, "Why may not the Tartars of Asia have come from the Indians in America?" Volney constructed a vocabulary of the Indian tongue from the information received from his Indian friend.

E. D. Mansfield the well known chronicler of the pioneer times saw him at his father's house in 1805 or 1806. His father Col. Jared Mansfield then the surveyor-general was living at the time in the large two story dwelling, the best looking and largest house then in the purchase built by Colonel Ludlow at Ludlow's Station. One of the wings was used as the surveyor-general's office. Colonel Mansfield at that time had charge of the running of the lines provided for in the treaty at Greenville. His son narrates the visit of Little Turtle as follows:

"One day a dark man with swarthy countenance riding a very fine horse dismounted at our house and went into my father's office. I wanted to go in and see him but for some reason was not allowed to. After some time * * * I saw him come out, mount his horse and ride rapidly away. I was struck by the man and asked my mother, 'Who is that ma?' She said it was 'Little Turtle,' the great Indian chief. * * * This most acute and sagacious of Indian statesmen was it is said even a polished gentleman. He had wit, humor and intelligence. He was an extensive traveler and had visited all parts of the country and became acquainted with the most distinguished men. * * *

"As he rode away from the house in the declining sun, I might without any violent stretch of imagination have seemed to see the last great spirit of the Indian race leaving the land of his fathers looking for the last time upon the beautiful valleys of the Miamis and bidding farewell to each hill and wood and stream forever." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 22.)

Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne, Indiana, strangely enough of the gout, on July 14, 1812.

Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, the celebrated chief of the Mohawks, was born on the banks of the Ohio in 1742. His father was a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe, and his grandfather one of the five sachems who attended the court of Queen Anne in 1710. Sir William Johnson

whose relations with his sister Molly Brant, the brown Lady Johnson, are too well known to need rehearsal here, took a great interest in him and sent him in 1761 to the school at Hanover, New Hampshire, under the charge of Eleazer Wheelock, which subsequently became Dartmouth College. While here he translated portions of the New Testament into the Mohawk language, and at a later time he translated the Book of Common Prayer into the same tongue.

He was present at the battle of Lake George in 1755, although but thirteen years of age, and was with Johnson in the Niagara campaign in 1759. He also took part in Pontiac's War in 1763, and in 1774, when upon the death of Sir William Johnson his son Guy became the Indian superintendent, Brant was made his secretary. At the opening of the War of the Revolution he was in England and volunteered his services to assist in quelling the rebellion. He received a colonel's commission and took an active part in numberless fierce raids against the colonists, and was said to have been at the massacre at Cherry Valley. This statement was disputed afterwards by his son who claimed to have proved that he was not present at this time. After the war he endeavored to form a confederacy of Indians to prevent what he regarded as a spoliation of the Indian lands, but in this he was unsuccessful and finally he threw his influence on the side of a permanent peace.

In his later years he became a consistent believer in the Christian religion and collected funds for the purpose of building a church on the Indian reserve on the Grand River in Canada. This was the first church erected in Upper Canada. He died on his estate at the old Brant mansion, Wellington Square, Canada, November 24, 1807, and rests under a handsome mausoleum near the church which was built by the inhabitants of the vicinity in 1850. On the slab that surmounts it is the inscription "In commemoration of the chief and of his son John," who became prominent as the principal chief of the Six Nations after the death of his father and died a member of the Canadian Parliament. A monument to the memory of Brant, the main feature of which is a statue of heroic size, was erected in Brantford, Canada, in 1886. Thirteen bronze cannons were given for the statue by the Canadian government. "As a warrior he was cautious, sagacious and brave; as a diplomat and courtier, adroit and accomplished; and as a friend chivalrous and faithful. His humanity toward a captive or a fallen foe is too well established to admit of doubt, nor has the purity of his private morals ever been questioned." The foregoing statement is written by William L. Stone, his biographer, and is not to be accepted entirely without question. Brant's children and descendants became quite prominent people in Canada.

Two Indians with whom the whites came much into contact in the early days of the settlements in Ohio were Bohengeehalus and Captain Pipe, both war chiefs of the Delawares. Bohengeehalus or Pacanchichiles was esteemed as one of the greatest warriors among the Indians. He took part in the treaty at Fort Finney and at Greenville in 1795, and in the later years of his life was constant in his friendship for the Americans. His name is signed to the treaty at Fort Finney, —Bohonghelass. Judge Burnet describes a visit to his home made during the early years of his law practice in the Northwest Territory at which time the visitors were entertained by a game of football:

"He selected two young men to get a purse of trinkets made up, to be the reward of the successful party. That matter was soon accomplished, and the whole village, male and female, in their best attire, were on the lawn; which was a beautiful plain of four or five acres, in the center of the village, thickly set in blue grass. At each of the opposite extremes of this lawn, two stakes were set up, about six feet apart.

"The men played against the women; and to countervail the superiority of their strength, it was a rule of the game, that they were not to touch the ball with their hands on the penalty of forfeiting the purse; while the females had the privilege of using their hands as well as their feet; they were allowed to pick up the ball and run and throw it as far as their strength and activity would permit. When a squaw succeeded in getting the ball, the men were allowed to seize, whirl her round, and if necessary, throw her on the grass for the purpose of disengaging the ball, taking care not to touch it except with their feet.

"The contending parties arranged themselves in the center of the lawn—the men on one side and the women on the other—each party facing the goal of their opponents. The side which succeeded in driving the ball through the stakes, at the goal of their adversaries, were proclaimed victors, and received the purse, to be divided among them.

"All things being ready, the old chief came on the lawn, and saying something in the Indian

language not understood by his guests, threw up the ball between the lines of the combatants and retired; when the contest began. The parties were pretty fairly matched as to numbers, having about a hundred on a side, and for a long time the game appeared to be doubtful. The young squaws were the most active of their party, and most frequently caught the ball; when it was amusing to see the struggle between them and the young men, which generally terminated in the prostration of the squaw upon the grass, before the ball could be forced from her hand.

"The contest continued about an hour, with great animation and various prospects of success; but was finally decided in favor of the fair sex, by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw, who got the ball and held it, in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from the grasp of her uplifted hand, till she approached the goal, near enough to throw it through the stakes.

"When the contending parties had retired from the strife, it was pleasant to see the exultation expressed in the faces of the victors, whose joy was manifestly increased by the circumstance that the victory was won in the presence of white men, whom they supposed to be highly distinguished and honored in their nation."

This was at the Ottawa town on the Auglaize, and probably took place in the last year or so of the century. We shall hear more of this Indian chief when the story of the settlement is told.

After the battle of Fallen Timbers the story is told that Bohengeehalus, who was disgusted with the conduct of the English in refusing to take part in behalf of the Indians, proceeded to ascend the river for the purpose of entering into a treaty of peace with the victors. The officer of the day at the British fort hailed them and stated that Major Campbell, the commandant, wished to speak with him. The Indian's reply was "in that case let him come to me." He was told that he would not be permitted to pass the fort unless he complied with the request. "What shall prevent me?" was the quick response. The officer thereupon pointed at the guns which were trained upon the river. "I fear not your cannon," replied the Indian. "After suffering the Americans to insult your flag without daring to fire upon them, you must not expect to frighten Bohengeehalus." (The visit of this chieftain to Ludlow's Station and also another visit to Fort Washington are described elsewhere.)

Captain Pipe was a celebrated rascal in his early days who found it to his interest to reform in later life. He was the leader of the war party of the Delawares, but was more remarkable for his intriguing than for his fighting. He first came into prominence in opposition to the Moravians and his town on the Walhonding became the center of the disaffected Delawares. It is largely due to his influence that the suspicions of the British were directed against the Moravians, and he it was who brought the missionaries before the commandant at Detroit. He acted with great duplicity in this matter, but strangely enough although in command at the time of the burning of Crawford he succeeded in impressing the Americans with his friendly intentions. He was present on the Muskingum at the time of the arrival of the first party at Marietta and welcomed the newcomers. General Harmar speaks of him as a "manly old fellow and much more of a gentleman than the generality of these frontier people." He took an active part in the conference at Fort Finney, and also in that of Fort Harmar, and in his later years was conspicuous for his friendship for the whites. He seems to have discovered that whatever satisfaction might be obtained from slaughtering them could not be compared with the pleasure of swindling them in trade.

Other Indians who were conspicuous for their acquaintance with the whites in their early days were Blue Jacket, a Shawanee, Cornstalk, "one of the best Indians ever born in the Ohio Valley," White Eyes, Mesass, a Chippewa, and Tarkee the Crane, a Wyandot.

White Eyes is said frequently to have come near Fort Washington and viewed it from the neighboring hills. The wife of Colonel Strong, who was an officer at the fort, told Mr. Mansfield "that she had often met and conversed with White Eyes and other Indian chiefs. White Eyes told her he had often watched what was going on at the fort from what has since been the site of the old Cincinnati Observatory. On the brow of the hill, Mount Adams, there was then a very large oak tree which I have myself seen. It was in the branches of this tree that White Eyes concealed himself, looked down upon the fort and saw all that was going on." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 21.)

Tecumseh belongs of right in any list of great men among the Indian tribes. Tecumseh or Tecumthe was a chief of the Shawanees, born near the city of Piquatown about 1768. His first experience in war was said to have been at the age of twenty in a fight with the Kentucky troops; he ran at the first fire. He afterwards took an active part and showed great courage in a cam-

paign which ended with the treaty of Greenville. About 1805 he started upon the scheme of confederating the Western Indians together for the purpose of exterminating the white people. His brother the Prophet, Ellskwatawa, born in 1775, had acted as chief of about one thousand warriors of various tribes located near the confluence of the Tippecanoe with the Wabash. His administration was a complete failure, but Tecumseh at this time took the reins of government, acting however in the name of his brother the Prophet. Tecumseh and his brother visited the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico arguing and discussing the right of the Indians to the lands. He was warned to desist by Gen. William Henry Harrison, then the Governor of the Northwest Territory, and in August, 1810, near Vincennes, in company with four hundred fully armed warriors, he had a quiet talk or conference with the governor. He was prolific in promises, but proceeded with his schemes. He made an address to the Creek nation gathered to the number of five thousand in Alabama, and told them that as an evidence of his might upon his return to Detroit he would stamp upon the ground and shake down every house in their country. Strangely enough about the time he should arrive at Detroit, came the earthquake of December, 1812, which convinced the affrighted Creeks of the truth of his statement. He had announced to them that the time to begin the war would be shown by the appearance of the arm of Tecumseh stretching across the heavens like fire. The appearance of the comet which had been foretold to him by the British completed his argument. He was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe but his brother the Prophet superintended that battle from a safe distance. In the war of 1812 he commanded the Indian allies of the English and was finally made a brigadier-general in the royal army. He was killed at the battle of the Thames October 5, 1813, where he fought desperately, feeling from the beginning that he must fall. The manner of his death is not known to any degree of certainty although Col. Richard Malcolm Johnson had claimed for himself the distinction of having slain Tecumseh; this however is upon insufficient evidence. A Canadian historian attributes to Tecumseh the preservation of Canada to the English. The Prophet continued to reside in Canada until 1826 when accompanied by a son of Tecumseh and others he settled beyond the Mississippi. The time of his death is unknown.

The great chief of the Seneca Indians was Cornplanter, or Garyan-wah-gah, who was born at Conewaugus on the Genesee River in 1732. He was a half-breed, the son of John O'Bail, an Indian trader. He took part with the French strangely enough in the war against the English and was present at Braddock's defeat. Throughout the Revolutionary period he was an inveterate foe of the Americans and spread destruction over the frontier settlements of New York and Northern Pennsylvania. After the war was over he manifested a sincere friendship for the Americans and together with Red Jacket was active in counseling and protecting them. He became an earnest promoter of temperance among his people and was the first temperance lecturer of the United States. He in his later years cultivated a farm on the Allegheny River. He died at the Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania on February 17, 1836.

Red Jacket was also a Seneca of the Wolf tribe. He was born near Geneva in 1751. His name was given to him because of a brilliantly embroidered scarlet jacket which had been presented to him by an English officer shortly after the Revolution as the reward for his fleetness of foot. His Indian name was Sagoyewatha. His great influence with his people came from his eloquent tongue as his activity on the war-path was never remarkable. Brant said that he was a coward and gave him the name of cow killer and considered him not always honest. He took an active part at the treaty of Fort Stanwix where he established his fame as an orator. Throughout his whole career Red Jacket remained a thorough Indian. His hostility to Christianity never ceased and he regarded a missionary as the most serious enemy of his race. He not only depised the white people but their dress and language and everything that belonged to them. He was tall and dignified in appearance with fine eyes and majestic demeanor. In 1792 at the conclusion of the treaty between the United States and the Six Nations, Washington presented Red Jacket with a medal of solid silver, seven inches in length and five inches in breadth. On the reverse was engraved the arms of the United States and on the obverse a device showing Red Jacket receiving the pipe of peace from Washington. This medal he prized very highly and with the scarlet jacket wore it until the time of his death.

In 1810 he gave valuable information to the Indian agents of the plots of Tecumseh and the Prophet and in the war that followed he kept the Senecas on the side of the Americans. In his later years he became a confirmed drunkard and

sank into mental imbecility and was finally deposed by twenty-six of the leading men of his nation. He died in Seneca village, January 30, 1830. His remains were removed to Forest Lawn Cemetery near Buffalo in 1884. He has been called the last of the Senecas and has been celebrated in prose and verse by many writers and portrayed by at least four artists. His life was written by William L. Stone who speaks of him as follows: "Red Jacket's character was singularly contradictory. Lacking firmness of nerve, he nevertheless possessed remarkable tenacity of purpose and great moral courage, and his intellectual powers were of a very high order. He was a statesman of sagacity and an orator of surpassing eloquence, yet he was capable of descending to the lowest cunning of the demagogue. But he was still a patriot, and loved his nation and his race, whose extinction he clearly foresaw, and continued to labor with all his energies to put off the evil day."

John Logan was a chief of the Cayugas and bore the Indian name Tahgahjute; his English name was taken from that of the secretary of William Penn. Logan was brought up in friendly and familiar intercourse with the whites with whom he became very popular. He was finally chosen by the Mingoes as their chief. In 1770 he removed to the Ohio where he became much addicted to drinking. Four years later came the massacre of his family which resulted in the celebrated speech of Logan which is still regarded as one of the best examples of Indian eloquence. In revenge for this outrage upon his people he took the war-path in person and for several months committed fearful barbarities upon the whites. He himself took thirty scalps during the war. After the war was over he became very intemperate and in a fit of drunkenness knocked his wife down; supposing he had killed her he fled. He was followed by a troop of Indians who overtook him on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Mistaking their friendly purposes for a desire to avenge the death of his wife, he attacked them and was killed by a nephew in self defense at a point near Sandusky in 1780.

Pontiac the chief of the Ottawas was born on the Ottawa River in 1720. He was a son of an Ojibwa woman and became the chief of the three tribes, Ottawas, Ojibwas and Pottawattamies. His celebrated conspiracy is described at length at a later part of this volume. It was probably the most elaborately prepared and skilfully managed conspiracy of wide extent ever entered into against the whites by the Indians. Pontiac was killed in 1769 in Cahokia, Illinois, by another Indian who had been bribed for the purpose.

TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

The treaties which the English entered into with the Indians which became of importance in later years in the contests for the possession of the Western lands may be here briefly enumerated. It must be remembered that throughout the whole course of negotiations the Iroquois conquest of the Western tribes was taken for granted and that the Five Nations did not hesitate to sell nor the English to buy the title held by so vague a right.

Whatever may be the justice of the claim it seems clearly established that this confederacy pretended to own the whole country now embraced in Kentucky and Virginia north of the Cherokee claim and all of what was subsequently the Northwest Territory except a small portion in Ohio and Indiana and Southwestern Illinois belonging to the powerful Miami confederacy.

It was in the year 1609 that Champlain made the fatal mistake of introducing the knowledge of gunpowder to the Iroquois in an attack in which he accompanied the Hurons against their ancient enemies. The French people never overcame the feeling of resentment felt by the Iroquois at what they considered their unjustifiable part in this battle and at all times thereafter the natural sympathies of this great confederacy were with the English.

As early as 1684 Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, is said to have held a treaty with the Five Nations at Albany at which time they placed themselves under the protection of the British nation. They also made a deed of sale to the British government of a vast tract south and east of the Illinois River and extending across Lake Huron to Canada. The cession of 1701 is described later.

Again in September, 1726, the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas entered into a treaty with the English at the same place by which they confirmed this cession and also granted a strip of land sixty miles wide along the southern bank of Lake Ontario including the post at Oswego and extending to the modern Cleveland on Lake Erie. These lands were conveyed in trust to England "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." It would be a matter of curious interest although of little practical importance to know

what the unfortunate Indians supposed this language to mean. There never was any question that the English assumed that the best way to protect these lands for the use of those for whom they held them in trust was to use them for the benefit of the trustee.

Another treaty was made between the Six Nations and the colonists at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744. At this conference all the confederated tribes were represented except the Mohawks and there were commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The conference lasted from June 22 to July 4. The celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser acted for the English and the no less celebrated Madame Montour for the Indians. By this an indefinite extent of land west of the Alleghanies was ceded to the English as well as the right to build a great wagon road from Pennsylvania through Lancaster and York to the Potomac at William's Ferry then up the Valley of Virginia to Winchester from which it was to follow an old Indian trail still farther south. In 1748 at the same place the Twightwees for the first time entered into an alliance with the English.

Another treaty was made at Logs Town a trading post seventeen or eighteen miles below the forks of the Ohio near the modern town of Economy. According to arrangement, Christopher Gist, Captain Trent and George Croghan and other representatives of the Ohio Company met the Indians at this point on June 9, 1752. The Indians most prominent here were the Shawanees and Mingoes and the purpose of the conference was to get these tribes to confirm the cession made at Lancaster. At first, although they recognized the treaty of Lancaster and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, they denied any knowledge of the Western lands being conveyed to the English by that deed and refused to have anything to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twightwees we should be pleased to have your assistance and protection;" they therefore asked that the English build a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The reference was to Langlade's attack on Pickawillany. The influence of Croghan and Montour, a son of the famous Madam Montour and a chief among the Six Nations, finally induced the Indians to sign a deed confirming the Lancaster treaty in its full extent and consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio.

In the following year William Fairfax had a conference at Winchester, Va., with representatives of some of the Indian tribes. The treaty was concluded but such was the feeling of the Indians that Fairfax did not dare to mention either the Lancaster or the Logs Town treaty.

The conference held at Carlisle, in September, 1753, between representatives of the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanees, Twightwees and Wyandots on the one hand and the commissioners of Pennsylvania including Benjamin Franklin was more satisfactory. In reply to the Indians' complaint that their friendship for the English had brought upon them the enmity of the French, the English agreed to fortify trading stations at the forks at Logs Town and at the mouth of the Kanawha. A speech of one of the Indian chiefs at this time is worth quoting: "Your Traders," says he, "bring scarce anything but Rum and Flour. They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities by regulating the Traders. We never understood the trade was to be for Whisky and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian Country; but that, if the Indians will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whisky Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink, and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked Whisky Sellers, when they have got the Indians in Liquor, make them sell the very Clothes from their Backs. In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it." (Western Annals, p. 149.)

By the treaty of Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares in the autumn of 1756, an agreement was reached that settlers should not pass the mountains. The spaces beyond the Alleghanies were to be kept sacred for the hunting grounds of the red men and no one should occupy them except with the permission of the tribes themselves. At this very time three millions of acres of this land had been sold to different companies.

At Fort Pitt in 1760 leave was obtained to build posts within the Indian country, each post to have enough ground about it to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison.

After the siege of Detroit was raised in 1764, a treaty was made at the council held there in which took part the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potta-

wattamies, Miamis, Sacs and Wyandots, which was simply a treaty of peace and to relinquish the title to the English post and the territory around them for the distance of a cannon shot and recognize the sovereignty of the English.

The celebrated peace made by Bouquet with the tribes along the Muskingum, the Delawares, the Senecas and Shawanees was in 1764.

In the spring of the following year in accordance with the promise made to Bouquet, the tribes of the West entered into a treaty with Sir William Johnson at the German Flats, New York. The Indians at this time desired to fix the Western boundary at the Allegheny River but Johnson pleaded lack of authority and the controversy remained unsettled.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 was probably the first to fix boundaries of any definiteness. It is described at length in another chapter.

The treaty of Lochavar made two years after the Stanwix treaty recognized a title in the Southern Indians to certain lands covered by the grant made by the Northern Indians but this did not serve to bother the settlers whose conscience was quieted by the alleged Iroquois title.

The treaty of Camp Charlotte in 1774 practically concluded Dunmore's War.

The treaty of the Watauga branch of the Holston River in March, 1775, was with the Cherokee Indians and transferred certain lands south of the Ohio to the Transylvania Company. This included about half of the modern State of Kentucky and part of Tennessee lying near the southerly bend of the Cumberland. It was bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland and Ohio rivers and included a territory of about eighteen millions of acres.

A conference with the Western Indians attended by the Delawares, Senecas and Shawanees was held at Pittsburg in October, 1775. The Indians were divided in their views with relation to the dissension of the Americans and English and at this time one of their chieftains, Captain White Eyes ever a friend of the Americans, asserted the independence of the Delawares and denied the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people. The English faction was led by the celebrated Captain Pipe.

The Delawares however headed by White Eyes, Pipe and Kill-Buck formed a treaty of peace at Fort Pitt in September, 1778, with the Virginians.

At Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Six Nations under the leadership of Cornplanter and Red Jacket met Richard Butler, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee. This was the first recognition by the Indians of the new republic. Despite the reluctance of the Indian chiefs, the treaty was signed which virtually extinguished the Indian title to the lands lying north and west of the Ohio both in Pennsylvania and in New York.

The pretension of the Six Nations to sell these lands over which they in fact had no control for years angered the Western tribes and it became necessary to quiet them. This was done in the treaties made at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. At Fort McIntosh near the mouth of Beaver creek, thirty miles below Fort Pitt the American commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Samuel H. Parsons and Isaac Lane met representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas. By the treaty which was agreed upon, January 1, 1785, a section was reserved for the Indians in the northwestern part of Ohio and all the lands east and south and west of the lines bounding this section were acknowledged by the Indians of the conference to belong to the United States.

The Shawanees on the Scioto had kept aloof from the treaty at Fort McIntosh and for their benefit a conference was held at Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami. The commissioners here were Gen. George Rogers Clark, Gen. Richard Butler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons. On January 31, 1786, a treaty was concluded here by which the Shawanees agreed to practically the same terms as those incorporated in the treaty at Fort McIntosh. The Shawanees agreed to confine themselves in the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash. From this time until the actual settlement in the Ohio country the Indians avoided making any further treaties.

St. Clair in the summer of 1788 made an effort to negotiate a treaty and finally succeeded in gathering the warrior chieftains at Fort Harmar in September. Negotiations were delayed by the slowness by which the representatives of the tribes came in. Among the Six Nations Brant and McKee used all their influence to prevent a conference; however St. Clair succeeded in January, 1789, in negotiating two treaties. The first was with the Six Nations, except the Mohawks who had withdrawn with Brant to Detroit, and confirmed the cessions made at Fort Stanwix in 1784. The other was with the Wyandots and other Western tribes and confined the grants at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney in 1785. These treaties of Fort Harmar were the most important to the settlers as they

assured to them the lands just opened by the grants from Congress northwest of the Ohio. It was the delay in the negotiations at Fort Harmar that on the one hand kept Symmes so long at Limestone and that on the other occupied the attention of the Indians so that there was comparatively little annoyance from them at the time of the landings at Columbia, Yeatman's Cove and North Bend.

On September 27, 1792, Rufus Putnam having reached Vincennes, met thirty-one chiefs including the various tribes of Miamis and Illinois Indians and concluded a treaty of peace which however the Senate refused to ratify because of its guaranty to the Indians of their lands.

The treaty of Greenville in 1795 came as the conclusion of Wayne's campaign and practically reaffirmed the former treaties of Fort Harmar.

The treaties after Greenville were quite numerous and as a result little by little all claim of the Indians to any of the land now in the State of Ohio was surrendered.

The Miamis, by the Greenville treaty and a treaty later in 1809, ceded their lands between the Wabash and the Ohio State line. They did not join the alliance proposed by Tecumseh but did finally enlist against the Americans in the War of 1812 and attacked a detachment of General Harrison's army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. They were defeated and sued for peace in a final treaty which was concluded with them September 8, 1815, by which time their numbers had very much decreased as a result of their wars and their drunkenness.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY. CARTIER TO PONTIAC.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS—ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE—KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE—CELORON DE BIENVILLE—CHRISTOPHER GIST—GEORGE WASHINGTON—THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY—PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS.

The history of any particular place or people is an integral part of the history of the world. The course of human events is one connected whole, and at no point in the development of the race can the narrator content himself with saying that here begins the history of the particular epoch he is about to describe. This is particularly true in the case of the history of the American people or any community of that people made up as it is of settlers from all parts of the world driven from their homes by various reasons of expediency differing in almost every individual case. Separated as were the original settlements both by time and distance, distinct as were their forms of government and modes of life and manner of thought, they soon touched at many points and finally merged into a united whole sharing in the resultant body the different tendencies that characterize the constituent parts and showing new peculiarities as developed by local conditions of the differing environment.

In the case of a city such as Cincinnati it is a very simple matter for the chronicler to state that it was first settled in 1788, received its present name in 1790, was created a township in 1791, was incorporated as a village in 1802, and became a city in 1819, from which time it has continued to flourish in population, business wealth and culture until the present day. Such a bare recital of chronological details would have the sole merit of accuracy which is the great desideratum of modern historical work but it would be of but little value or interest. From such details one would learn nothing of the condition and causes that led to the settlement of the city, the influences that surrounded its early life and molded its subsequent character, nor any adequate explanation of its present high position in the world of business, art and letters. To understand properly the history of the foundation and development of such a city it is necessary to consider somewhat the events that preceded,—not only those belonging geographically to its immediate vicinity but many that both in point of time and locality seem at first sight a trifle remote.

The early history of the site of Cincinnati and its neighborhood is intimately connected with the history of the great struggle for colonial possession that so involved three great nations of Europe. France was the first great explorer and trader, England a century later began her policy of colonization while Spain ever jealously viewed the great waterways. To quote from a recent writer, Charles Moore:

"France discovered and occupied the North-"west; but England included that region be-"tween the infinite parallels bounding on the "north and the south the colonies of Virginia, "Massachusetts, and Connecticut. It was not "until a full century after France had estab-"lished her trade from the St. Lawrence to the "Mississippi that the English Colonies, as their

"population increased, began to plan the occupation of the valley of the Ohio. Virginia having crossed the Alleghanies, came into collision with France and was driven back. England took up the quarrel on behalf of her colonial rights; and at the end of the French and Indian War, New France—the picturesque, romantic, extravagant, squalid New France—disappeared from the map of North America. Next, England undertook to keep her own subjects from settling and civilizing the Northwest; and for the annihilation of the British posts, the occupants of that country entered into the most far-reaching and distinctive Indian conspiracy known to this land. No sooner were the savages subdued than the War of the Revolution led to the conquest of the Northwest by Virginia, and during eight years petty warfare was carried on by the Indians and British against the Americans. Maryland conditioned her entrance into the Confederation of the States upon the cession to the general government of the claims of the individual colonies to the Northwestern lands, and the makers of the treaty of 1783 succeeded in drawing the boundary lines of the new nation through the middle of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi. Then the Congress of the Confederation gave to this first territorial expansion of the nation a charter of freedom and progress never before equalled among men; and under this Ordinance of 1787, New England men and ideas became the dominating force from the Ohio to Lake Erie. The advent of the settlers brought about Indian wars, fought by the United States against savages fed, clothed and armed by England that nation having, for the purposes of its fur trade, made excuse to retain the Northwestern posts. Under the provisions of the treaty of 1795, however, the posts were surrendered, and Great Britain retired across the border, there to nurse grievances that were to find vent in the War of 1812.

"We have been accustomed to regard the Northwest as a wilderness that grew into civilization by some vital force within itself. Such however was far from being the case. The name of Michilimackinac was a familiar word in the cabinets of European monarchs before it was known to the people dwelling along the Atlantic; the foundation of Detroit was decreed in the councils of France and the relations of the Jesuit missions in the Northwest were eagerly read even by the polite society of Paris. England, however, was comparatively ignorant of the Western Country; but Spain was not without ambition to control its waterways. In our own land, the makers of the Republic were also the makers of the Northwest. In its defense Washington first learned the art of war; Franklin realized its possibilities, and interested himself in its development; Patrick Henry planned with George Rogers Clark for its conquest; John Jay and Franklin and John Adams drew about it the lines of the United States; Thomas Jefferson bestowed upon it the inestimable boon of freedom; Washington's chief of engineers led its first settlers, and Mad Anthony Wayne subdued its savage inhabitants, and received the surrender of its frontier posts.

"Many races united to people and to build up the Northwest; and many interests were in conflict. The story is one of warfare, of cruelty and of barbarism." (The Northwest under Three Flags, pp. 19-21.)

It would be impossible, and it is not desirable in a work of this character to give any detailed account of the events epitomized in the foregoing extract. A brief résumé of some of the significant features of the early explorations is important however in order to make clear the proper relations of things.

The French exploration and occupation can be dismissed with little discussion for, important as was the part of France in the development of the Northwest as a whole, Cincinnati to a less degree than almost any other of the older cities of the West was affected directly by French contact.

Strangely enough Lake Erie and the Ohio River as well as the land that intervened were of all the Western country the last explored and the least known to the French. In 1534 Cartier had advanced up the St. Lawrence to within sight of Anticosti and in the following year he ascended to the sites of Quebec and Montreal, then flourishing Indian villages. He returned again in 1541 the year that the Mississippi was discovered by the Spaniards under De Soto. It was not however until 1608 that Champlain began the settlement of Quebec and in the following year he entered the lake that bears his name and in an encounter with the Iroquois gave that tribe its first experience with gunpowder, thereby winning the everlasting enmity of that powerful confederacy for the French. Two years

later (1611) he began the building of Place Royale, the modern city of Montreal. The absurd lies of an ambitious adventurer, Vignau, directed the course of French exploration by way of the Ottawa River rather than the St. Lawrence and as a result Georgian Bay a part of Lake Huron was the first of the great lakes to become known to the adventurous Champlain who skirted its shores and visited the seat of the Hurons in 1615. From this point he crossed to Lake Ontario and after sailing to the opposite shore, struck inland until he reached Oneida Lake in the heart of the Iroquois country. He wintered with the Hurons finally returning by way of Lake Huron and the Ottawa.

Brulé detaching himself from Champlain's party descended the Susquehanna to the sea. This "dauntless woodsman and pioneer of pioneers" the first white man to pass beyond Lake Huron returned from a long journey in 1629 with some copper from Lake Superior which he described as very large and emptying into Lake Huron by a fall (Sault Ste. Marie).

In 1634 Jean Nicolet started from Quebec carrying with him a gorgeous "robe of Chinese damask embroidered with birds and flowers" as an ambassador from Champlain to a "strange people without hair or beard who came from the West" whom he might not unnaturally (according to Parkman) have supposed to be Chinese or Japanese. They were in fact the Winnebagoes living near the head of Green Bay, and to reach them he passed over the waters of Lake Michigan. When he neared the town "he put on his robe of damask, and advanced to meet the expectant crowd with a pistol in each hand. The squaws and children fled, screaming that it was a manito, or spirit, armed with thunder and lightning; but the chiefs and warriors regaled him with so bountiful a hospitality that a hundred and twenty beavers were devoured at a single feast." He ascended the Fox River and turned back when he had almost reached the "Father of Waters" which he supposed from the Indian tales to be the ocean and not the Mississippi. Seven years later Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues skirted the northern shores of Lake Huron and preached to the Indians at the outlet of Lake Superior. Then the terrible Iroquois war, which furnishes the text of so many of Parkman's eloquent pages, stopped all exploration for a time and it was not until 1654 that Radisson and Groseilliers, fur traders and brothers-in-law, made the circuit of Lake Huron, passing through the Straits of Mackinac, and wintered near Green Bay. Radisson declares that they reached the Forked River,—so called "because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which, we believe runs toward Mexico" which Parkman thinks points to the Mississippi and its great confluent the Missouri. This statement is doubted however.

In this same year Father LeMoyne visited Onondaga the seat of the council fire of the Iroquois and was well received and the next year established a mission there under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon.

ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

An exploring trip that is of the greatest interest is that of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. As it is claimed for him that he discovered the Ohio River in 1669 and descended it as far as the rapids at Louisville and possibly to a point beyond its confluence with the Mississippi, he is (if this claim be true) probably the first white man whose eyes ever fell upon the land where now the city of Cincinnati stands. Rufus King seems to discredit this story (Ohio, p. 38) but Parkman gives it as well worthy of belief. Mr. Winsor reviews the discussion at length. (Nar. & Crit. Hist., Vol. 4, pp. 206-207 et seq.)

Parkman bases his belief upon an anonymous paper purporting to be a history of LaSalle taken from the lips of the great explorer himself. LaSalle who had obtained a grant just above Montreal was visited by some Senecas who told him of a river called the Ohio (or beautiful river) which rose in their country and flowed into the sea at a point distant an eight or nine months' journey. This LaSalle took to be the Western passage to China and he soon started on an expedition with two priests Dollier and Galinée, accompanied by twenty-one others with seven canoes. After thirty-five days they reached Irondequoit Bay on the south side of Lake Ontario. At a Seneca village not far distant they were overwhelmed by the native hospitality, being fed upon the flesh of dogs and boiled maize seasoned with oil made from nuts and sunflower seeds. Here too they witnessed the killing by torture at the stake of a prisoner, a young Indian. They could get no guides, but were told that if they persevered in their attempt to go to the Ohio, the Indians there would surely kill them. Leaving the Senecas they coasted the south shore of the lake, passing within the sound of Niagara's roar and reached a friendly Indian

village a few miles north of the present town of Hamilton. They were about to set out with a Shawanee guide who was to take them to the Ohio in six weeks when they heard of the presence of another Frenchman in a neighboring village. This proved to be Joliet, who had just passed over the waters of Lake Erie and who persuaded the priests to abandon the Ohio trip for one to the upper lakes. (Lake Erie appears on Sanson's map of 1656.) It is at this point that the story of the anonymous manuscript becomes important. It relates that after separating from the priests, LaSalle continued his journey to Onondaga, thence to a point six or seven leagues distant from Lake Erie, and continued until he came upon the rapids at Louisville. At length his men abandoned him and he retraced his steps. LaSalle in a memoir afterwards addressed to Count Frontenac states that he discovered "la grande rivière d'Ohio" and followed it to the falls after passing another quite large river which comes into it from the north which Parkman conjectures was either the Miami or Scioto. Parkman concludes "that he discovered the Ohio may then be regarded as established" and in all probability the Illinois also. (LaSalle etc., Chap. 2.)

LaSalle's claim to the discovery of the Mississippi is not generally received however and that honor is accorded to Joliet and Marquette who floating down the Wisconsin on June 17, 1673 entered the great and mysterious river, lost to history since the burial of De Soto a hundred and thirty-one years before. The Ohio is mentioned by them as coming from the country of the Shawanees. It was but eight years later, 1681, that the intrepid LaSalle explored the Mississippi from above the Missouri to its junction with the gulf, passing and noting the mouth of the Ohio (spoken of as the Wabash) on his way. On April 9, 1682 he raised a column in sight of the gulf inscribed with the arms of France and the name of the King and after the chanting of the "Te Deum" and amidst the firing of muskets, he took possession in the name of Louis the Fourteenth of the country (designating it as Louisiana) from the Ohio to the gulf.

In the later expedition projected for the purpose of extending a line of French forts from the mouth of the great river to the Canadian frontier and thus make sure this great basin for his master, LaSalle met with misfortune and death by the hand of an assassin. In this same year (1687) Tonti and DuLhut intercepted and captured the English party under McGregor on its way to attack DuLhut's settlement at the head of St. Clair River. This was Fort St. Joseph which had been established the previous year. This exploit was the most serious setback to the English that they had received.

This expedition of McGregor's was in reality a trading venture, the result of the success of New York traders at Mackinac the summer before in the absence of the French garrison. These adventurous English, with their cheap goods and large stock of rum, completely swept the Chippewa Indian market and had retired with their booty before the French could return.

This encounter which resulted so disastrously for the English was their first real conflict with the French in that section of the West. The century closed with the French in control of the countries watered by the lakes and the Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. For forty years or more, to quote Mr. King, darkness visible hung over the beautiful region lying fallow between the lake and the Ohio. The French *coureurs de bois* worked their way along the south shore of Lake Erie and up the Sandusky and Maumee rivers seeking the Wabash and Ohio, but they formed no settlements.

In 1701 Cadillac, the inveterate rival of the Jesuits and foe of the Iroquois, founded Detroit, building a strong stockade of wooden pickets and with bastions at the four angles, and stake houses within.

Just a year before Gravier passing the mouth of the Ohio, known to him as the Ouabache (Wabash) mentions that it is formed by three tributaries, the present Wabash, the Ohio (above the confluence of the Wabash) and the river from the Southeast upon which live the Shawanees who trade with the English of Virginia and Carolina. On the map of Gentil presented to the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1713, the Ohio is put down as the Ouabache (Wabash). The English too used this name. The Wabash was the present stream of that name and the part of the Ohio below it. Above the Wabash extending to the sources of the Allegheny was La Belle Riviere or the Oyo (Ohio). The Indians called the main river, between the mouth of the Wabash and the Mississippi, the Akansea. As early as 1697 De Remonville, in a memorial to the French ministry upon the importance of colonizing to keep out the English, reports a rumor that the Governor of Pennsylvania had despatched fifty men to settle upon the Wabash or Ohio which must be considered as a distinct threat to the French control of the Mississippi.

Iberville realized the importance of the Ohio region because of the easy means of communication between it and the St. Lawrence region and on the other hand between it and the Louisiana region and complained of the Canadian system in favoring the hunter and trapper in preference to the settler and home seeker which he thought a fatal blunder if France expected to hold the country against the English.

His plan was to establish posts near the mouths of the Missouri, Ohio and Arkansas as permanent centers of French influence and also at a later day to induce the tribes of the Illinois, who were friendly to the French, to settle along the banks of the lower Ohio. As a result of the alarm of the Eastern Indians, caused by the fortification at Detroit, came an action which was the basis of the subsequent claim of the English to the title of the Western country. Governor Penn had expressed the view of the colonial governors, when he stated that the just and reasonable boundary was the south side of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, but the basis of this claim was not a very substantial one. The purpose of the French to encompass the English by taking possession of the Mississippi basin was recognized in England as well as in the Colonies, and the Iroquois were represented as a "constant barrier of defence between Virginia and Maryland and the French, and by their constant vigilence they had prevented the French making any descent that way."

Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Livingston, the Secretary of New York, after a week's conference with the sachem at Albany, obtained a deed of cession, July 9, 1701, by the Five Nations to the King; ceding to him the region north of the Ohio and stretching to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers as well as the territory north of Lake Erie stretching east of the Ottawa. This included all the beaver hunting lands of the West and was described as having been conquered by them many years before, at the time when the Hurons were driven out of the Northern portion in 1650, and the Eries and others at a later period were defeated in the Southern portion. The territory ceded commenced north of Lake Ontario, and extended to the Twightwees, about eight hundred by four hundred miles in extent; this cession was confirmed by a later deed in 1726. As a matter of fact, however, the French influence in the territory, which now comprises the State of Ohio, was still predominant and it was not as a result of any permission from the Five Nations that the various Western tribes occupied the territory but by force of arms backed by French assistance.

In 1702 a French fort was established near the site of Cairo by Juchereau in accordance with the plan of Iberville but it was abandoned some three years later. Cahokia had been founded probably as early as 1690 and Kaskaskia about the same time. In 1712 the latter place had become a village and land titles were acquired and preparations for a permanent settlement made as it was chosen as the capitol place of the Illinois. The date of the settlement of Vincennes is variously given, but 1727 seems to be the most likely date.

It was in 1747 that the Indian chief Nicholas stirred up the Miamis against the French with whom they had hitherto been friendly and induced them to burn Fort Miamis of the Maumee. Galissonière the Governor of Canada sent aid, but before the arrival of the troops the Miamis were in full flight; the principal body under La Demoiselle settled on the Big Miami.

As early as 1671, Governor Berkeley of Virginia sent a party of English and Indians under Capt. Thomas Batts "to explore and find out the ebbing and flowing of the water behind the mountains, in order to the discovery of the South Sea." They traveled thirteen days over the mountains and through the woods until they came to a river "like the Thames at Chelsea" in which a few days later they reached "a Fall that made a great noise" where the journey was stopped by the refusal of the Indians to go any further. Their excuse was the difficulty of capturing game, but in reality the moving cause was fear of the Indians who lived down the river, which in all probability was the Kanawha. Those that went down that river never returned so it was said; these fears Captain Batts was unable to overcome and he was obliged to turn back.

KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a most venturesome and active soldier, Sir Alexander Spotswood, was Governor of Virginia. At the age of twenty-eight he had attained the rank of colonel, and had received a wound at Blenheim. He was a man of great force of character and very direct speech and he had the interests of his government and his colony much at heart. He was a strong believer in the theory of the English, that their rights ran from sea to sea. The grant to Penn, he claimed, extended to the border of Ontario, and the Virginia

charter included all other rights to the West, north of Carolina. This was the claim afterward maintained by Virginia and it included the great lakes from Lake Erie to the West and the upper Mississippi country. The English seem at times to have been strangely ignorant of what the French had done.

The English settlements crept slowly inland beyond tide-water and a strip of forest more than fifty miles in breadth was to be traversed before the peaks of the mountains could be reached. In 1710 some adventurers had gone about one hundred miles beyond the settlements and had descended the mountains from which they looked down into the valleys of Virginia, and shortly afterwards Sugar-loaf Mountain was described by Graffenreid, who said that he saw from its summit three distinct ranges and beautiful valleys lying between. The traders, however, must have passed through from time to time as evidences of their traffic were to be found in the possession of the Indians.

In 1716, Spotswood conceived the idea of his celebrated expedition, composed of a party of fifty gentlemen with slaves and Indian guides and pack horses who undertook a picnic jaunt to the mountains. No party of exploration has ever presented such attractive features as this expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. The days were spent in shooting and the nights in enjoying the trophies of the chase, washed down with native wine,—champagne and cognac. At the top of the Appalachian Mountains they drank the health of the king and all of his family. On the banks of the river, to which he gave the name Euphrates, and which is now known by its Indian name Shenandoah, they buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which was recorded the claim of title to this place and all the soil it drained. "We had a good dinner and drank the King's health in Champagne and fired a volley." The Governor had taken with him some graving irons but found the stones so hard that he could not make any impression upon them. It is reported however, that he cut the name of George the First upon a rock at the summit of the highest peak they reached and named it Mount George, whereupon the rest of the party called the next one Mount Alexander, in honor of the Governor. "For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horseshoes, things seldom used in the lower part of the country where there are few stones. Upon which account the Governor upon their return presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, some of which I have seen studded with valuable stones resembling the heads of nails, with this inscription: *Sic juvat transcendere montes.* This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture backwards to make discoveries and new settlements, any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe that can prove his having drank his Majesty's health upon Mount George."

This particular expedition, the first junketing tour of which we have any record, has been made the subject of much romantic writing. In his report the Governor relates that he reached within three days' march of a great nation of Indians who lived on the river emptying into Lake Erie and from the western side of one of the mountains, which he saw, that lake was visible and not above five days' march away. It would be a very easy matter he thought to obtain possession of the lake, as the road thither was very practicable. This he thought important because the British plantations were surrounded by the French fortresses in such a manner that they would not only soon engross the whole trade but send out such bodies of Indians as would threaten the Virginia plantations. Should they be able to join their settlements along the lakes with those in Louisiana, they could possess themselves of the English plantations. The long chain of mountains formed a natural barrier, but to make this effective he thought the English should make some settlements along the lakes and in the passes of the mountains to preserve communications with the settlements. It is conjectured that the river route of which he spoke, was down the Youghiogheny to the forks then up the Allegheny and across to the site of Erie, about three hundred miles distant in a straight line from the point where he turned back. With some self-complacency, Spotswood concludes his report: "I flatter myself I have attained a more exact knowledge than any other Englishman yet has of the situation of the lakes and the way through which they are most accessible over land."

It is probable that from the time of Spotswood's expedition, numerous stragglers crossed the mountains to the Indians. Not only did the traders undertake these expeditions but surveying parties began to explore the new country. Mitchell, a geographer of a later date, tells of the journeys of Virginia surveyors, who had crossed the gaps and passed down the Ohio River to New Orleans.

In 1742, it is reported that John Howard

passed from the upper waters of the James over the mountains to New River by which he reached the Ohio, which he descended to the Mississippi, where he was captured by some French and Indians and conveyed to New Orleans. In 1744, Col. Abraham Wood led an expedition through the Blue Ridge, by what came to be known as Wood's Gap, and he too reached the upper waters of the Ohio by way of New River.

In 1748, Conrad Weiser, one of the most prominent of the early traders, who had in early life acquired the Mohawk tongue by residence among them, was sent on an embassy to the Shawanees on the Ohio. He proceeded as far as Logs Town, where he met the chiefs of the tribe and delivered presents and received assurances of their support against the French. The treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, was made in 1744. Weiser acted as interpreter for the English who entertained the Indians to the number of over two hundred and fifty, with food and drink for several days. The interpreter for the Indians was Madame Montour, whose husband and son were so prominent in the history of the Indian negotiations. Her son Andrew was at this time absent on the war-path against the Catawbas, by whom his father had been killed a few years before. At this time the commissioners from Virginia urged that the Western lands along the mountains were without occupants when they first knew them, and that the English King held Virginia by right of conquest and that the bounds of that conquest to the westward was the Great Sea. The answer of the Iroquois was as follows: "Though great things are well remembered among us, we do not remember that we were ever conquered by the Great King of England, or that we have ever been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if so it was at a time beyond the memory of man."

The claims of the other commissioners in Pennsylvania and Maryland were ridiculed as well. The conference ended with the payment of a considerable sum by the English and the release of an indefinite extent of territory to the west of the Alleghanies by the Indians. Each side realized that the title so obtained was of doubtful validity, but it was upon this title that a very large part of the contention of Great Britain subsequently rested.

The Ohio Company of which more will be heard of subsequently, was formed in 1748, which was the year in which the Pennsylvania and Virginia traders established their most advanced post at the newly settled Miami town, Pickawillany, on the Big Miami. As a result of the Walker expedition across the Alleghanies and through Cumberland Gap, the first Englishman's house in Kentucky was built April 25, 1750.

It is impossible of course to state when the first white man invaded the Ohio Valley, or even to state who was the first Englishman that appeared in this neighborhood. Undoubtedly traders from Pennsylvania and other Western States had trafficked among the Indians for many years, but at a time of which we have no record. These traders were called by Franklin "the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation," which however is in many respects an unjust characterization. It was true, however, that many of them were of a very low class and of very pernicious habits, which influenced the Indians to distrust the white man and his religion.

While the French were making inroads upon this country from the North, the English were working their way gradually westward, and the struggle for the friendship of the Indian tribes became a keen one. In December, 1747, a deputation of chiefs from the Ohio tribes was at Philadelphia. They told the commissioners that if they were expected to oppose the French on the Ohio, they must be supported by the English. It seemed to be a common complaint that the English gave no assistance to those they desired as allies.

"The several governments of the English Colonies," wrote Colonel Johnston to Governor Shirley, had for three years been persuading the Iroquois, "into a war wherein they had not any concern but to serve their friends and they have left their hunting and other means of living and exposed themselves and families for our sakes" to be left without assistance at a critical time.

In July, 1748, the Twightwees or Miamis, pledged themselves to an English alliance at Lancaster. English traders are said to have been employed along the Wabash as early as 1723, and this treaty gave them additional security. As a result the pack men of Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagon roads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac, from which an Indian trail led to the forks of the Ohio; from this point they took another trail to the towns of the Miamis.

The French were disappointed at the treaty of 1748, as they had been making great efforts

to control the trade of the Miami country and had expected to build forts or stockades to aid them in this endeavor. One of the points suggested was on the Ohio, opposite the Cherokee, now Tennessee River, and another was at the falls of the Ohio. A special effort was made to alienate the Shawanees from the English. These people who had been dispersed between the Senecas and Miamis, with their main villages north of the Ohio, above the mouth of the Kanawha, were pushing westward into the Scioto country, some of them going as far as the mouth of the Wabash. Here they naturally became more under the control of the French, who were anxious to offset them against the Miamis, whose affiliations seemed to be with the English.

In 1745, English traders erected at Sandusky Bay, what Mr. Winsor suggests were "perhaps the first English structures in the present State of Ohio," and made friends among the neighboring Hurons and their chief Nicholas. This chieftain was very active in plotting against the French, and this fact together with the encroachments of the traders alarmed the commandant at Detroit, and determined him to prevent if possible the English from getting a lodgment in the Ohio country. The English traders had already founded their most advanced post at the Great Miami or Twightwee town, Pickawillany, in 1748; this was on the Big Miami, one hundred and fifty miles up the stream from the Ohio. It is said that at this time, during a single season, three hundred English traders led their pack horses and dragged their boats from the mountains across the portages into the Ohio Valley. The most conspicuous of these traders was George Croghan, for many years official representative of the State of Pennsylvania in various negotiations with the Indians.

Croghan was an Irishman, who had been trading for some years along the shores of Lake Erie. As early as June, 1747, the Pennsylvania Council received a letter from Croghan, calling their attention to the Indians along the borders of Lake Erie, who had formerly been in the French interest, but who had now come over and joined the Six Nations against the French, and stating that he had received from them a letter with a string of wampum and a French scalp, which he delivered to the Governor of Pennsylvania. He suggested that as this was a nation of great consequence, on account of their alliances, the Governor should immediately send them a present for their encouragement. Again in September, one of Croghan's men brought a letter to the Council, advising them that the Indians on Lake Erie were making war on the French, but were very impatient to hear from their brethren, the English, expecting a present of powder and lead, "which if they do not get, he is of opinion they will return to the French, who will be very willing to make it up with them."

Croghan insisted that "in case the present was not sent, neither he nor his men would dare to go into the Indian Country that year. The Council concluded to send a present to the value of two hundred pounds, to the Indians of Ohio and Lake Erie, and the Secretary was ordered to prepare a letter and a string of wampum to accompany the present."

CELORON DE BIENVILLE.

Galissonière, the Governor of Canada, was alarmed at the progress made by the English, and realized that the French occupancy of Canada was imperiled. He was a naval officer and is perhaps best known from the fact that a few years afterwards, he won a victory at Minorca, over the famous English admiral, Byng, now remembered as the one commanding officer, who was shot on his own quarter deck for cowardice. Galissonière, although hump-backed, was a man of spirit and ability, and he felt strongly in need of uniting Canada and Louisiana, by a chain of forts which should hold back the British pioneers and encourage the development of French trade throughout the interior. His reasoning as set out in a memorial concerning the French Colonies in North America, was to the effect that Canada was necessary to the French as a barrier against the English, not because of its value to the French but because if it became the property of the English, it would so increase their trade and hence their naval power as to make them preponderant in Europe. The knowledge that such men as Croghan and other English traders were crossing the mountains from Pennsylvania and Virginia, trafficking among the Indians, who had been formerly French allies, and driving off the French traders stimulated him to take some decisive action, and in the summer of 1749, he set on foot the expedition of Celoron de Bienville, to the valley of the Ohio. Celoron was a Chevalier of St. Louis, and a captain in the colony troops. He took with him fourteen officers and cadets, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians, Iroquois and Abenakis, in twenty-three

birch-bark canoes. He pushed up to St. Lawrence, losing a man and several canoes on the way, crossed Lake Ontario, and passed round Niagara. It took the party seven days, carrying the canoes and baggage up the steep hills through the dense forests of beech, oak and elm that intervened between the shores of Lake Erie and the waters of Chautauqua Lake, eight miles away and one thousand feet higher. They glided over this lake to the outlet so well known to summer tourists. The stream was quite low.

Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain, in his journal, which is the chief record of the expedition, says: "In some places—and they were but too frequent—the water was only two or three inches deep; and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging our canoes over the sharp pebbles, which with all our care and precaution stripped off large slivers of the bark. At last tired and worn and almost in despair of ever seeing La Belle Riviere, we entered it at noon of the 29th." This part of the Ohio is now known as the Allegheny or Alleghany.

This was the beginning of the territory which was already in dispute and which was regarded as so valuable to the French, lying as it did between their possessions in wintry Canada and tropical Louisiana. Not only was it valuable because of its peculiar geographical situation, but because of its inhabitants and the opportunities of trade afforded by them. To the east were the Delawares, Shawanees, Wyandots and Iroquois, called Mingoes by the English traders, and to the west, along the Miamis and the Wabash, was the Miami confederacy, and still farther west, near the Mississippi, were the Illinois. The French had forts on the Maumee, on the St. Joseph and two on the Wabash, all of but little strength. Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, was much stronger with its stone bastions and citadel. There were seventy or eighty French houses at Kaskaskia, half as many at Cahokia, opposite the present site of St. Louis, and a few others along the line of the Mississippi. The English on the other hand were represented by a large number of traders who had been received by the Indians with open arms.

Such men as George Croghan, William Trent and Christopher Gist, were of the better class of traders, who had many men in their employ crossing the mountains with their goods, which were carried into the valley of the Ohio, from village to village. It was these traders that were the special object of Celoron's antipathy and the occasion of his expedition.

Upon reaching the Allegheny, he formally took possession of the country. His men were drawn up in order and in their presence, Louis the Fifteenth was proclaimed sovereign of all the territory. A sheet of tin, on which was stamped the arms of France, was nailed to a tree, and a plate of lead was buried at its foot, and the notary, who always accompanied the French expeditions, drew a formal record of the whole proceeding. The leaden plate was inscribed as follows:

"Year 1749, in the reign of Louis Fifteenth, King of France. We Celoron, commanding the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière, commander-general of New France, to restore tranquility in certain villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaouagon (Conewango) this 29th July, as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, of all streams that fall into it and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed it or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, notably by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."

After this work was completed the party proceeded down the river, passing various Indian settlements, but finding it very difficult to communicate with their inhabitants who were not at all friendly. In fact the hostile Senecas are said to have dug up his first plate and sent it to the English at Albany. Another plate was buried four leagues below French creek by a rock covered with Indian hieroglyphics. Three days later they came to a Delaware village at the site of Kittanning, whose owners fled at their approach. A little later at an abandoned village of the Shawanees they found six English traders, whom they warned to leave the country. He entrusted to their care a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania and expressed surprise at finding the English trespassing on the domain of France. This letter was properly delivered, for at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council, held January, 1749:

"The Governor informed the Council that three several letters of extraordinary character in French, signed Celoron, were delivered to him by the Indian traders who came from Allegheny, informing him that this Captain Celoron was a French officer and had already in command of three hundred French and some Indians been sent this Summer to Ohio and the Owabach from

Canada, to reprove the Indians there for their friendship to the English and for suffering the English to trade with them."

On the following day they reached another Indian village, this time of the Iroquois, under a female chief, who was friendly to the English. Six more Englishmen were found here and were likewise warned to leave the country, but as did their predecessors they pretended to obey. When they reached Logs Town they found both French and English flags over the town and were greeted with a salute of musketry by the inhabitants who lined the shore. They climbed up the steep bank and encamped on the plateau above, near the village. This consisted of about fifty wigwams and cabins of the Delawares and Shawanees and Mingoes and many fugitives from the deserted towns above. Celoron here delivered a message from the Governor, warning the Indians against the English, whose plans he said tended to their complete ruin. The English intended, he said, to rob them of their country and, to succeed, began by corrupting their minds. The answer of the Indians was practical and to the point.

They asked that the English traders might stay a little longer, since their goods, which were very cheap, were much desired by them. Celoron insisted, however, that the traders, of whom there were ten, should go, to which they agreed, as the chaplain states, "while resolved no doubt to do the contrary as soon as our backs were turned."

At the mouth of the Wheeling creek they buried another plate and another was buried at the mouth of the Muskingum. This was discovered half a century later, after the freshet of 1798, projecting from the river bank, in front of the spot where the fort school afterwards stood, by a party of boys bathing in the river. The plate was seen protruding from the bank and knocked down by a stick, and before its value was known, a large part of it was cut up and molded into bullets. A neighbor from Marietta rescued it and it was presented to the Governor of New York, who sent it to the American Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts.

On the 18th of August, another plate was buried near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This too was found by a boy at play at the edge of the water, in 1846. As the party approached Scioto, on the 22nd of August, they were greeted with shots and threatening yells. Joncaire, who had been sent ahead to propitiate the inhabitants, was threatened with immediate killing, which was prevented by another party who desired to burn him alive. He was however released and allowed to return to his people. Celoron was very much alarmed, realizing the weakness of his party, "two-thirds of which were young men who had never left home before, and would have run at the sight of ten Indians." He insisted that powder was furnished to the Indians by the English for nothing.

A conference was held at which an apology was given for the ill treatement of Joncaire, and Celoron delivered his message. He prudently omitted, however, from the message any reference to the claim by the King of France of sovereignty over their lands. The party of English traders who were living in the place, he ordered to withdraw, but in view of the fact that they seemed well established, he made no attempt to enforce his order.

On August 30, 1749, he reached the Great Miami, called by the French Riviere-a-la-Roche, and here he buried his last leaden plate. They bade farewell to the Ohio—"that river so little known to the French and unfortunately too well known to the English."

He speaks of the great number of Indian villages along the shores who kept aloof from him and also of the number of traders in the vicinity: "Each, great or small, has one or more English traders and each of these has hired men to carry his furs. Behold then the English well advanced upon our lands and what is worse under the protection of a crowd of savages whom they have drawn over to them and whose number increases daily."

Up the Miami for thirteen days they toiled against the shallow current, until they reached the Indian village, built just before, at what was afterwards called Loramie Creek. This was ruled over by a chief called by the French, La Demoiselle, and by the English Old Britain. Celoron's object was to induce this chief and his band to return to their old home, near the French fort on the Maumee and for that purpose he addressed them in council and gave them many gifts. The Chief received the gifts and advice with thanks and agreed to follow it some other time. Celoron's demands that they should move the towns were in vain, and in fact within two years the town known as Pickawillany became one of the greatest Indian towns and the center of English trade and influence.

The following year at a Pennsylvania Council was read the message from the Twightwee race: "That last July about two hundred French and thirty-five French In-

dians came to their towns in order to persuade them to return back to the French Settlements from whence they came, or if fair means would not prevail with them they were to take them away by force; but the French finding they were resolved to adhere to the English and perceiving their numbers to be great were discouraged from using any Hostile Measures, and began to be afraid less they should themselves be cut off. The French brought them a present consisting of Four Half Barrels of Powder, Four Bags of Bullets and Four Bags of Paint with a few Needles and a little Thread, which they refused to accept of, whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their Way off, for Fear of the worst, leaving their Goods scattered about. But at the Time of their Conference the French upbraided the Indians for joining the English and the more so for continuing in their Interest, who had never sent them any Presents, nor even any token of their Regards to them. The Indians further desired to assure the Governors of their steady Friendship to the English, which they hoped would last while the Sun and Moon ran round the World." (Penn. Pro. Council, Vol. V, p. 437.)

Celoron burned his canoes and crossed over to the French post of the Maumee, thence to Lake Erie, and finally reached Montreal. He closed his journal as follows:

"Father Bonnecamp, who was a Jesuit, and a great mathematician, reckons that we have journeyed twelve hundred leagues; I and my officers think we have journeyed more. All I can say is that the Nations of these countries are very ill disposed towards the French and devoted entirely to the English."

He supposed the secret of this devotion to be the inducements of trade offered by the English, which he had seen among the Delawares on the Muskingum, the Shawanees on the Scioto, and the Wyandots on the Sandusky, and among the Twightwees at Pickawillany.

Rufus King, in his "Ohio," says "the fact that Celoron's report was the first authentic relation yet known of Ohio, excites a lively interest in it until it is read; but (it) is so dry and restricted to the details of an official report, that except as to topography it is of little merit. The old soldier would not deign to notice a single scene in all the landscape through which he passed. To Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain and mathematician of this expedition, Ohio owes the first map of her boundaries or outlines yet discovered." Mr. King prints a very good copy of this map.

The Ohio Company had been formed in the State of Virginia, as opposed to those of Pennsylvania. This company included in its body a number of tide-water Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, Thomas Lee, the president of his Majesty's Virginia Council, and Thomas Hanbury, a London merchant of wealth and influence. The company's application for a grant of one-half million acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Kanawha was acceded to in part, on the ground that such a grant would consolidate trade for the English and give them advantages over the French, and on May 19, 1749, a royal order awarded two hundred thousand acres of those asked for with a ten years' freedom from rent, on condition that one hundred families were settled upon them in seven years and a fort built and maintained.

Some years previous, Col. Thomas Cresap had built a hunting and trading cabin near the uppermost fork of the Potomac, and near an old Shawanee town. This man, familiar with the frontier life, was employed by the company to open a way to their new lands and a rough trail was run over the divide in the same general direction as that taken subsequently by Braddock. The company had expected to enlist in its interest some of the Pennsylvania Germans, but the fact that the Episcopalian tithes were fastened upon the land, repelled the provident Germans; for a time at least the plan rested.

CHRISTOPHER GIST.

The news of Celoron's expedition, however, aroused the company, and they concluded to send out a new explorer, Christopher Gist, often called the pioneer explorer of the Miami country and the lands to the north and south of the Ohio as far as the falls, and afterwards the companion and guide of Washington. Speaking of him in connection with the management of Indian affairs, Washington said: "I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with them, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, indefatigable but patient—most excellent where Indians are concerned. As to his capacity, energy and zeal, I dare venture to engage."

Gist, the son of a Maryland surveyor, who had laid out the city of Baltimore, lived with his family on a farm near the home of Daniel Boone on the Yadkin River, in the northern part of North Carolina, then on the extreme frontier. He had retired to the quiet life of a farmer, when in 1750 he was employed for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling certain "and such further handsome allowance as his service should deserve, to explore and report upon the lands upon the Ohio and its several branches as low as the Falls of the Ohio." The instructions given to him by the Ohio Company, September 11, 1750, read in part as follows:

"You are to go out as soon as possible to the Westward of the great Mountains, and carry with you such a Number of Men as You think necessary, in Order to Search out and discover the Lands upon the river Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof: You are particularly to observe the Ways & Passes thro all the Mountains you cross, & take an exact Account of the Soil, Quality & Product of the Land, and the Wideness and Deepness of the Rivers, & the several Falls belonging to them, together with the Courses & Bearings of the Rivers & Mountains as near as you conveniently can: You are also to observe what Nations of Indians inhabit there, their Strength & Numbers, who they trade with, & in what Commodities they deal.

"When you find a large quantity of good, level Land, such as you think will suit the Company, You are to measure the Breadth of it, in three or four different Places, & take the Courses of the River & Mountains on which it binds in Order to judge the Quantity: You are to fix the Beginning & Bounds in such a Manner that they may be easily found again by your Description; the nearer in the Land lies the better, provided it be good & Level, but we had rather go quite down the Mississippi than take mean broken Land. After finding a large Body of good level Land, you are not to stop but proceed further, as low as the Falls of the Ohio, that we may be informed of that Navigation; And You are to take an exact Account of all the large Bodies of good level Land, in the same Manner as above directed that the Company may the better judge when it will be most convenient for them to take their Land.

"You are to note all the Bodies of good Land as you go along, tho there is not a sufficient Quantity for the Company's Grant, but You need not be so particular in the Mensuration of that as in the larger Bodies of Land."

Following these instructions, Gist set out October 31, 1750, from Col. Thomas Cresap's at the old town on the Potomac River in Maryland, afterwards called Will's Creek, which is just opposite the Green Spring station on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; at this time it was the westernmost settlement and the rendezvous of all prospectors, traders and hunters. Washington stopped there in 1748, when surveying the lands of Lord Fairfax. After twenty days of painful travel and suffering from fever and no bear meat and turkey for food, Gist arrived at Shannopin, now a part of the city of Pittsburg, where he spent four days for the purpose of regaining his health.

"While I was here I took an Opportunity to set my Compass privately, & took the distance across the River, for I understood it was dangerous to let a Compass be seen among these Indians."

Col. Stoddard Johnston, in his edition of Gist's "Journal," explains this on the ground that the principal argument of the French in endeavoring to alienate the Indians from the English was that the English intended to take their lands. Gist throughout his journal pretends that his mission was to cement the friendship of the Indians with the English by means of treaties of alliance against France, but in fact he was the accredited surveyor of the Ohio Company, making the trip for the purpose of reporting upon lands suitable for them to appropriate. Colonel Johnston also notes the fact that Washington upon his trip to the Ohio, three years later, came in the interest of the same company and that the Indians, who were most friendly to him and Gist, subsequently became the allies of France and the enemies of England on account of the evident purpose of the English to appropriate their lands.

On the 25th he arrived at Logs Town, a village eighteen miles below Pittsburg, just below the present site of the town of Economy. This had been established by the Shawanees about twenty years before. "In the Loggs Town, I found scarce any Body but a Parcel of reprobate Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being out a hunting." Here he heard that George Croghan, the Pennsylvania agent, "who is a meer Idol among his Countrymen the Irish Traders" and Montour, the interpreter, were a week ahead of him. The Indians were suspicious of him say-

ing, "I was come to settle the Indian's Lands and they knew I should never go Home again Safe" and the next day "tho I was unwell, I preferred the Woods to such Company" and he set out down the river to Great Beaver creek, which empties into the Ohio a few miles below Loggs Town, near the present town of Rochester. Here he met Barney Curran, a trader for his own company; he continued with him as far as Muskingum. They left the river to the southeast and cut across the country, killing many deer and turkeys and finally reached Muskingum on December 14th. This was a town of the Wyandots or little Mingoes, who he said were divided between the French and English consisting of about one hundred families and was near the present site of Coshocton. "When We came within Sight of the Town, We perceived English Colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghans; upon enquiring the Reason I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Trader's, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all the White Men to come into this town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their People to come to Council about it." Three days later, "came into town two Traders belonging to Mr. Croghan, and informed Us that two of his People were taken by 40 French Men, & twenty French Indians who had carried them with seven Horse Loads of Skins to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the Branches of Lake Erie."

On the next day he met Croghan and Andrew Montour, two of the most remarkable characters in the early settlements of the West. Croghan has already been described.

Montour was the son of a prominent chief of the Six Nations and the half-breed, long known as Madame Montour. Both his father and mother acted as interpreter at the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, when the Indians ceded to the English all their lands in Virginia. At the meeting at Logs Town, which took place the next year, and also at the treaty in the same place in 1752, and at the conference of Carlisle, in 1753, he acted in the same capacity. In 1754, he was Washington's interpreter and confidential agent in the advance to the Ohio, and remained with him through the Braddock campaign. He was faithful to the English for many years, acting as their interpreter as late as 1758, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. He had a European face, derived from his half-breed mother, but was greased and painted like a savage and decked out with tinkling spangles.

On Christmas Day, Gist read prayers, probably the first religious service held by a Protestant in the Northwest. The Indians were so much impressed that they returned thanks to him and invited him to live among them. They gave him a name, which was the name of a good man who had formerly lived among them. He excused himself on the ground that if he should remain, that the French would carry him away as they had the English traders, to which they answered "I might bring great Guns and make a Fort, that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the Principles of Christianity; that they liked Me very well and wanted Me to marry Them after the Christian Manner, and baptize their Children; and then they said they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer Them or their Priests to come near them more, for they loved the English, but had seen little Religion among Them; and some of their great Men came and wanted Me to baptize their Children."

One of them brought him a book which was a kind of an almanac contrived for them by the French, in which the days of the week were so marked that by moving a pin every morning they kept a pretty exact account of the time. Gist staid some days at this village with Croghan and Montour, and from time to time messages were brought in with relation to the doings and claims of the French, who were still taking English traders prisoners.

On Sunday, the 13th, George Croghan acquainted the Indians, by presenting them with four strings of wampum, of the friendly desires of Gist. The chiefs promised an answer at a general council in the spring, upon which the party took its leave, traveling westward. At White Woman's creek he met the white woman, who had been taken from New England some forty years before, at the age of ten, by the Indians. She had an English husband and several children—"Her name is Mary Harris, she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these Woods." The trip continued in the southwesterly direction to Hockhockin, the present town of Lancaster, then a small town of the Delawares, thence to the Scioto and across the country.

On one occasion they lodged at the house of an

Indian, who entertained them very kindly "and ordered a Negro Man that belonged to him to feed our Horses well." At Shannoah Town, at the mouth of the Scioto, he crossed the path of Celoron. This was the point where Celoron omitted in his speech any reference to the claim of French sovereignty. This town, afterwards known as Shawanee Town, was situated on both sides of the river Ohio, just below the mouth of Scioto creek, and contained about three hundred men; there were about forty houses on the south side of the river and one hundred on the north side, "with a kind of State-House of about 90 Feet long with a light Cover of Bark in which they hold their Councils." Here another council was held and Croghan and Montour delivered messages from the Governor of Pennsylvania, informing them of the threats of the French and of their building a fort on the south side of Lake Erie, as well as of the sending by the King of Great Britain of a large present of goods which they were invited to partake of the next summer. The Indians promised to attend the conference at Logs Town in the spring and offered to send a guard with them to the town of the Twightwees, about two hundred miles off, and Pickawillany. Here they also witnessed an extraordinary festival, described as follows:

"In the Evening a proper Officer made a public Proclamation that all the Indians marriages were dissolved, and a Public Feast was to be held for three succeeding days after, in which the women as their Custom was were again to choose Husbands.

"The next Morning early the Indians breakfasted and after spent the Day in dancing till the Evening when a plentiful Feast was prepared, after feasting they spent the Night in dancing. The same Way they spent the next two Days till Evening, the Men dancing by themselves and then the women in turns round the Fires, and dancing in their Manner in the Form of the Figure 8 about 60 or 70 at a time. The Women the whole Time they danced sung a Song in their Language the Chorus of which was

I am not afraid of my Husband
I will choose what Man I please

singing those Lines alternately.

"The third Day in the Evening, the Men being about 100 in Number, some Times at Length, at other Times in a Figure 8 quite round the Fort and in and out of the long House, where they held their Councils, the Women standing together as the Men danced by them; And as any of the Women liked a Man passing by she stepped in and joined in the Dance, taking hold of the Man's Strond whom she Chose, and then continued in the Dance till the rest of the Women stepped in and made their choice in the same Manner; after which the Dance ended and they All retired to consummate."

From this point his party went across to the Twightwee Town, on the Big Miami River. "All the Way from Shannoah Town to this Place is fine, rich level Land, well timbered with large Walnut, Ash, Sugar Trees, Cherry Trees, &c., it is well watered with a great Number of little Streams or Rivulets and full of beautiful natural Meadows, covered with wild Rye, blue grass and Clover, and abounds with Turkeys, Deer, Elks and most sorts of Game particularly Buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one Meadow; In short it wants nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightfull Country—The Ohio and all the large Branches are said to be full of fine Fish of several Kinds, particularly a Sort of Cat Fish of a prodigious Size."

They entered the town with the English colors before them and were invited to the King's house, upon the top of which they set their colors. "The Twigtwees are a very numerous People consisting of many different Tribes under the same Form of Government. Each tribe has a particular Chief, or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others—They are accounted the most powerful People to the Westward of the English Settlements, & much superior to the Six Nations with whom they are now in Amity: their Strength and Numbers are not thoroughly known, as they have but lately traded with the English, and indeed have very little Trade among them: They deal in much the same Commodities with the Northern Indians. There are other Nations or Tribes still further to the Westward daily coming in to them & 'tis thought their Power and Interest reaches to the Westward of the Mississippi, if not across the Continent; they are at present very well affected to the English, and seem fond of an Alliance with them—they formerly lived on the other side of the Obache, and were in the French Interest, who supplied them with some few Trifles at a most exorbitant Price—they were called by the French Miamees; but

they have now revolted from them, and left their former Habitations for the Sake of trading with the English; and notwithstanding all the Artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them."

They were the people of La Demoiselle, who received the gifts and advice of Celoron with so many thanks and promised to follow it some other time. By reason of their change of allegiance and friendship for the English and to the treaty, subsequently made with Croghan and Gist, the French waged a destructive war against them and took their fort and burnt their villages in 1752. They finally submitted to the French and together with the Shawanees took sides with them in the war against England, and at the time of the later settlements of the Miami Valley were the principal Indians with whom the settlers came into contact.

At this town there was a series of conferences and powwows, which as reported by Gist give as good an idea of Indian character and eloquence as we have preserved. During the negotiations some Ottawa representatives of the French arrived, and Gist and his party had the chance to test the Miamis' friendship. The result was satisfactory and the French envoys were completely discomfited.

The French Indians marched in under French colors and were conducted into the long house, whereupon the Indian chief of the Twigtwees insisted on having the English colors set up as well as the French. Thereupon the speaker for the French stood up "and laid his Hands upon two small Caggs of Brandy that held about seven Quarts each, and a Roll of Tobacco of about ten Pounds Weight, then taking two strings of Wampum in his Hand. He said, 'What he had to deliver Them was from their Father, and then he desired they would hear what he was about to say to them;' then he layed them two Strings of Wampum down upon the Caggs, and taking up four other Strings of black and white Wampum, he said, 'that their Father remembering his Children, had sent them two Caggs of Milk, and some Tobacco, and that he now had made a clear Road for them, to come to see Him and his Officers; and pressed them very much to come.'"

The Twightwee king replied that it was true, that "the road was clear, but He understood it was made foul and bloody, and by Them—" and said that they had cleared a road for the English, and that the French had taken some of the English prisoners, "which We look upon as done to Us, and he turned short about and went out of the Council"—"After the French Embassador had delivered his Message He went into one of the private Houses and endeavored much to prevail on some Indians, and was seen to cry and lament (as he said for the loss of that Nation)."

Two days later, the Twightwees delivered the final answer to the French Indians. "The Captain of the Warriors stood up and taking some Strings of Wampum in his Hand he spoke with a fierce Tone and very warlike Air—'Brothers the Ottaways, You are always differing with the French Yourselves, and yet you listen to what they say, but we will let you know by these four strings of Wampum, that we will not hear any Thing they say to Us, nor do any Thing they bid us.' Directing his speech to the French, he said, 'we have made a road as far as the Sea to the Sun-rising, and have been taken by the Hand by our Brothers the English, and the Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shannoahs and Wyendotts, and We assure You it is the Road we shall go; and as You threaten Us with War in the Spring, We tell You if You are angry we are ready to receive You, and resolve to die here before we will go to You; And that You may know that this our Mind, We send You this String of black Wampum.' After a short Pause the same Speaker spoke again thus—'Brothers the Ottaways, You hear what I say, tell that to your Fathers the French, for that is our Mind, and We speak it from our Hearts.'"

The following day the four French Indians left for the French fort, that is Fort Miami, the present site of Fort Wayne. *Gist records an exhibition of dancing as follows:

"The Crier of the Town came by the King's Order and invited us to the long House to see the Warriors Feather Dance; it was performed by three Dancing-Masters, who were painted all over with various Colours, with long Sticks in their Hands upon the Ends of which were fastened long Feathers of Swans, and other Birds, neatly woven in the Shape of a Fowl's Wing: in this Disguise they performed many antick Tricks, waving their Sticks and Feathers about with great Skill to imitate the flying and fluttering of Birds, keeping exact time with their Musick; while they are dancing some of the Warriors strike a Post, upon which the Musick and Dancers cease, and the Warrior gives an Account of his Achievements in War, and when he has done, throws down some Goods as a Recompence to the Performers and Musicians; after which they proceed in their Dance as before till an-

other Warrior strikes ye Post, and so on as long as the Company think fit."

After receiving the promise of the Indians to join them at the conference at Logs Town in the spring, the English party took their leave. They traveled together to Mad creek near the present town of Springfield, the site of the town of Piqua, destroyed by Clark in 1780. At this point they separated, Croghan and his party going to Hockhockin, and Gist to the Shannoah Town, "and as I was quite alone and knew that the French Indians had threatened Us, I left the Path, and went to the South Westward down the little Miamee River or Creek, where I had fine traveling thro rich Land and beautiful Meadows, in which I coud sometimes see forty or fifty Buffaloes feeding at once—The little Miamee River or Creek continued to run the Middle of a fine Meadow, about a Mile wide very Clear like an old Field, and not a Bush in it. I coud see the Buffaloes in it above two Miles off."

He apparently reached the Shannoah town in safety and was told that there was a party of French Indians hunting at the falls, and that if he went there would certainly be killed or carried away prisoner. Despite this warning he crossed the river and proceeded to the southwest. On this part of his journey he heard of the finding of some teeth of a large beast near the falls of the Ohio, one of which he brought in and delivered to the Ohio Company. "He assured me that the Rib Bones of the largest of these Beasts were eleven Feet long, and the Skull Bone six Feet wide, across the Forehead, & the other Bones in Proportion; and that there were several Teeth there, some of which he called Horns, and said they were upwards of five Feet long, and as much as a Man could well carry: that he had hid one in a Branch at some Distance from the Place, lest the French Indians should carry it away—The Tooth which I brought in for the Ohio Company, was a Jaw Tooth of better than four Pounds Weight; it appeared to be the furthest Tooth in the Jaw, and looked like fine Ivory when the outside was scraped off."

When near the falls he was persuaded from going any farther by the news of the hostile Indians and returned through Kentucky to Virginia.

Arrived on the 18th of May, at his own house on the Yadkin. "When I came there I found all my family gone, for the Indians had killed five People in the Winter near that Place, which frightened my Wife and Family away about 35 M nearer in among the which I was informed by an old Man the Place." Next day fortunately he family well.

Gist's journey was published in "Topographical Description of North London 1776, and his route is pric English map of Mitchell and Evans, followed here is that of Col. J. Stod ston's edition, in Volume XIII, Filson lications.

Immediately upon Gist's return, h upon another expedition, to course the of the Ohio to the Big Kanawha lands. Upon his return in March, 1 grant was obtained by his compan south of the Ohio, and in the spri year he went among the Indians agai them to take land within the comp and by living among the white sett strength to the barrier against the F

In June, 1752, the proposed co Logs Town was held. Gist, Colonel others were present on behalf o ginians. The purpose of this was to get the tribes to confirm t which the Indians had made at in 1744. The Indians did not dispute ity of the Six Nations to make that they declined at first to have anyt with it, but finally after the inte Croghan and Montour, representing ests of Pennsylvania, the disaffected Shawanees and Mingoes, yielded, at ment was reached. The Indians a molest Virginia settlers on the south Ohio, and asked that an English at the forks of the Ohio. As a r conference, settlers began to pus Monongahela, and Gist was instruct a town and a fort just below the f was sent to the Miami country w and gifts; here he found a sad sta

Celoron, who was now the co Detroit, had become more alarme by the English encroachments, espe of the feeling which he had found t the Indians on his trip three years felt the necessity of driving the E from the Miami villages, and for sent an expedition under Charles half-breed, to attack the fort at Crossing the corner of Lake E ascended the Miami of the Lake,

21st completely surprised the Miami town. But eight English traders and a few Indians were there. Fourteen Miamis and one trader were killed and the old chief La Demoiselle, or Old Britain, was boiled and eaten. This victory for a time cleared the valleys of the Maumee and the Miami of the objectionable English traders and gave the French sufficient confidence to carry out their scheme of establishing armed posts throughout the Ohio Valley. In the spring of the next year, Presqu' Isle, at the site of the city of Erie, Le Boeuf on French creek at the site of Waterford, and Venango at the mouth of French creek on the Allegheny were built.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It was now apparent that the time had come for the fight for the control of the Ohio Valley. Franklin and a number of others met a deputation of Indians in council at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in September, 1753. The Indians complained that the English made no effort to protect them against the French. They had protested against the erection of the forts and their protest had been disregarded. The Indians urged that the English, if they desired to retain their trade must fortify the trading posts at Logs Town, at the mouth of the Kanawha and the forks. It was concluded to send a messenger to ascertain the numbers and force of the French and to deliver to their commanding officer the demand of Virginia, that all French troops be withdrawn from her territory. The messenger selected was a young man of twenty-one, who had held the position of adjutant-general in the Virginia militia since he was nineteen years of age,—Major-General Washington. Accompanied by Gist and five others he first visited Logs Town to get information from the half-breed king with regard to the French. From this point he went to Venango, where he was most hospitably entertained by Joncaire. He was the son of a French officer and a Seneca squaw, and acted as scout in Celoron's expedition. He was a man of great influence among the Indians and he tried very hard to win over Washington's Indian companions. In this he was unsuccessful, but on the other hand, Washington succeeded in obtaining much information as to the plans of the French. He was received at Le Boeuf with great politeness, but soon learned that the French were most determined in their purposes. On his journey home, he came near to losing his life at the hands of a treacherous Indian; he was saved however by Gist.

Washington's "Journal" of this expedition, promptly published in England, aroused both that country and the Colonies to the necessity of some immediate steps to protect the Ohio Company against the French. In the spring of 1754, Captain Trent began to build a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, but on April 17th, Contrecoeur, with one thousand men appeared before the fort and demanded surrender, which had to be conceded. Thus began the French and Indian War, which waged for nine years on both sides of the ocean. This news was communicated to Washington, who was on the way with a relief party too late for him to be of any assistance. Shortly afterwards he fell in with a French party under Jumonville, and in a quarter of an hour's fighting, the French commander and nine others were killed. At Gist's settlement, which had been built about ten miles from the Monongahela, on what is now Mount Braddock, as a result of the explorations for the Ohio Company, Washington received information of a French force marching against him. He fell back to Fort Necessity, some thirteen miles away, where his party, three hundred in all, were attacked on July 3rd, by a party of Frenchmen and on the next day, July 4, 1754, he was obliged to surrender. This surrender involved the practical abandonment by the English of the Mississippi Valley. In 1755 came the ill fated expedition of Braddock, which for a time confirmed the hold of France on the Great Valley. The defeat of Braddock brought down upon the settlers along the Ohio the relentless savages, although the Six Nations who claimed to own the land favored the English in the war that followed. The actual occupants of this territory, the Delawares and the Shawanees and the Miamis, took the part of the French and soon throughout the Indian towns were to be found the wives and children of the English backwoodsmen who had been murdered.

THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY.

It was not until 1758, that Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of the English under Forbes and became known as Fort Pitt, and in 1760, the Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi was yielded by the French to the English. The principal action of the war had taken place east of the Ohio region and the Indians of the West who had been for so long a time faithful to France, knew little of the successive French defeats. Great was their surprise there-

fore, when little bodies of English soldiers came into the West without any opposition and took possession of the little French forts which the Indians had regarded as impregnable. The fact that these possessions were given up to the new comers without a struggle was beyond the comprehension of these simple warriors, and when they were told that the French armies had been entirely defeated and that the French rule in America was at an end, they could scarcely believe it. So far as they knew no battle had been fought for eight years and the last one had been a great victory. Ignorance naturally resulted in suspicion and the feeling that they had been betrayed by the French grew very strong. The French after all from the Indian standpoint never owned the land. Their policy had been very different from that of the English. When they built a fort it was not to establish a claim to territory but to protect their friends the Indians and provide trading posts. The idea that the defeat of the French involved the surrender of their land to the English was one that they could not bear. The English policy of settlement they were familiar with. As soon as a few Englishmen came to the Indian country and settled themselves they began clearing the land and cultivating it and to exercise acts of dominion over all the surrounding territory. The occupation of the English ever meant the exclusion of the Indians. "You are ignorant," said Duquesne to the Indians, "of the difference between the King of France and the English. Look at the forts which the King had built; you will find that under their very walls the beasts of the forests are hunted and slain; that they are in fact fixed in places most frequented by you, merely to gratify more conveniently your necessities. The English on the contrary no sooner occupy a post than the woods fall before their hands—the earth is subjected to cultivation—the game disappears—and your people are steadily reduced to combat with starvation."

A Mohawk Indian at one of the conferences with Sir William Johnson, is reported to have said: "I must now say it is not with our consent that the French have committed any hostilities at the Ohio. We don't know what you Christians, English and French together, intend; we are so hemmed in by both that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while if we find a bear in a tree there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelihood. We are so perple both that we hardly know what to s

Horace Walpole in his sarcastic marked of the French and Engli "They enslaved or assisted the wret to butcher one another, instructed the of fire arms, brandy and the New and at last by scattered extension colonies, they have met to quarrel fo aries of empires, of which they can nor occupy a twentieth part of the i ritory; "but," says he again, "we sacre; we are such good Christian cheat." A Delaware sachem asked "the French claim all the lands on the Ohio and the English on the where do the Indian lands lie?" presses the fear that "between their French, and their brothers, the E were in a fair way of being lovingl of the whole country."

Much of this reasoning was indulg savages. At this time when they s which they inhabited slipping from feet, the French traders, who s among them, did much to feed The apparently helpless condition lish settlements and forts gave then their opportunities. The Treaty of P teed to the King of England. Can the rights of France east of the River. Religious freedom was gr inhabitants as well as the right to tates and quit the country wit months. By an order in council o 1763, three new divisions were cre which, Quebec, included the Ohio protect the Indians in their hunti grants of any lands beyond the sources of any of the rivers which Atlantic from the West or Northw lands whatever preserved to the forbidden. All lands lying westw limits were to be reserved for th Indians and purchasers or settlen special leave and license were for heavy penalties. Settlers in the I were ordered to remove forthwith. persons were allowed to make pur Indians; even the King was to re at public councils of the Indians. provisions appeared they clearly the territory was regarded as an conquest.

he built his house in 1795. He was a justice of peace for Storrs township from 1759 until the time of his death in 1824, when his son, Henry F. Sedam, was appointed to succeed him. His son held the office until 1869. Both father and son engaged largely in trading down the river to New Orleans in flat-boats. Probably no two men who ever lived in Hamilton County have been the subject of so many anecdotes and reminiscences as the two Sedams. The date of the ordinance authorizing the annexation of Storrs township was September 10, 1869.

In the same year by ordinance of November 12th came the annexation of a two and one-half square mile tract in Spencer township, bounded on the north by Linwood road and Observatory avenue, on the east line by section line 26, the village of Columbia and by Crawfish creek to the Ohio River and on the south by the Ohio River and including the village of Pendleton to the former western line of the former village of Fulton and on the west by said line and the east line of the village of Woodburn. The following year, on March 5, 1870, there was annexed the villages of Walnut Hills, Mount Auburn and Clintonville, including Corryville, and Vernon village, constituting two wards.

The ordinance of annexation was passed September 10, 1869, and received the vote of the people on October 12th of the same year. In the same year, 1870, on September 21st was added a large strip of territory to the west, five and one-eighth square miles in area, known as the election precincts of Camp Washington, Lick Run and Mill creek township, including Mount Harrison, Barrsville, Fairmount, West Fairmount, St. Peters, Lick Run, Clifton Heights and Camp Washington west from Clifton avenue and from Mill creek and north from McMillan street to the Liberty street line.

The territory added by this ordinance was incorporated into the city under the designation of the Eighteenth Ward which was the old election precinct of Camp Washington and the Twenty-first Ward the former election precinct of Lick Run and the tract in the Spencer township as a part of the twenty-fourth ward. The exact boundaries of these additions are set forth in the ordinance authorizing these annexations. (Coppock and Hertenstein, 16; 17; 18.)

This same year an effort was made to annex Clifton, Avondale, Woodburn, Columbia, Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Winton Place, St. Bernard and Riverside.

The annexation was carried at the election by the people but the enabling act was declared unconstitutional by the courts.

The village of Columbia including the oldest settlement in the Miami country, in area one and one-eighth square miles, was added to Cincinnati on December 13, 1872. Cumminsville the original seat of the Ludlow family was annexed March 12, 1873. This tract including two and three-eighths square miles became known as the Twenty-fifth Ward and so continued until the date that the new code of 1902 became effective. In the same year, March 29, 1873, the village of Woodburn was added to the city; this included one square mile; this was added to the First Ward. The Zoological Garden and contiguous territory including one-fourth of a square mile were added to Cincinnati December 7, 1888.

The Legislature passed an act April 13, 1893, authorizing the annexation to the city of the villages of Avondale, Riverside, Clifton, Linwood and Westwood and their school districts. This annexation was approved of by the voters of the city and villages and the terms thereof were determined by a Board of Annexation Commissioners, consisting of Judge C. D. Robertson, W. B. Melish and L. C. Robinson. The annexation went into effect, December 31, 1895, at midnight and added eleven square miles to the territory of Cincinnati.

On April 28th, 1902, there was added section six and the east half of section twelve of the third township in the first fractional range, being one and sixty-nine hundredths square miles lying west of Price Hill.

The original area of the city at the time of its incorporation was but three square miles. Its present area as a result of the annexations above mentioned is 37.09 square miles.

THE GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CINCINNATI.

By John M. Nickles.

The geological history of that part of the earth's crust which underlies Cincinnati and vicinity is comparatively simple. The strata which form the framework of Cincinnati's hills consist of alternations of limestone layers and clay shales. The mineral composition and the structure of these strata show that they were formed in a wide sea stretching from the Appalachian highland westward, as far, perhaps, as the backbone of the Cordilleras. This sea swarmed with animal life. The remains of these animals, falling upon the floor of the sea, formed the layers

of limestone. At times the currents swept along their waters surcharged with fine sediment brought from distant shores. This, settling slowly down, formed the clayey shales, in which the remains of the creatures of long by-gone ages are often beautifully preserved.

From the great thickness of stratified deposits formed in this Mississippian sea, of which the present Gulf of Mexico is a much reduced vestige, we may infer that the sea bottom was slowly settling down. After this sinking had continued long enough to permit the accumulation of strata two thousand or more feet in thickness, a contraction in the earth's crust produced a gentle fold which brought above the surface of the sea a long, rather narrow island extending north and south. This uplift has been called in geological history the Cincinnati anticline, as the strata dip gently away from the crest of this island eastward and westward.

The uplift probably took place about the close of Silurian times and involved formations belonging to the Silurian period, the Ordovician (or Lower Silurian) period and underlying formations. The formations now exposed about Cincinnati belong to the Trenton and Cincinnati stages of the Ordovician period. Over these were originally, without much doubt, the Clinton and Niagara stages of the Silurian period, but in the many millions of years which have elapsed since the anticline was formed, these Silurian formations and a large part of the Cincinnati formation have been eroded away.

The rocks of the Cincinnati period comprise three stages, the Utica, Lorraine and Richmond. All of the Richmond and part of the Lorraine have been eroded away from Cincinnati and vicinity. A small part of the Trenton period, about fifty feet vertically, is exposed in the south bank of the Ohio River from West Covington to Ludlow. A much greater exposure vertically is found between New Richmond and Point Pleasant, Ohio, about twenty miles east of Cincinnati, as the axis of the anticline passes here in its north and south trend. The Trenton contains with its shale much good building stone. In the early days of Cincinnati stone was quarried from the south bank of the Ohio. The name "Low River Quarries" still survives. A large amount of stone was also formerly quarried from the Trenton in the vicinity of Point Pleasant.

The lower parts of the hills around the city expose the Utica. This formation consists mainly of shale. Some of the limestone layers would make building stone suitable for etc., but nowhere can it be profit The thickness around Cincinnati hundred and sixty feet.

Overlying the Utica and formi part of the Cincinnati hills is the L has altogether a thickness of abo dred feet, but at Cincinnati only hundred feet are shown. All al carried away. It is in these beds ries have been opened which have dation work for the residences o citizens. Several of the church quasi-public buildings show that also be very tastily employed for purposes. Formerly a large amour burned from this stone, but of lat grades brought into the city have home-made article except for cell

The Richmond is exposed in a teen to twenty-five miles wide, sur cinnati in a semicircle through Ind at a distance from the city of f sixty miles.

All the formations about Cincin prolific in fossils. From the earlie the "blue limestone" began to b the early settlers, Cincinnati has one of the finest fossil collecting g world. A host of collectors hav light a wealth of animal remains. hundred species have been deseri Cincinnati period, and two or t more are known that await deseri ing from the large number of be forms discovered within the past it may be safely predicted that ma for the keen eyes of diligent collec very large collections, notably th Dyer, U. P. James, and E. O. Ulr gathered, but to the shame of Ci said that she has never given th couragement to scientific labors. large collections, which can never have been allowed to slip away scientific institutions of the East.

Among the many who have earth the fossil treasures and mal known to the world may be menti Locke, who reported upon South for the First Ohio Geological Sur S. T. Carley, Robert Buchanan, R. B. Moore, R. M. Byrnes, H. Dyer, S. A. Miller, Geo. W. I

Wetherby, E. O. Ulrich, R. S. Bassler, and C. L. Faber.

After the Cincinnati anticline had brought to the surface the new born island, it became the prey of the elements which are unceasingly at work tearing down the land surface and transporting the debris to the seas. Many millions of years have elapsed since rain, frost and running water began their work on this new surface. These elements work very slowly, but in the long ages that have elapsed since they began their work, they have brought about great changes in the appearance of the land. Originally the surface was almost level, but soon drainage channels were established which were cut deeper and deeper. We do not know how much the surface of this old island has been worn down, but probably on an average it has lost between three hundred and four hundred feet vertically.

It is a very interesting study to trace the old drainage channels through which this great mass of rock and shale was carried seaward in the form of mud. Only a beginning has been made. It would seem that it ought not to be difficult, and it would not be, had it not been for a most surprising event in geological history. This was the advance from the north in comparatively recent times—geologically speaking—of a great, thick sheet of ice, an immense glacier, which covered over the surface of the land, filled up the hollows, planed off some of the eminences and swept around others, blocked the rivers and often compelled them to carve out for themselves new channels. When the ice sheet melted away, it left undisturbed over hill and hollow an immense amount of wastage in the form of gravel, sand, silt, bowlders and till. The valleys around Cincinnati quite generally show this glacial debris and some is found even on some of the hill tops.

By this ice invasion, which had its southern limit only a short distance south of Cincinnati, the drainage of this region was profoundly modified. The ancient drainage was obliterated, though it has here and there left its traces. The Ohio, at least as far down as Lawrenceburg, Indiana, is a young river, occupying mainly the channels of several very old streams; in some places, as at Cincinnati, it has carved out for itself a new channel.

An examination of the surface features about Cincinnati shows that the older portion of the city occupies a somewhat semi-circular, depressed area, surrounded by hills except on the south where it is bounded by the Ohio River. Covington and Newport occupy a similar, smaller half-basin intersected by the Licking River and semi-circled by hills. The hills surrounding this basin are comparatively steep, though their surface now is not what it was when the city was first settled. Then the slopes of the hills were densely wooded. Only here and there did the small streams cut through to the bed rock. The growth of the city caused many quarries to be opened into the hillsides, and later, when the city spread out over the hills, many cuts and fills were made for streets and residence sites. All in all, great changes were thus made, yet the general features are about as they were when the floods caused by the melting of the ice sheet as it finally retreated had done their work.

What are called hills are not really hills, but only the escarpments of a rolling table land in which the Cincinnati-Covington-Newport basin has been hollowed out to a depth of about 300 feet below the general level of the country.

The western part of the basin is occupied by the broad Mill creek valley which continues north, then northeast. Several miles west of the Mill creek is a high ridge running from the Ohio River north through Westwood and Cheviot. From this ridge several spurs extend eastward. The one at the south is quite wide. It is occupied by Price Hill. That between Fairmount and North Fairmount is comparatively narrow. The Fairmount valley, drained by Lick run, now changed into a sewer, and the North Fairmount valley, and their side valleys, illustrate finely the amphitheatres which occur at a certain stage in normal erosion. So also does the valley of the West Fork, west of Cumminsville. In fact most of the small valleys about Cincinnati are of this shape. It is easily seen that from Mill creek west was a table land, which, as the result of erosion, has become a series of ridges and valleys.

The high land on the north of the basin forms a watershed from which several short streams in rainy weather flow down into the basin or, rather, did before they were deflected into sewers. Ravine street and Vine street occupy two such small water courses. Deer creek, in the valley between Mount Auburn and Eden Park, was another. The high ridge has been utilized in part for McMillan street. The north side of this watershed, occupied by Burnet Woods, Clifton, Avondale, Idlewild and Hyde Park, sends its drainage streams off to the north and northwest and eventually their waters find their way

into Mill creek. Walnut Hills occupies the broad eastern end of this high ridge.

The present topography of the Cincinnati region presents some instructive features which serve as clues to the ancient drainage. These are some of them: the very wide valley of the Mill creek with such an insignificant stream flowing in it; the valley of the Little Miami River for several miles above its mouth much wider than that of the Ohio from this point down; a broad low valley extending from the Little Miami at Red Bank westward to the Mill creek, in which are situated the suburbs Madisonville, Norwood and Bond Hill.

The explanation of these peculiarities is that in pre-glacial times, a stream, known as Old Limestone, heading somewhere in the vicinity of Maysville, Kentucky, and Manchester, Ohio, and occupying what is now the channel of the Ohio from Maysville down, flowed for several miles through the channel of the Little Miami northwardly, then westwardly through the low valley just mentioned, to the neighborhood of St. Bernard. At that point it was joined by the Licking River which flowed northwardly through the lower part of the valley of the Mill creek. With its volume much augmented by the water of the Licking, Old Limestone continued on up the Mill creek valley to Hamilton, Ohio. Upon its course from this point different views are entertained, but the weight of evi the view that the river continue through a now abandoned channel ton southwestward into the valley Water near Harrison, Ohio; thence lower part of the White Water to with the Great Miami River not fa renceburg, Indiana.

Walnut Hills was directly conne highlands in Campbell County, Ke east of Newport, Kentucky. Price tinuous with the hills of Kentucky south. When the ice sheet advan north, it blocked up Old Limeston flowing north in Mill creek valley damming its waters into a lake u high enough to cut across the low cols, of the old ridges at Walnut damsville, thus beginning the pres the Ohio at Cincinnati. During th has elapsed since this event the down these gaps to their present lev slopes of the hills abutting on the First Ward of Cincinnati and t Ward, Sedamsville and Riversid worthy and in very great contrast tle slopes of hills carved out of t of rocks which have been subje erosion during long geological age

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC INHABITANTS.

Ancient Remains—Mound Builders.

The first white man that came to the site of Losantiville could hardly have failed to notice the indications of the numerous presence at this point of an earlier people. The Indian as he has been known within historic times left little or no trace of his occupancy of any part of the land, but on the small table lands that constituted the site of Losantiville were structures which were unmistakably the remains of a different race and one whose name, character, history and antiquity are left to mere conjecture. In the excitement of the chase and the dangers that encompassed the pioneers who first must have seen these remains, their presence aroused little or no attention. But after the settlement had located itself there were men who not only became inquisitive as to the peculiar structures but made a record of them. The earliest of these records of any importance is that contained in Dr. Drake's invaluable "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815. As a scientific observer, Dr. Drake unquestionably stands at the head of the early residents of the city and his record is so accurate and at the same time so well expressed that it is best presented in his own words.

"No objects in the State of Ohio seem to have more forcibly arrested the attention of travelers, nor employed a greater number of pens, than its antiquities. It is to be regretted, however, that so hastily and superficially have they been examined by strangers, and so generally neglected by ourselves, that the materials for a full description have not yet been collected. The former have too often contented themselves by copying from each other; and the latter have commonly substituted wonder for examination. In the United States, there is indeed no redundance of time or money; but even in this young and parsimonious State, it is not uncommon to see appropriations of both, to objects of greater expense and lesser interest, than a survey of these curious relics. In the reflection, that I shall add one more to these crude and partial accounts, there is not much either to exalt pride or gratify ambition; but as a description of any part of the State of Ohio that did not embrace these vestiges of former population, would by many be considered palpably defective in its plan, the present chapter cannot be omitted. Its imperfections, however, will not only fit it for being compared with the treatises that are already extant on the same subject, but make it better correspond with the articles among which it will appear.

"Before proceeding to examine the remains which are termed ancient, it may be advantageous to distinguish them, if possible, from those which are evidently modern. In several places are to be found the sites of Indian villages, which are indicated by hearths of flat stones; by ashes, charcoal and calcined earth; and by vast quanties of the broken bones of those animals on which the inhabitants subsisted. About the same spots, but not confined to them, are found various articles fabricated of clay, coal, grit, flint, granite and other hard stones; and which from their form are denominated hatchets, axes, chisels, arrow heads, pipes or ornaments. Fragments of earthern ware, also, are picked up, which exhibits in its composition, pounded mussel and other river shells; and on its surface, many ornamental lines, either straight and parallel, or curved; al-

ways formed by indentation or incision. None of it appears to have been glazed; but most of the fragments have, it is obvious, been subjected to a strong heat. All which I have seen were parts of vessels, and are unquestionably a manufacture of the same species with that carried on by some of the Southern tribes of Louisiana at the present time. The remaining works of a modern date are stone and sometimes earthen tumuli, which are distinguishable from the ancient by their diminutive size, and from being disconnected with any extensive fortifications, or other remains. I have seen three of these Indian graves examined. They were situated on the top of a high ridge, in Kentucky, where none of the common vestiges of ancient population exist. Two of them were composed of stone, the other of earth. In the latter the dead bodies had been laid on the surface of the ground, and were surrounded by ashes, calcined loam and fragments of charred wood. They were covered with flat limestones, surrounded by others set edgewise. Over the whole had been erected a circular mound of little convexity, being nearly 36 feet in diameter, and not more than three in height. The others had nearly the same internal construction; but their framers chose to bring up stone from the creeks 200 feet below rather than erect a mound of earth; and when we take into consideration the tools which they must have used for the latter purpose, their preference of the former cannot excite much surprise.

"Having premised these remarks, we are better prepared to understand what relates to the works which are more ancient. Among these there is not a single edifice, nor any ruins which prove the existence, in former ages, of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column; no bricks; nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered. The fabrics of wood must have long since mouldered away; and the only relics which remain to inflame curiosity and excite speculation, are composed of earth, with which rude and undressed masses of stone have been sometimes combined. These vestiges consist of mounds, excavations, and embankments or walls, of various forms and dimensions. Cincinnati affords specimens of each. They are extensive and complicated, but not conspicuous, and have therefore attracted less attention than the relics at some other places. Their relative position may be seen by a reference to the frontispiece. The principal wall or embankment encloses an entire blo some fractions. It is a very broa diameter extending 800 feet eas street; and the other about 600 fe Fifth street. But its figure is n cally exact. On the east side it ing nearly 90 feet in width. It is loam, and exhibits, upon being ex a homogeneous appearance. Its he ly three feet, upon a base of mor There is no ditch on either side. wall the surface of the ground is even or waving; but nothing is i dicates manual labor. On each sid way or opening, exterior and cont wall, there is a broad elevation or indeterminate figure. From one be traced a bank, not more than in height, on a foundation nine ti It extends southerly about 150 feet within one or two rods of the upper plain or *Hill*, when it turn and terminates in a mound at th Main and Third streets, distant ne From the parapet of the opposite of this kind can be traced; bu north of it, and at a short distance, shapeless and insulated elevations feet in height, which, it seems p not have been formed on an allu by the hands of man. Upwards east of this, between Broadway a streets, there is another bank, of ne dimensions with the one last dese be traced from Sixth to the vici street; and is evidently the segme large circle, the centre of which we or immediately south of that alre From near the southern end of th the river, a low embankment, it formerly be traced; and was fo spond in height, direction and ex other, more than half a mile distan ern part of the town; but neithe now visible. In Fifth street, east o been described, there is a circular ing a space 60 feet in diameter. by throwing up the earth from th not more than a foot in height, b horizontal extent. In the norther town, between Vine and Elm stre tance of 400 yards from the cl scribed, there are a couple of con feet long, and less than two feet l at each end. They are exactly p

feet asunder, measuring from their centres, for two thirds of their distance; after which they converge to 40. In the southern of these banks, about the point where their inclination to each other commences, there was an opening 30 feet wide. The direction of these elevations, as ascertained by the compass, does not vary two degrees from a true east and west line. The site of our town exhibits many other inequalities of surface, which are no doubt artificial; but they are too much reduced, and their configuration is too obscure to admit of their being described. It is worthy of notice that the plains on the opposite side of the river have not a single vestige of this kind.

"Of excavations, we have but one. It is situated more than half a mile north of the figure first described, and is not perceptibly connected with any other works. Its depth is about 12 feet; its diameter, measuring from the top of the circular bank formed by throwing out the earth, is nearly 50. Popular speculation could not fail to make it a half filled *well;* but no examination has yet been undertaken.

"The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure so often referred to, at the distance of 500 yards. Its present height is 27 feet, and about eight feet were cut off by General Wayne, in 1794, to prepare it for the reception of a centinel. It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two to one. The longer runs 17 degrees east of north. Its circumference, at the base, is 440 feet. The earth for 30 or 40 yards around it, is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner; from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface; which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to the centre, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil, with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattering and decayed human bones, a branch of deer's horn, and a piece of earthern ware, containing mussel shell. At the distance of 500 feet from this pyramid, in the direction of north eight degrees east there is another about nine feet high, of a circular figure, and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the centre of its base, without affording anything but some fragments of human skeletons, and a handful of copper beads, which had been strung on a cord of lint.

"Northeast of the last, at the distance of a few hundred yards, is another of the same figure, but not more than three feet in height; which upon being partially opened, has been found to contain a quantity of unfinished spear and arrow heads, of flint.

"The mound at the intersection of Third and Main streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connection with the lines which have been described. It was about eight feet high, one hundred and twenty long, and sixty broad; of an oval figure, with its diameters lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. It has been almost obliterated by the graduation of Main street; and its construction is, therefore, well known. Whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance beneath the stratum of loam which is common to the town. The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire, and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed. Of the articles taken from thence, many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most curious:

"1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite and some other stones—cylindrical at the extremities, and swelled in the middle; with an annular groove near one end.

"2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as if for an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. It has a number of small perforations, disposed in four equidistant lines, which run from the circumference towards the centre.

"3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations; but composed of argillaceous earth, well polished.

"4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

"5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle.

"6. A mass of lead ore (*galena*) lumps of which have been found in some other tumuli.

"7. A quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*) plates of which have been discovered in and about other mounds.

"8. A small ovate piece of sheet copper, with two perforations.

"9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

"These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the American Philosophical Transactions, by Governor Sargent and Judge

Turner; and were supposed, by Professor Barton, to have been designed in part for ornament, and in part for superstitious ceremonies. In addition to these, I have since discovered in the same mound:

"10. A number of beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

"11. The teeth of a carnivorous animal, probably those of the bear.

"12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus *buccinum;* cut in such manner as to serve for domestic utensils, and nearly converted into the [so in original].

"14. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concavo-convex plates; the interior one of each set connected with the other by a hollow axis, around which had been wound a quantity of lint; the whole encompassed with the bones of a man's hand. Several other articles, resembling this, have been dug up in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper, covered with the green carbonate of that metal. After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specific gravities were found to be 7.545 and 7.857. Their hardness is about that of the sheet copper of commerce. They are not engraved or embellished with characters of any kind.

"15. Human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes enclosed in rude coffins of stone, but oftener lying blended with the earth —generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal. The quantity of these bones, altho' much greater than that taken from the other mounds of the town, was small in proportion to what was expected—the whole tumulus not having contained perhaps more than 20 or 30 skeletons. With a view of comparing these bones with those of the present Indian tribes, I endeavored to collect and preserve them; but they were generally in such a state of decay that nothing more could be inferred, than a sameness in the height of the two races. At length I was so fortunate as to procure the skull, nearly entire, of a middle aged man; and have compared it with that of a Wyandot Indian—presented to me by John Johnston, Esq. The facial angle of the ancient, which may be termed the fossil skull, is 74°—that of the Wyandot 76°—and in their length and breadth there is but little difference. On placing and examining them, however, in the manner directed by Blumenbach, it is seen that a section made through the forehead and the occiput would exhibit in the fossil skull almost a regular oval; in the Wyandot, the figure of an eg wise, after being flattened at its The face of the Indian head, shorter and broader than that of th upper jaw projects less, and the che more distant, broad and prominent the fossil skull, are, however, of g than the cheek bones of most Eur But what little reliance is to be single comparison, appears from th upper part of another skull found i lus exhibits the same horizontal the Wyandot, except that the for markably convex, instead of being fossil teeth, which I have seen, we sound, and had nothing peculiar in

"No earthen vases were found street tumulus but a small one, part of pulverized mussel shells, w up and broken to pieces, about 5 that mound. Other vessels have ered in similar situations in the comparison of these, as to form, con ornament, with the vases made in l by distant nations, might lead to in sults; but the bigotry of Spain in t tury seems not to have been more to the historical paintings of Mexi indifference, negligence or idle curi of our citizens are to these interest.

Dr. Drake also gives some ac ancient works of Piqua, on the we the Great Miami and with those on the same river near the mou creek. He speaks briefly of the near Hamilton and the old stone f above the confluence of the Grea the Ohio. General Lytle furnish information concerning the fortif Milford and those further up the near Deerfield and Lebanon, are n particular information is given al near Chillicothe. His general ob not without interest. He conclu lakes and the Gulf of Mexico are and southern boundary of the reg these works, and that they extend leghanies to the Pacific. They are greatest magnitude and grandeur ern provinces of Mexico. Anothe is that they are generally found in the great streams but on the sec banks counting from the rivers. he maintains, exhibit no appearan cent growth than the forests in

hood. He concludes that they were obviously built for purposes of defense, although as to some of the valley remains he concludes there are grounds for a different opinion, citing the fact that General Wayne did not believe they were for that purpose. He finally seems to reach the conclusion that the upland works were for defense and those in the valleys for residence purposes. All the mounds were burying places. He speaks of the two theories relating to the builders. One is that they were a nation which had been expelled from this part of the continent and had become extinct, and the other that they were the ancestors of the existing Indian tribes who had degenerated from their earlier higher grade of civilization. He seems to incline to the latter view.

Another description of interest is that given by Judge Burnet, one of the most prominent of our earlier citizens and in some respects our most valuable authority upon the early history of this neighborhood. Judge Burnet, in his "Letters to Delafield," speaks as follows:

"When I first came here the town had advanced but very little from a state of nature. The surface of the site, on which it stands, was undisturbed, except where some rough houses and humble cabins had been erected, to shelter its inhabitants. The works referred to were in a perfect state of preservation, though depressed in height, by the natural causes which had operated on them for ages. Within the limits of the town, as originally laid out, there were two large circles, one near the eastern boundary, and the other in a western direction, near the centre of the plat. The former, though sufficiently distinct to be traced, was not as elevated, or as perfect as the other. It was about the same diameter, and was uniform in its curvity. The circle near the centre passed through the block which I owned, south of Fourth, and between Vine and Race streets. It was an exact circle, about six hundred feet in diameter. The earth which composed it had been gradually washed down, till its base had spread about twenty-five feet, and its apex was reduced to about eight or ten feet above the plane of its base. On the north side, near Fifth street, there was an aperture, ten or twelve feet wide, and there might have been another, which has escaped my memory. The arc within my enclosure, subtended by a chord of about three hundred feet, was preserved with care, while it was in my possession. On that part of it, I am confident, there was no break, or opening. These works were entirely on the upper level of the town-plat, and did not approach the break of the hill nearer than four hundred feet. About one hundred and fifty rods west of the circle last spoken of stood a beautiful mound, thirty-five or forty feet high, constructed with great exactness, and standing on a base unusually small, compared with its height. When the army under the command of General Wayne was encamped at this place, in 1792-3, he had a sentry-box on its top, which commanded an entire view of the plain. In the neighborhood of this structure two or three smaller ones were standing, which were found to contain human bones, as is the fact with regard to most of them. Besides these, there was another of a medium size, compared with the others, standing on the brow of the hill, about midway between the circles and in advance of them, in the direction of the river, about three or four hundred feet. By digging down, and grading Main street, this structure was entirely removed many years ago. While that process was going on, many articles which it contained were found, some, if not all of which, were probably deposited there, after the country had been visited by Europeans. Among them were marine shells, pieces of hard earthen-ware, a small ivory image, finely wrought, of the Virgin Mary, holding an infant in her arms, which had been much mutilated; also a small metallic instrument, complex in its construction, much corroded and decayed, and supposed by some to have been intended to ascertain the weight of small substances. The skeleton of a man was also found, under its apex, a few feet below the surface, contained in what might be called a coffin, composed of flat stones, so placed on all sides as to protect the body from the pressure of the earth. Other discoveries were made which my memory does not retain, with sufficient accuracy, to enable me to describe them. * * *" (Trans. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 35.)

In 1874 ancient graves were discovered by Dr. H. H. Hill, on Brighton Hill, at the west end of the city. This had been the site of a former mound which had been washed away by the rain. The bodies were discovered within a circular spot, about forty feet in diameter, but the bones were so decomposed as to fall to dust almost immediately; it is thought that Indians were buried here as well as mound builders. Many other articles were found at this place including teeth, tusks of animals and implements, the bone and mica together with stone hammers,

pipes, arrow heads, spear heads and awls of copper and bone. Another so-called ancient remain was what has been designated the "dug-bone" which was about one-half mile north of the ellipse described. This is the well, referred to by Dr. Drake.

The ancient works were marked on a number of the earlier maps of the city. They are plainly shown on the "Plan of Cincinnati" which is prefixed to Drake's "Statistical View of 1815" as well as on the maps prefixed to the first and second directories of the city, published in 1819 and 1825. A large ellipsis is shown as surrounding completely the block between Fourth, Fifth, Race and Vine and includes more than the western half of the block to the east, which also takes in parts of the blocks to the north and south. The large mound west of the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut on the site of the present Johnston Building was clearly shown. Another large mound is shown west of the southwest corner of Fourth and Walnut, which extended from the middle of Fourth street half way down to Third, occupying the western half of in-lots 162 and 163. It is connected by a single embankment by another large mound at the northeast corner of Third and Main. It is easy with either of these maps to follow Drake's description.

The large mound near the corner of Fifth and Mound was removed in November, 1841, for the purpose of extending Mound street and grading an alley. Just below the surface near the center of the mound was found a part of a human skull and two bones of about seven inches in length. Under the skull was a bed of charcoal, ashes and earth and in it a remarkable stone with markings in curves and scrolls upon it. This since has been called the "Cincinnati tablet" and was the occasion of much discussion in the course of which it was denounced by no less an authority than Charles Whittlesey as a fraud. Subsequently, however, Robert Clarke of this city published a pamphlet in vindication of the stone, as a result of which the Cincinnati tablet has been accepted as a genuine relic of the mound builders' period. Mr. Whittlesey himself admitted that he had been convinced of the authenticity of the tablet by Mr. Clarke's pamphlet. It is described and commented upon in Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley:"

"The material is fine grained, compact sandstone of a light brown color. It measures five inches in length, three in breadth at the ends, and two and six-tenths at the mi about half an inch in thickness. Th face varies very slightly from a p The figures are cut in low relief (th not more than one-twentieth of depth), and occupy a rectangular s inches and two-tenths long by tw tenth wide. The sides of the ston observed, are slightly concave. Li drawn across the face near the en angles, and exterior to these are note five at one end and twenty-four a The back of the stone has three tudinal grooves and several depr dently caused by rubbing—probab by sharpening the instrument u sculpture.

"Without discussing the singular which the relic bears to the Egypti it will be sufficient to direct attentio duplication of the figures, those up corresponding with those upon the the two central ones being also alike observed that there are but three s ures—four of one description and others. Probably no serious discu question whether or not these figur glyphical, is needed. They more stalk and flowers of a plant than a in nature. What significance, if any to the peculiar markings or gradua end it is not undertaken to say. Th products of the longer and shorter ty-four by seven and twenty-five three hundred and sixty-eight, thre the number of days in the year; circumstance the suggestion has be that the tablet had an astronomical constituted some sort of a calendar.

"We may perhaps find the key to in a very humble, but not therefor esting class of southern remains. B ico and in the mounds of Mississip found stamps of burnt clay, the fa are covered with figures, fanciful all in low relief, like the face of plate. These were used in impr ments upon the clothes or prepared people possessing them. They exh cavity of the sides to be observed i question—intended, doubtless, for venience in holding and using it—a lar reduplication of the ornamenta betraying a common purpose. Thi is offered hypothetically as being

sistent with the general character of the mound remains, which, taken together, do not warrant us in looking for anything that might not well pertain to a very simple, not to say rude, people."

In addition to the remains of the mound builders already described as found on the site of Cincinnati, there were traces of a period of vegetation prior to the time of the settlement. As to these the best account is given by Judge Burnet in his letter of October, 1837, to Mr. Delafield:

"You have made a particular request for information, relative to the stumps which were found in my well. I have seen in print several exaggerated statements, professing to describe their appearance, and the situation in which they were found. One writer has said, that they had evidently been cut, by a metallic instrument—that the marks of an axe were visible, and that chips, in a state of perfect preservation, were found on, and near them. Another has stated, that the rust of iron was seen on the stumps; and a third has affirmed, that an axe was found near them. Neither of these statements is true. The facts are simply these, that in sinking a well, in 1802, within the circular work above described, at the depth of ninety-three feet, I found two stumps, one about a foot, and the other eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the position in which they grew. Their roots were perfectly sound, and extended from them, horizontally, on every side. Their tops were so decayed and mouldered, that no opinion could be formed as to the process by which the trunks had been severed. The surface of the earth, at the place where they were found, is one hundred and twelve feet above the present low water mark of the Ohio, according to the level of Joseph Gest, city surveyor. They could not have been brought there by a current of water, because their upright position, and the regular, horizontal extension of their roots, proves that they must have grown on the spot, where they were found. There is another fact connected with this matter, worthy of notice. Prior to the time of digging the well, I had never seen a mulberry tree, growing on, or near, the premises, though they were found in the neighboring forests, yet, the next season, they sprang up wherever the excavated earth had been spread, in such numbers, as made it necessary to destroy them and they continued thus to shoot up for several years, though not one made its appearance on any other part of the lot. This fact induced me to conclude that the stumps, or at least one of them, was of the mulberry kind. * * *

"It may throw some light on this subject, to state, that when the town was laid out, the appearance of the forest indicated that the surface of the earth had undergone no material change, probably, in five hundred years; as it exhibited the remains of trees, which had matured, decayed, and fallen, by the side of others still flourishing and giving evidence that they had been growing some centuries. The stump which was supposed to be a mulberry must have been in the situation in which it was found (ninety-three feet below the surface), for an equal period of time, and yet, when the earth about its roots was spread on the surface, where no mulberry tree existed, young mulberries immediately sprung up in great numbers. * * *

"In connection with these facts, it may be proper to state another, of the same character. Mr. Daniel Symmes, when sinking a well, in the eastern part of the town, found a log, quite sound, at the depth of twenty-four feet below the surface. This was also on the upper level, or bench of the town. At the place where this fossil was found, the surface of the ground is much lower than it is at the well first mentioned, being only eighty-one feet above low-water mark in the Ohio. Similar discoveries have been made, in various parts of the city, at greater distances from the river, furnishing proof that the entire plain, from the Ohio to the hills, is a deposit, covering what was formerly the surface of the earth."

As to the character or identity of the people who built these structures, we have little or no information that is of any value. Every observer has made his conjecture and supported that conjecture by what he was pleased to regard as evidence taken from his own observations, but without any disrespect to the great amount of work that has been spent upon the subject, it can be said that little information of any exact character has been obtained. Not the least interesting theory connects itself with the claim of the Irish to have preceded the Norse in Iceland and afterwards discovered America in the 10th century. It is claimed that the mound builders of the Ohio Valley were connected with the race which sprang from these early Irish explorers. Another theory places this European immigration as early as twelve hundred years before Christ. Again the Welsh are alleged to have discovered America in the twelfth century

and one of the evidences of this discovery is the supposed resemblance of the Ohio Valley mounds to some of those in Wales. This possibility is spoken about by Filson in his "Kentucky," and David Jones in his wandering among the tribes west of the Ohio, in 1772, was impressed with the correspondence of Indian words with his native Welsh. A man Griffith claimed to have been taken in 1764 to a tribe that spoke Welsh.

Naturally the old theory that the Indians were descendants of the Jews had as a precedent condition the idea that the mounds were built by these wandering tribes before their degeneracy. The early explorers were unable to get any information about the mound builders from the people whom they encountered. De Soto, in 1540, was assured by the Indians that they had built the mounds, but no credence is given to this statement. Kalm, the Swede, notes the mounds that he observed in 1749, and Carver saw them at Lake Pippin in 1768. David Jones mentions those in Ohio, in 1772, and Adair speaks of them in his book on the American Indians, in 1775. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," published in 1782, speaks of them as barrows "all over the country," obviously intended as burying places. On a map of the Northwest Territory, published by John Fitch, in 1785, it is stated that "this country has once been settled by a people more expert in the art of war than the present inhabitants. Regular fortifications and some of these incredibly large are frequently to be found. Also many graves and towers like pyramids of earth." The reference is to the site of Wisconsin.

Franklin conjectures that the works of Marietta might have been built by De Soto, to which view Noah Webster assented. Professor Barton had first credited the Toltecs with building them; these he thought to be descendants of the Danes. Maj. Jonathan Heart, Loskiel, Bartram and Volney, all mention the ancient mounds in their records and journals. In 1794, Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, reported the exploration of the mounds at Cincinnati in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, with accompanying drawings and "some account of certain Articles, which were taken out of an ancient Tumulus, or Grave, in the Western Country," as follows:

"CINCINNATI, N. W. TERRITORY,
"Sep. 8th, 1794.

"I have the pleasure, my dear Sir, to transmit you a drawing of some matters more extraordinary than have heretofore come un servation, in all the researches into ties of this country. The multiplicity cations leaves not leisure for more delineations; and you must be conte ceive them in this style. I possess a inals, and intend by some safe conv senting them to the Philosophical Soc they believe them of importance en deposit of my disposition to promo pose of their institution. The drawi is too imperfect to stand the test c and it might not be prudent to hazar view. Your judgment, however, sho

"It may be proper to add that the which this collection was interred lying in nearly a horizontal position feet from the surface of the earth head towards the setting sun, and at side thereof, or about fifteen feet fr tensive artificial mound of earth, ra bly for the purpose of a burial groun margin of the second bank of the (suddenly rising fifty feet above the now elevated, in the extreme, eight the general level of the same, with slope in the various directions, and about 120 feet by sixty. One of the of the town passes through the w of this grave, and in the frequent the acclivity, human bones have found. You have, I think, been her by me, and perhaps received a sket extensive ancient fortifications at Cir regular as those at Muskingum, but of notice. I should not omit to men that upon this mound are the stun trees, seven feet diameter; and withi one of small size —— years of age its vicinity, that might have been of tion, are removed by the opening or street. In addition to the matte you have the drawing, were several ornaments, lost or mislaid. If he come to my view, you shall receive i

The letter is accompanied by som executed drawings of the articles of which have already been deser Drake. This letter, with drawing in the fourth volume of the proce American Philosophical Society, be was read May 20, 1796.

The Delaware Indians convinced of their connection with the forti the missionary is thought to have l

upon. DeWitt Clinton evolved some theories connecting the Scandinavians with the mounds. Caleb Atwater of Ohio, after considerable investigation expressed the belief that the mound builders were of Asiatic origin and that they subsequently migrated to Mexico and Peru.

The investigations of Squier and Davis, which resulted in the opening of two hundred mounds and the exploration of one hundred earth work enclosures, about the middle of the last century, gave the largest amount of knowledge yet obtained concerning this subject. Their results were published by the Smithsonian Institution. Haven, in 1856, reviewed the whole matter arguing against the theory of the mound builders being a more advanced race and advocating their identity with the Indians, and again in 1877, he held that it might yet be proved that the Indians and mound builders were one in race. This it will be remembered was the theory of Dr. Drake in the early part of the century. The discovery of a considerable number of mound builders' skulls, which in earlier years had been held by some craniologists to favor the theory of a vanished race, has led to more critical study and now the Bureau of Ethnology seems to incline to the theory of the Indian origin of these mounds and their builders. In the fourth report of the bureau, it is said that over two thousand mounds had been opened and thirty-eight thousand relics gathered, but nothing has been found to afford any clue to the language used by the mound builders. The conclusions reached were first that the mounds were as diversified as the Indian tribes, but yield no signs of a superior race. Their builders and the Indians are claimed to be the same, and the accounts by earlier visitors to the Indians found here are confirmed by the disclosures of the mounds; in fact certain kinds of mounds in certain localities are the work of tribes now known.

Cyrus Thomas, the principal advocate of this view, maintained that the enclosures of Northern Ohio were built by the Iroquois Huron tribes, but that the animal mounds, so called, are more ancient than the simpler ones. Strongly in favor of the Red Indian theory was Judge Manning F. Force, for so many years prominent in the life of Cincinnati. In 1874, he read before the Literary Club a paper which with other papers maintained that the race of builders were in the main similar to the modern Indians and flourished about one thousand years ago. Some of them he thought still survived in the Gulf States in the sixteenth century and their developments he places on the plane of the Pueblos, above that of the Algonquins and below that of the Aztecs.

Lucien Carr maintained that the early records show that nothing was found in the mounds that was not described as pertaining to the Indians known to the first travelers. On the other hand Squier and Davis seem to favor the disappeared race theory, although Squier finally concluded that the New York mounds were the work of the Iroquois.

Professor Putnam, who in connection with C. L. Metz made most of the explorations in this neighborhood, seems to believe that many Indian tribes built mounds and earth works but does not accept the proposition that all were built by these tribes as proved. The subject is no nearer conclusion than in the earliest days of discussion. The old idea of relying upon the age of trees as indicating antiquity is not at present considered of much force. The subject has furnished unlimited opportunity for discussion to the literati of this neighborhood as well as to travelers, as it was in Ohio that the first interest was aroused and the principal explorations made. Cutler described the mounds at Marietta in 1789, and Barton describes one at Cincinnati in 1799. Sargent's letter of 1794 has been quoted.

General Harrison regarded this as a subject particularly worthy of his pen, and in his address to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, in 1837, he made the following remarks about the works:

"When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne two years afterwards, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn, was almost endless, and, as I have said, almost covered the plain—many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated; but, by careful examination, and following the direction, they could again be found. Now, if these lines were ever the height of the others made by the same people (and they must have been to have answered any valuable purpose), or unless their erection was many years anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of rain (for it is a dead level) to bring

them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation; and, as the people who erected them would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy and the cultivation of another people, and the probability is that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors. In the question of the fate of the former, and the cause of no recent vestige of settlements being found on the Ohio, I can offer only a conjecture, but one that appears to me to be far from improbable."

He seemed to think that the mound builders might have been driven off by the great flood, "not because of the actual suffering, but from the suggestions of superstition; an occurrence so unusual being construed into a warning from Heaven to seek a residence upon the smaller streams."

One of the best known writers on pre-historic man and on Indian life generally is L. H. Morgan. He felt certain that the mound builders could not be classed with any known Indian stock and that the nearest region from which they could have been derived is New Mexico. This was a natural sequence of his favorite theory of communal life which pervades all his writings. This was to the effect that the communal mode of living accorded with the usages of aboriginal hospitality as well as with their tenure of land. The large structures called palaces by some which were found in Mexico and Central America were regarded by him as joint tenement houses. The earth work structures accredited to the mound builders naturally appeared to him in the same light and led him to connect their builders with the ancient civilization of Mexico. This is all the more easy for him as he scouted the idea of the very high grade of Mexican civilization as reported by the Spanish writers and described by H. H. Bancroft. This theory is discussed by Robert Clarke in the pamphlet already referred to. The central work, the ellipse so often referred to, was held to correspond with the "pueblo" or village. The fact that it was on the upper plain, three hundred and fifty feet from its edge and that it could be screened from view of the river by a grove of trees gave it a measure of security.

"The embankment, three feet high (possibly originally higher), with a base of thirty feet, afforded sufficient foundation for their buildings, occupying the circumference of the ellipse, facing inward, presenting a solid timber wall on the outside, with no entrance but by way on the east, which may have been by a palisade of round timbers, wi openings for ingress and egress, and structures of the nature of blockhous higher embankments attached external side of the entrance. From the lowe blockhouses, it will be remembered, ra embankment, one foot high, with nine southward nearly to the edge of the and then east to the mound on the Third and Main streets. This may occupied by a high timber palisade, or way leading to the mound, which was as to command a full view of the Lick which enters the Ohio on the oppos and was doubtless an important appro it was necessary should be watched. right in supposing that the embankme same dimensions as the last, notice Sycamore, running from Sixth stree Third street, turned there and joined embankment at the mound, and was in the same manner, we would thus whole front so defended that it woul be forced or flanked by an enemy co the direction of the Licking River.

"East of this high hill, Mount Ad looking the Ohio, and giving a clear vi river for miles, would be a natural which it would not be necessary to erec structure. I have never heard of an having been found on this hill.

"To the west, the hill next the riv distant, and from its position did not an extensive enough view of the river an outlook; so a position was selecte edge of the plain, about five hundred of the closed end of the village, an mound thirty-five feet high was erec which could be had an extensive vi Kentucky shore and of the Ohio Ri bend below the mouth of Mill cr Brighton Hill mound would give an view of the whole of Mill creek whole, as before mentioned, being part tensive series of signal stations.

"The minor mounds and other wo upper plain may have been connecte supervision and care of their agricult tions on the rich land between the the northern hills.

"Thus we have a village judicious on a fine, fertile plain, and well guar

nature of the location and the artificial works erected on a carefully arranged plan."

Probably the final conclusion in this matter is best expressed by our own well known citizen, Judge Force, as follows: "The mystery which enveloped the builders of these and similar works is now largely dispelled and it is generally accepted that they were tribes of Indians differing little from the sedentary and fortified tribes which inhabited the country of the St. Lawrence and the lakes in the time of Cartier and Champlain, or from the tribes which now inhabit the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona."

The matter of the age of the earth works has been as complete a mystery as the race or characteristics of the builders. Mr. Winsor epitomizes three matters of evidence which are usually considered. The first is that very few of the earth works are found on the last of the terraces to be reclaimed from the streams. The second is the condition of the skeletons found which must be considered with relation to the kind of earth with which they were buried. The third is the age of the trees found upon them. Upon this last consideration but little dependence can be placed. The trees may have been planted a long time subsequent to the building of the mounds or after they had been abandoned or they might have been planted immediately upon their completion. As already stated the old idea of measuring the age of trees by rings is an exploded one although Mr. Winsor says that in the temperate zone the best authorities place dependence upon it.

With these statements of the remains found on the site of Cincinnati and with the various views entertained about their origin, the subject can be left to the consideration of the reader with the comforting assurance that the field of inquiry on this subject is still open, that after all nothing has been settled with regard to it and that the opinion of one is about equal in value to the opinion of another. The subject, too, has additional charm in the way of affording unlimited opportunity for conjecture for the reason that any settlement of the matter is probably beyond human wisdom.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIANS.

INDIAN TRIBES—INDIAN CHIEFTAINS—TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

INDIAN TRIBES.

When the first explorers entered the West, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, they found that the greater part of the Ohio region was the hunting ground of the Iroquois Indians, known at that time as the Five Nations. This family of Indians stood foremost among the American savages in the exploits of war and in cultivation, if such a word can be employed in such a connection. At one time or another they were the conquerors of half the continent and included within their sovereignty the choicest hunting grounds, covering the most fertile valleys and the densest forests in the region between the mountains and the Mississippi. In the nature of things the hunting grounds of the Indians were not usually located near their home land Although much attention was devoted by some of the tribes to agriculture, their principal means of subsistence were the game of the forest and plain and the fish of the rivers. The neighborhood of their villages was naturally the first place to be hunted out and this made it necessary for hunting parties to look for game at greater distances from home. As a result it became usual for the stronger nations to hold large tracts of forests as their special demesne. The division of these tracts among the tribes was well recognized and although it might be possible to pass from one end to the other of any one of them without coming across an inhabited spot or meeting either friend or foe, the right of property in these particular sections was well understood by the Indians. As one race became predominant over its neighbors, its hunting grounds extended and any one wh upon them did so at the peril of his li

The Indians that occupied the W Middle States two hundred years ag chiefly to two great families, the Ir the Algonquins. In the Ohio Valley, influence of the first named nation great and its title to the land a matte subsequent discussion, the natives w the settlers in the main came into c longed to the Algonquin family. Th at one time or another extended their from Canada to the Carolinas and fr lantic to the Mississippi, and although ent in large numbers in the Ohio V quasi-sovereignty was to some extent by all the other tribes. They are s some measure to owe their triumph home within the central part of the St York, where the great rivers and the and small, offered opportunities f throughout the lands adjacent to th consisted of five tribes or nations, the Oneidas, Onondagas, the Cayugas an ecas, to whom, in 1714, were joined caroras, after which the Five Natio known as the Six Nations. Each of t had a separate organization with the and chiefs, but all matters of foreign deliberated upon and decided in the sembly in a great council house in the Valley. By reason of their clannish a result of which the same clan had all of the families of the confede formed a very united body and their descent through the female line,

transferring the power of the sachem to the collateral branches of his family, prevented any one family from obtaining too great a power or influence among them. In the Algonquin family, the descent was through the male line.

The Five Nations from time to time swept the country, practically exterminating their enemies. Their process of extermination was complete. A large number of their captives were destroyed by the most horrible torture at the stake, and the remaining ones were distributed among the different tribes of the conquerors, husbands and wives and parents and children being entirely separated so that the family identity was completely lost. In this way the losses of the conquerors in battle were repaired and the unsuccessful opposing nation was wiped out of existence.

No more terrible story has ever been written than that of the destruction by the Iroquois of the Hurons and the Tobacco Nation, among whom were so many of the Jesuit missionaries, who suffered martyrdom at this time. The Hurons (Iroquois) occupied the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, but before the middle of the seventeenth century they were wiped out of existence as a nation and ceased to exist. Some took refuge among the French in Canada, others fled to the north beyond Lake Superior, from which place they were afterwards, about 1680, driven to Detroit, where along the southwestern shore of Lake Erie and along the banks of the Maumee, they were known to the later settlers under the name of the Wyandots. These Indians, the survivors of the Hurons and of the so-called Tobacco Nation, took an active part on the side of the French in the French and Indian War, and they were among the most formidable enemies of the English in the Indian war under Pontiac.

To the south of Lake Erie dwelt two other members of the Iroquois family. The Andastes were along the valley of the lower Susquehanna, and the Eries or Cats were on the borders of the lake which still retains their name. As soon as the war with the Hurons was over, the Five Nations picked a quarrel with the Eries, who at that time had a treaty of peace with them. A deputation of their principal men had been sent to the great Seneca town to confirm this treaty, but in the quarrel one of the Senecas was killed. In the mêlée that followed, the thirty deputies were slain. This precipitated hostilities in the course of which the Eries captured a famous Onondaga chief. As he was about to be burnt he was successful in convincing his captors that the policy of conciliation was a wise one and they resolved to turn him over to the sister of one of the murdered deputies, to take the place of her lost brother. Under the Indian law this gave her the privilege either to adopt him or burn him, and it was thought that she, although absent, would upon her return immediately accept him as a member of her family; to the surprise of all, however, she demanded revenge and insisted upon his being burnt. With his last breath he warned his tormentors that they were not destroying him alone but the whole Erie nation. As a result of this execution the whole Iroquois confederacy was aroused and the Five Nations, to a number of twelve hundred warriors, took the field.

They advanced over the lake in canoes and drove the Eries into the forests of the West, where the defenders built themselves a fortification of trees. The demand of the Iroquois that they should surrender was received with derision and their assault with poisoned arrows. In the second attack the bark canoes were carried over their heads like shields and upon arriving at the palisades they were planted upright and used as scaling ladders. The fury of the assault was such as to throw the Eries into a panic and when the day was ended the Erie nation had ceased to exist. The victors were obliged to spend two months in the Erie region, burying their own dead and nursing the wounded.

The Iroquois then turned their arms against the sole remaining enemy of their own race, the Andastes. This nation was inferior in number to their three previous antagonists. They were able, however, to postpone their destruction for a much longer time. The war at first was a series of skirmishes, in which the Mohawks took the principal part on the part of the Iroquois. In 1662, however, the Five Nations as a body took up the quarrel, and eight hundred warriors set out to inflict a decisive blow upon their enemies. When they came to the Andastes town they found it was fortified by a double palisade with bastions and was set with several small pieces of cannon which they had received from their neighboring Swedish friends. An assault was out of the question and treachery was tried. Their envoys, however, were tortured to death by fire in the sight of their countrymen and the assailants retired in confusion. Added to this disappointment came the ravages of smallpox, which swept over the Seneca nation with ter-

rible results. The repeated skirmishes, although terminating in many instances in favor of the Andastes, were so weakening their numbers that in 1675 they were reduced to less than three hundred fighting men and became the easy victims of the Senecas. This victory left the Iroquois the undisputed masters of the surrounding country. They had clearly established a Roman peace and the neighboring Algonquin tribes were allowed to exist upon condition of the payment of yearly tributes of wampum. As a result of these many wars, the force of the Five Nations in 1660, we are told, had been reduced to twenty-two hundred warriors, of whom not more than twelve hundred were of the true Iroquois stock, while the rest were made up of the prisoners adopted from the conquered tribes of Hurons, Neutrals and Eries and other nations that had been practically extinguished.

At Onondaga seven different nations were represented, and among the Senecas no less than eleven. In 1714 and 1715, however, a kindred nation of Tuscaroras came from the south and joined the Five Nations, being admitted as the sixth member of the confederacy.

For a time the lands to the south and west of the lakes were practically unoccupied except as the hunting grounds of the all conquering Iroquois. From time to time great hunting parties launched their canoes upon the head waters of the rivers, coming with the flood tides of the spring and fall, and others came by way of the lakes. They scattered through the forest and went up and down the rivers of the Kanawha, Muskingum, Scioto, Kentucky, the Miamis and the Wabash. There were none to oppose them and after their departure, silence and desolation marked the places of their camp fires and temporary villages. As the more easterly lands were given over to settlements to the French and English, the Iroquois found that their attention was more frequently called to Quebec and to Albany, the lands of the North and West and of the far West, and gradually other nations drifted in to the abandoned hunting grounds north of the Ohio River.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country now known as Ohio was distributed in a way among the following nations. That part about the Muskingum and along the upper Ohio and Allegheny was occupied by the Mingoes, who were wanderers and outlaws of the Five Nations, chiefly Senecas and Cayugas. The Wyandots who had seated themselves about Detroit had sent large bodies along the Sandusky River and as far as the Scioto, and a of the tour of Christopher Gist (17 chief village was on the Tuscarawa junction with the Walhonding. Nea and along the Muskingum and Scioto Shawanees with their chief town at of the Ohio at the mouth of the Sciot west, extending from the Wabash t Miamis, were certain tribes of th known as Twightwees (Tawightis) Piankeshaws and Weas (Ouiatanons principal fort and town at the time of was Pickawillany. Among the Mi Shawanees and Wyandots were scatter awares.

Shortly after Gist's tour, the Wyan drew entirely from Muskingum, leavi ritory to the Delawares and the Shaw the same way they spread into the up of the Scioto and to the plains betwe waters and those of the Little Miami. yares, as they were called by the E Lenni-Lenape, or original men, as called by themselves, were said by trad the parent stock of the Algonquin tri solemn councils they were called by t grandfather, and they called the oth quins, children, grandchildren, ne younger brothers. The Wyandots an Nations, however, they called uncle turn called them cousins. The legend of these Indians is probably the mos that relates to the Indian tribes. The posed at one time to have lived w Mississippi, and it is this nation w the Iroquois are supposed to have the mound builders whose mounds and remain in the valleys of the different O After this conquest, the Iroquois w North, so tradition states, and the Le settled in the valley of the Delaware f they took their name. Here they set to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, William Penn held his council with thei they had degenerated, from the Ind point, to a state of vassalage to the Fiv They were then called "Women" and allowed the use of arms. When the sell their lands to the Dutch, the Iro diated the transaction, insisting that no rights in the land and they were leave their fields and fall back into the forest, from which they finally drifted per Muskingum, where they settled a During the old French War, they be

vigorous and while the Six Nations fought for the English they took up the cause of the French. They fought later against armies of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, and finally after the battles of Fallen Timbers and Tippecanoe, they were driven with the rest of the tribes to the westward.

"On the Kansas River and its tributaries, the remnant of the once powerful Lenni-Lenape range to-day over a territory of a million acres, still dreaming, it is said, of a time when they will again assume their historic position at the head of the Indian family. A great mass of tradition lives with them of their Eastern conquest, the homes on the Delaware, Allegheny and Muskingum, where the poet had Evangeline visit them in her search for Gabriel. And still the massacre of Gnadenhütten is told to wondering children in Delaware wigwams, which dot the Ozark Mountains, as they once dotted the Alleghany valleys." (Hulbert.)

Adjacent to the Delawares lived the Shawanees, Shawanoes or Shawanese, Chouanons of the French, the Bedouins of the American Indians. "The Shawanese were the only American Indians who had even so much as a tradition of having come to this continent from across the ocean. Like that of the savage Wyandots, the history of the Shawanese before they settled down on the swift Scioto is a cheerless tale. Too proud to join one of the great Southern confederacies, if indeed the opportunity was ever extended to them, they sifted northward through the forests from Florida until they settled between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Here the earliest geographers found them and classified them as the connecting branch between the Algonquins of New England and the far Northwest, so different were they from their Southern neighbors. They remained but a short time by the Cumberland, for the Iroquois swept down upon them with a fury never exceeded by the Cherokees or the Mobilians and the fugitives scattered like leaves eastward towards the Alleghanies. By permission of the government of Pennsylvania, seventy families, perhaps three hundred souls, settled down upon the Susquehanna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By 1730, the number of Indian warriors in Pennsylvania was placed at seven hundred, one-half of whom were said to be Shawanese; this would indicate a total population of perhaps fifteen hundred Shawanese. With the approach of the settlements of the white man and the opening of the bloody French and Indian War, they left the Susquehanna and pushed straight westward to the Scioto River valley, beyond the Ohio. The Shawanese have well been called the 'Bedouins of the American Indians.' The main body of the nation migrated from Florida to the Cumberland and Susquehanna and Scioto rivers. Fragmentary portions of the nation wandered elsewhere. Cadwallader Cobden said in 1745, that one tribe of the Shawanese had gone quite down to New Spain.' When La Salle wished guides from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico in 1684, Shawanese were supplied him, it being as remarkable that there were Shawanese so far North (though they may have been prisoners among the Iroquois) as it was that they were acquainted with the Gulf of Mexico. In the Black Forest, the Shawanese gained another and well earned reputation—of being the fiercest and most uncompromising Indian nation with which the white man ever dealt. They were for the half century while the Black Forest was their home and the Wyandots their allies, ever first for war and last for peace. Under their two terrible well known chieftains, Cornstalk and Tecumseh, they were allied both with the French and with the British in the vain attempt to hold back the tide of civilization from the river valleys of the Central West. Missionary work among them proved a failure. They make treaties but to break them. Not an acre of all the land which lay south of them, Kentucky, but was drenched by blood they spilt. Incited by such hell-hounds as the Girty boys, there was no limit to which the Shawanese could not be pushed and for it all they had been trained by instinct and tradition through numberless years of desperate ill fortune." (Hulbert.)

It was these three nations, the Shawanees, Delawares and Wyandots with their center of population on the Scioto, Muskigum and Sandusky Rivers respectively, and the fierce Miamis with whom the early settlers of Ohio had to cope and their wars were the longest and most successful ever waged by the red race in the history of the continent. They defied the white man for half a century, "triumphing terribly at Braddock's defeat and St. Clair's, the greatest victories over the white man ever achieved by the red."

The Miamis or Twightwees, who formerly lived on the Maumee and Wabash, as well as the Illinois, were never subjugated by the Five Nations, although their numerous wars weakened them very seriously. They were very fierce in battle and very much given to wandering among

the prairies and forests, but they paid some attention to agriculture and the building of permanent dwellings, and at seasons of the year their whole population gathered for merry making and celebrations within their villages. The principal village of the Miamis, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pickawillany, was visited by many pioneers and is described in the accounts of the expedition of Celoron and Gist.

In theory the tribes just described had been admitted to this region with the consent of the Five Nations, who by right of conquest claimed the entire control of this territory. The victories of the Iroquois already related were supposed to have made them masters over all the country north of the Ohio and as far west as the Mississippi. This matter became important in the subsequent claims which the different European powers put forward as to the country out of which Ohio was formed. The steady growth of French feeling and French population in this region finally attracted the attention of the English cabinet and it became necessary to invent some sort of a theory upon which England could lay claim to this land. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Five Nations had been recognized by France as subjects of Great Britain, and of course all their lands were supposed therefore to belong to that country. Sir William Johnson and Governor Pownall therefore shrewdly advanced the proposition of the conquest by the Five Nations of the Western lands referred to, which proposition if correct would naturally vest the title of these lands in England. This proposition was not however conceded by the Indians, not even by the Mingoes, who were the off-shoot of the Five Nations. It was claimed by the tribes that the land was theirs not by permission of the Five Nations, whose conquest was disputed. The two distinguished Englishmen already referred to, as well as Dr. Franklin and others, regarded the rights of the Five Nations to all the hunting grounds of the Ohio Valley "as thoroughly established by their conquest in subdueing the Shawanees, Delawares, Twightwees, Miamis and Illinois, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick in 1697." On the other hand such authorities as General Harrison and Dr. Drake and many others disputed entirely such a proposition, and General Harrison subsequently gave us his conclusion, after reviewing the proof, that without any reasonable doubt "the pretensions of the Five Nations to a conquest of the country from the Scioto to the Mississippi are entirely groundless."

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France in March, 1684, the Iroquois a
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INDIAN CHIEFTAINS.

The most famous chief of the M
Little Turtle (Me-che-cun-na-qua).
been educated in a Jesuit school in C
was remarkable for his mental vigor
common sense as well as for his skill
as a military leader. He commanded
at the time of the expeditions of Ge
mar and St. Clair in 1790 and 1791 a
present in the fight at Fallen Tim
time of the Wayne expedition in 17
not in command. He is supposed to
the Indians not to go into action at t
to accept the proposition for peace.
beaten the enemy twice; we canno
ways to do this. The Americans
by a chief who never sleeps. The

night are alike to him. I advise peace." He was among the chiefs that signed the treaty at Greenville and took a most prominent part in the proceedings, which he opened on behalf of the Indians. His text was to the effect that the treaty of Fort Harmar was not a valid treaty as it had been made by some of the younger men of the tribes who were irresponsible. He resented the carving out of the Indian territory by the English and Americans without any consideration for the Indians and gave the former boundaries of his tribe as follows: "The prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. * * * It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago on Lake Michigan. * * * I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami Nation where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell, or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me." (Burnet's Notes, p. 222.)

The French explorers found that this statement was practically correct as traces of the Miami were found on the territory mentioned and not elsewhere. They had probably been at one time identified with the Illinois, the enemies of the Iroquois from time immemorial. Those that were in Ohio were divided into three tribes,—the Miamis who occupied the neighborhood of the Maumee or Omi, the Piankeshaws between the Wabash and the Miami rivers and the Twightwees still farther to the south along the head waters of the Miamis. It was a tribe of the Twightwees sometimes called the Pickawillanies, who established a village on the Great Miami in 1748, which was visited by Celoron and Gist and where was the first English fort and station established in this neighborhood.

Any one who follows the discussion at the great council at Greenville cannot fail to be impressed by the eloquence of the Indians particularly by that of Little Turtle, who certainly as far as the mere presentation of facts was concerned was fully the equal of Wayne. He finally with the other chiefs signed the treaty and is said to have adhered to it ever after. He visited President Washington at Philadelphia in 1797 where he was made much of. Kosciuszko then visiting the United States admired him very much and presented him with a pair of handsome pistols which he told him to use in defense of his country. He met Volney the celebrated French philosopher and became quite intimate with him. Volney in conversation with him concerning the origin of the Indians suggested that they had come from the Tartars in Asia, to which Little Turtle responded, "Why may not the Tartars of Asia have come from the Indians in America?" Volney constructed a vocabulary of the Indian tongue from the information received from his Indian friend.

E. D. Mansfield the well known chronicler of the pioneer times saw him at his father's house in 1805 or 1806. His father Col. Jared Mansfield then the surveyor-general was living at the time in the large two story dwelling, the best looking and largest house then in the purchase built by Colonel Ludlow at Ludlow's Station. One of the wings was used as the surveyor-general's office. Colonel Mansfield at that time had charge of the running of the lines provided for in the treaty at Greenville. His son narrates the visit of Little Turtle as follows:

"One day a dark man with swarthy countenance riding a very fine horse dismounted at our house and went into my father's office. I wanted to go in and see him but for some reason was not allowed to. After some time * * * I saw him come out, mount his horse and ride rapidly away. I was struck by the man and asked my mother, 'Who is that ma?' She said it was 'Little Turtle,' the great Indian chief. * * * This most acute and sagacious of Indian statesmen was it is said even a polished gentleman. He had wit, humor and intelligence. He was an extensive traveler and had visited all parts of the country and became acquainted with the most distinguished men. * * *

"As he rode away from the house in the declining sun, I might without any violent stretch of imagination have seemed to see the last great spirit of the Indian race leaving the land of his fathers looking for the last time upon the beautiful valleys of the Miamis and bidding farewell to each hill and wood and stream forever." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 22.)

Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne, Indiana, strangely enough of the gout, on July 14, 1812.

Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, the celebrated chief of the Mohawks, was born on the banks of the Ohio in 1742. His father was a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe, and his grandfather one of the five sachems who attended the court of Queen Anne in 1710. Sir William Johnson

VIEW FROM NEWPORT BARRACKS IN THE "THIRTIES."

whose relations with his sister Molly Brant, the brown Lady Johnson, are too well known to need rehearsal here, took a great interest in him and sent him in 1761 to the school at Hanover, New Hampshire, under the charge of Eleazer Wheelock, which subsequently became Dartmouth College. While here he translated portions of the New Testament into the Mohawk language, and at a later time he translated the Book of Common Prayer into the same tongue.

He was present at the battle of Lake George in 1755, although but thirteen years of age, and was with Johnson in the Niagara campaign in 1759. He also took part in Pontiac's War in 1763, and in 1774, when upon the death of Sir William Johnson his son Guy became the Indian superintendent, Brant was made his secretary. At the opening of the War of the Revolution he was in England and volunteered his services to assist in quelling the rebellion. He received a colonel's commission and took an active part in numberless fierce raids against the colonists, and was said to have been at the massacre at Cherry Valley. This statement was disputed afterwards by his son who claimed to have proved that he was not present at this time. After the war he endeavored to form a confederacy of Indians to prevent what he regarded as a spoliation of the Indian lands, but in this he was unsuccessful and finally he threw his influence on the side of a permanent peace.

In his later years he became a consistent believer in the Christian religion and collected funds for the purpose of building a church on the Indian reserve on the Grand River in Canada. This was the first church erected in Upper Canada. He died on his estate at the old Brant mansion, Wellington Square, Canada, November 24, 1807, and rests under a handsome mausoleum near the church which was built by the inhabitants of the vicinity in 1850. On the slab that surmounts it is the inscription "In commemoration of the chief and of his son John," who became prominent as the principal chief of the Six Nations after the death of his father and died a member of the Canadian Parliament. A monument to the memory of Brant, the main feature of which is a statue of heroic size, was erected in Brantford, Canada, in 1886. Thirteen bronze cannons were given for the statue by the Canadian government. "As a warrior he was cautious, sagacious and brave; as a diplomat and courtier, adroit and accomplished; and as a friend chivalrous and faithful. His humanity toward a captive or a fallen foe is too well established to admit of doubt, nor has the pu private morals ever been questioned.' going statement is written by Willia his biographer, and is not to be acce without question. Brant's childre scendants became quite prominent pe ada.

Two Indians with whom the whites into contact in the early days of the in Ohio were Bohengeehalus and C both war chiefs of the Delawares. I lus or Pacanchichiles was esteemed a greatest warriors among the Indian part in the treaty at Fort Finney an ville in 1795, and in the later years was constant in his friendship for the His name is signed to the treaty at I —Bohonghelass. Judge Burnet dese to his home made during the early law practice in the Northwest Territ time the visitors were entertained by football:

"He selected two young men to of trinkets made up, to be the rew successful party. That matter was s plished, and the whole village, male in their best attire, were on the lawn a beautiful plain of four or five acres, ter of the village, thickly set in blue each of the opposite extremes of th stakes were set up, about six feet ap

"The men played against the wom countervail the superiority of their was a rule of the game, that they touch the ball with their hands on th forfeiting the purse; while the fema privilege of using their hands as w feet; they were allowed to pick up t run and throw it as far as their st activity would permit. When a squ ed in getting the ball, the men were seize, whirl her round, and if neces her on the grass for the purpose of the ball, taking care not to touch it their feet.

"The contending parties arranged in the center of the lawn—the men and the women on the other—each p the goal of their opponents. The succeeded in driving the ball through at the goal of their adversaries, were victors, and received the purse, to among them.

"All things being ready, the old ch the lawn, and saying something in

language not understood by his guests, threw up the ball between the lines of the combatants and retired; when the contest began. The parties were pretty fairly matched as to numbers, having about a hundred on a side, and for a long time the game appeared to be doubtful. The young squaws were the most active of their party, and most frequently caught the ball; when it was amusing to see the struggle between them and the young men, which generally terminated in the prostration of the squaw upon the grass, before the ball could be forced from her hand.

"The contest continued about an hour, with great animation and various prospects of success; but was finally decided in favor of the fair sex, by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw, who got the ball and held it, in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from the grasp of her uplifted hand, till she approached the goal, near enough to throw it through the stakes.

"When the contending parties had retired from the strife, it was pleasant to see the exultation expressed in the faces of the victors, whose joy was manifestly increased by the circumstance that the victory was won in the presence of white men, whom they supposed to be highly distinguished and honored in their nation."

This was at the Ottawa town on the Auglaize, and probably took place in the last year or so of the century. We shall hear more of this Indian chief when the story of the settlement is told.

After the battle of Fallen Timbers the story is told that Bohengeehalus, who was disgusted with the conduct of the English in refusing to take part in behalf of the Indians, proceeded to ascend the river for the purpose of entering into a treaty of peace with the victors. The officer of the day at the British fort hailed them and stated that Major Campbell, the commandant, wished to speak with him. The Indian's reply was "in that case let him come to me." He was told that he would not be permitted to pass the fort unless he complied with the request. "What shall prevent me?" was the quick response. The officer thereupon pointed at the guns which were trained upon the river. "I fear not your cannon," replied the Indian. "After suffering the Americans to insult your flag without daring to fire upon them, you must not expect to frighten Bohengeehalus." (The visit of this chieftain to Ludlow's Station and also another visit to Fort Washington are described elsewhere.)

Captain Pipe was a celebrated rascal in his early days who found it to his interest to reform in later life. He was the leader of the war party of the Delawares, but was more remarkable for his intriguing than for his fighting. He first came into prominence in opposition to the Moravians and his town on the Walhonding became the center of the disaffected Delawares. It is largely due to his influence that the suspicions of the British were directed against the Moravians, and he it was who brought the missionaries before the commandant at Detroit. He acted with great duplicity in this matter, but strangely enough although in command at the time of the burning of Crawford he succeeded in impressing the Americans with his friendly intentions. He was present on the Muskingum at the time of the arrival of the first party at Marietta and welcomed the newcomers. General Harmar speaks of him as a "manly old fellow and much more of a gentleman than the generality of these frontier people." He took an active part in the conference at Fort Finney, and also in that of Fort Harmar, and in his later years was conspicuous for his friendship for the whites. He seems to have discovered that whatever satisfaction might be obtained from slaughtering them could not be compared with the pleasure of swindling them in trade.

Other Indians who were conspicuous for their acquaintance with the whites in their early days were Blue Jacket, a Shawanee, Cornstalk, "one of the best Indians ever born in the Ohio Valley," White Eyes, Mesass, a Chippewa, and Tarkee the Crane, a Wyandot.

White Eyes is said frequently to have come near Fort Washington and viewed it from the neighboring hills. The wife of Colonel Strong, who was an officer at the fort, told Mr. Mansfield "that she had often met and conversed with White Eyes and other Indian chiefs. White Eyes told her he had often watched what was going on at the fort from what has since been the site of the old Cincinnati Observatory. On the brow of the hill, Mount Adams, there was then a very large oak tree which I have myself seen. It was in the branches of this tree that White Eyes concealed himself, looked down upon the fort and saw all that was going on." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 21.)

Tecumseh belongs of right in any list of great men among the Indian tribes. Tecumseh or Tecumthe was a chief of the Shawanees, born near the city of Piquatown about 1768. His first experience in war was said to have been at the age of twenty in a fight with the Kentucky troops; he ran at the first fire. He afterwards took an active part and showed great courage in a cam-

paign which ended with the treaty of Greenville. About 1805 he started upon the scheme of confederating the Western Indians together for the purpose of exterminating the white people. His brother the Prophet, Ellskwatawa, born in 1775, had acted as chief of about one thousand warriors of various tribes located near the confluence of the Tippecanoe with the Wabash. His administration was a complete failure, but Tecumseh at this time took the reins of government, acting however in the name of his brother the Prophet. Tecumseh and his brother visited the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico arguing and discussing the right of the Indians to the lands. He was warned to desist by Gen. William Henry Harrison, then the Governor of the Northwest Territory, and in August, 1810, near Vincennes, in company with four hundred fully armed warriors, he had a quiet talk or conference with the governor. He was prolific in promises, but proceeded with his schemes. He made an address to the Creek nation gathered to the number of five thousand in Alabama, and told them that as an evidence of his might upon his return to Detroit he would stamp upon the ground and shake down every house in their country. Strangely enough about the time he should arrive at Detroit, came the earthquake of December, 1812, which convinced the affrighted Creeks of the truth of his statement. He had announced to them that the time to begin the war would be shown by the appearance of the arm of Tecumseh stretching across the heavens like fire. The appearance of the comet which had been foretold to him by the British completed his argument. He was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe but his brother the Prophet superintended that battle from a safe distance. In the war of 1812 he commanded the Indian allies of the English and was finally made a brigadier-general in the royal army. He was killed at the battle of the Thames October 5, 1813, where he fought desperately, feeling from the beginning that he must fall. The manner of his death is not known to any degree of certainty although Col. Richard Malcolm Johnson had claimed for himself the distinction of having slain Tecumseh; this however is upon insufficient evidence. A Canadian historian attributes to Tecumseh the preservation of Canada to the English. The Prophet continued to reside in Canada until 1826 when accompanied by a son of Tecumseh and others he settled beyond the Mississippi. The time of his death is unknown.

The great chief of the Seneca Indians was Cornplanter, or Garyan-wah-gah, wh at Conewaugus on the Genesee River i was a half-breed, the son of John O dian trader. He took part with strangely enough in the war against and was present at Braddock's defeat. out the Revolutionary period he was ate foe of the Americans and spread over the frontier settlements of New Northern Pennsylvania. After the w he manifested a sincere friendship for cans and together with Red Jacket w counseling and protecting them. He earnest promoter of temperance amo ple and was the first temperance lect United States. He in his later year a farm on the Allegheny River. He Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania o 17, 1836.

Red Jacket was also a Seneca o tribe. He was born near Geneva in name was given to him because of embroidered scarlet jacket which ha sented to him by an English officer the Revolution as the reward for his foot. His Indian name was Sagoyew great influence with his people came fr quent tongue as his activity on the w never remarkable. Brant said that he ard and gave him the name of cow considered him not always honest. active part at the treaty of Fort Sta he established his fame as an orator. his whole career Red Jacket remai ough Indian. His hostility to Christi ceased and he regarded a missionary serious enemy of his race. He not the white people but their dress and la everything that belonged to them. and dignified in appearance with fi majestic demeanor. In 1792 at the the treaty between the United States Nations, Washington presented Red a medal of solid silver, seven inches i five inches in breadth. On the reve graved the arms of the United State obverse a device showing Red Jack the pipe of peace from Washington. he prized very highly and with the s wore it until the time of his death.

In 1810 he gave valuable inform Indian agents of the plots of Tecum Prophet and in the war that followe Senecas on the side of the Americ later years he became a confirmed d

sank into mental imbecility and was finally deposed by twenty-six of the leading men of his nation. He died in Seneca village, January 30, 1830. His remains were removed to Forest Lawn Cemetery near Buffalo in 1884. He has been called the last of the Senecas and has been celebrated in prose and verse by many writers and portrayed by at least four artists. His life was written by William L. Stone who speaks of him as follows: "Red Jacket's character was singularly contradictory. Lacking firmness of nerve, he nevertheless possessed remarkable tenacity of purpose and great moral courage, and his intellectual powers were of a very high order. He was a statesman of sagacity and an orator of surpassing eloquence, yet he was capable of descending to the lowest cunning of the demagogue. But he was still a patriot, and loved his nation and his race, whose extinction he clearly foresaw, and continued to labor with all his energies to put off the evil day."

John Logan was a chief of the Cayugas and bore the Indian name Tahgahjute; his English name was taken from that of the secretary of William Penn. Logan was brought up in friendly and familiar intercourse with the whites with whom he became very popular. He was finally chosen by the Mingoes as their chief. In 1770 he removed to the Ohio where he became much addicted to drinking. Four years later came the massacre of his family which resulted in the celebrated speech of Logan which is still regarded as one of the best examples of Indian eloquence. In revenge for this outrage upon his people he took the war-path in person and for several months committed fearful barbarities upon the whites. He himself took thirty scalps during the war. After the war was over he became very intemperate and in a fit of drunkenness knocked his wife down; supposing he had killed her he fled. He was followed by a troop of Indians who overtook him on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Mistaking their friendly purposes for a desire to avenge the death of his wife, he attacked them and was killed by a nephew in self defense at a point near Sandusky in 1780.

Pontiac the chief of the Ottawas was born on the Ottawa River in 1720. He was a son of an Ojibwa woman and became the chief of the three tribes, Ottawas, Ojibwas and Pottawattamies. His celebrated conspiracy is described at length at a later part of this volume. It was probably the most elaborately prepared and skilfully managed conspiracy of wide extent ever entered into against the whites by the Indians. Pontiac was killed in 1769 in Cahokia, Illinois, by another Indian who had been bribed for the purpose.

TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

The treaties which the English entered into with the Indians which became of importance in later years in the contests for the possession of the Western lands may be here briefly enumerated. It must be remembered that throughout the whole course of negotiations the Iroquois conquest of the Western tribes was taken for granted and that the Five Nations did not hesitate to sell nor the English to buy the title held by so vague a right.

Whatever may be the justice of the claim it seems clearly established that this confederacy pretended to own the whole country now embraced in Kentucky and Virginia north of the Cherokee claim and all of what was subsequently the Northwest Territory except a small portion in Ohio and Indiana and Southwestern Illinois belonging to the powerful Miami confederacy.

It was in the year 1609 that Champlain made the fatal mistake of introducing the knowledge of gunpowder to the Iroquois in an attack in which he accompanied the Hurons against their ancient enemies. The French people never overcame the feeling of resentment felt by the Iroquois at what they considered their unjustifiable part in this battle and at all times thereafter the natural sympathies of this great confederacy were with the English.

As early as 1684 Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, is said to have held a treaty with the Five Nations at Albany at which time they placed themselves under the protection of the British nation. They also made a deed of sale to the British government of a vast tract south and east of the Illinois River and extending across Lake Huron to Canada. The cession of 1701 is described later.

Again in September, 1726, the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas entered into a treaty with the English at the same place by which they confirmed this cession and also granted a strip of land sixty miles wide along the southern bank of Lake Ontario including the post at Oswego and extending to the modern Cleveland on Lake Erie. These lands were conveyed in trust to England "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." It would be a matter of curious interest although of little practical importance to know

what the unfortunate Indians supposed this language to mean. There never was any question that the English assumed that the best way to protect these lands for the use of those for whom they held them in trust was to use them for the benefit of the trustee.

Another treaty was made between the Six Nations and the colonists at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744. At this conference all the confederated tribes were represented except the Mohawks and there were commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The conference lasted from June 22 to July 4. The celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser acted for the English and the no less celebrated Madame Montour for the Indians. By this an indefinite extent of land west of the Alleghanies was ceded to the English as well as the right to build a great wagon road from Pennsylvania through Lancaster and York to the Potomac at William's Ferry then up the Valley of Virginia to Winchester from which it was to follow an old Indian trail still farther south. In 1748 at the same place the Twightwees for the first time entered into an alliance with the English.

Another treaty was made at Logs Town a trading post seventeen or eighteen miles below the forks of the Ohio near the modern town of Economy. According to arrangement, Christopher Gist, Captain Trent and George Croghan and other representatives of the Ohio Company met the Indians at this point on June 9, 1752. The Indians most prominent here were the Shawanees and Mingoes and the purpose of the conference was to get these tribes to confirm the cession made at Lancaster. At first, although they recognized the treaty of Lancaster and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, they denied any knowledge of the Western lands being conveyed to the English by that deed and refused to have anything to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twightwees we should be pleased to have your assistance and protection;" they therefore asked that the English build a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The reference was to Langlade's attack on Pickawillany. The influence of Croghan and Montour, a son of the famous Madam Montour and a chief among the Six Nations, finally induced the Indians to sign a deed confirming the Lancaster treaty in its full extent and consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio.

In the following year William Fairfax had a conference at Winchester, Va., with representatives of some of the Indian tribes. was concluded but such was the fee Indians that Fairfax did not dare either the Lancaster or the Logs Tow

The conference held at Carlisle, ber, 1753, between representatives Nations, the Delawares, Shawanees, and Wyandots on the one hand an missioners of Pennsylvania including Franklin was more satisfactory. In Indians' complaint that their friends English had brought upon them of the French, the English agreed trading stations at the forks at Logs at the mouth of the Kanawha. A sp of the Indian chiefs at this time is ing: "Your Traders," says he, "b anything but Rum and Flour. They Powder and Lead, or other valuable Rum ruins us. We beg you would coming in such Quantities by reg Traders. We never understood the to be for Whisky and Flour. We de be forbidden, and none sold in the In try; but that, if the Indians will hav may go among the Inhabitants and them for it. When these Whisky Tr they bring thirty or forty Cags, an down before us, and make us drink, the Skins that should go to pay the have contracted for Goods bought Traders, and by this Means we not ourselves, but them too. These wick Sellers, when they have got the Liquor, make them sell the very Cl their Backs. In short, if this Pract tinued, we must be inevitably ruined. earnestly, therefore, beseech you to (Western Annals, p. 149.)

By the treaty of Easton with the Delawares in the autumn of 1756, an was reached that settlers should n mountains. The spaces beyond the were to be kept sacred for the hunti of the red men and no one should except with the permission of the selves. At this very time three millio of this land had been sold to different

At Fort Pitt in 1760 leave was build posts within the Indian country to have enough ground about it to and vegetables for the use of the gar

After the siege of Detroit was rais a treaty was made at the council he which took part the Ottawas, Ojib

wattamies, Miamis, Sacs and Wyandots, which was simply a treaty of peace and to relinquish the title to the English post and the territory around them for the distance of a cannon shot and recognize the sovereignty of the English.

The celebrated peace made by Bouquet with the tribes along the Muskingum, the Delawares, the Senecas and Shawanees was in 1764.

In the spring of the following year in accordance with the promise made to Bouquet, the tribes of the West entered into a treaty with Sir William Johnson at the German Flats, New York. The Indians at this time desired to fix the Western boundary at the Allegheny River but Johnson pleaded lack of authority and the controversy remained unsettled.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 was probably the first to fix boundaries of any definiteness. It is described at length in another chapter.

The treaty of Lochavar made two years after the Stanwix treaty recognized a title in the Southern Indians to certain lands covered by the grant made by the Northern Indians but this did not serve to bother the settlers whose conscience was quieted by the alleged Iroquois title.

The treaty of Camp Charlotte in 1774 practically concluded Dunmore's War.

The treaty of the Watauga branch of the Holston River in March, 1775, was with the Cherokee Indians and transferred certain lands south of the Ohio to the Transylvania Company. This included about half of the modern State of Kentucky and part of Tennessee lying near the southerly bend of the Cumberland. It was bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland and Ohio rivers and included a territory of about eighteen millions of acres.

A conference with the Western Indians attended by the Delawares, Senecas and Shawanees was held at Pittsburg in October, 1775. The Indians were divided in their views with relation to the dissension of the Americans and English and at this time one of their chieftains, Captain White Eyes ever a friend of the Americans, asserted the independence of the Delawares and denied the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people. The English faction was led by the celebrated Captain Pipe.

The Delawares however headed by White Eyes, Pipe and Kill-Buck formed a treaty of peace at Fort Pitt in September, 1778, with the Virginians.

At Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Six Nations under the leadership of Cornplanter and Red Jacket met Richard Butler, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee. This was the first recognition by the Indians of the new republic. Despite the reluctance of the Indian chiefs, the treaty was signed which virtually extinguished the Indian title to the lands lying north and west of the Ohio both in Pennsylvania and in New York.

The pretension of the Six Nations to sell these lands over which they in fact had no control for years angered the Western tribes and it became necessary to quiet them. This was done in the treaties made at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. At Fort McIntosh near the mouth of Beaver creek, thirty miles below Fort Pitt the American commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Samuel H. Parsons and Isaac Lane met representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas. By the treaty which was agreed upon, January 1, 1785, a section was reserved for the Indians in the northwestern part of Ohio and all the lands east and south and west of the lines bounding this section were acknowledged by the Indians of the conference to belong to the United States.

The Shawanees on the Scioto had kept aloof from the treaty at Fort McIntosh and for their benefit a conference was held at Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami. The commissioners here were Gen. George Rogers Clark, Gen. Richard Butler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons. On January 31, 1786, a treaty was concluded here by which the Shawanees agreed to practically the same terms as those incorporated in the treaty at Fort McIntosh. The Shawanees agreed to confine themselves in the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash. From this time until the actual settlement in the Ohio country the Indians avoided making any further treaties.

St. Clair in the summer of 1788 made an effort to negotiate a treaty and finally succeeded in gathering the warrior chieftains at Fort Harmar in September. Negotiations were delayed by the slowness by which the representatives of the tribes came in. Among the Six Nations Brant and McKee used all their influence to prevent a conference; however St. Clair succeeded in January, 1789, in negotiating two treaties. The first was with the Six Nations, except the Mohawks who had withdrawn with Brant to Canada, and confirmed the cessions made at Fort Stanwix in 1784. The other was with the Wyandots and other Western tribes and confirmed the cessions at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney in 1785. These treaties of Fort Harmar were the most important to the settlers as they

assured to them the lands just opened by the grants from Congress northwest of the Ohio. It was the delay in the negotiations at Fort Harmar that on the one hand kept Symmes so long at Limestone and that on the other occupied the attention of the Indians so that there was comparatively little annoyance from them at the time of the landings at Columbia, Yeatman's Cove and North Bend.

On September 27, 1792, Rufus Putnam having reached Vincennes, met thirty-one chiefs including the various tribes of Miamis and Illinois Indians and concluded a treaty of peace which however the Senate refused to ratify because of its guaranty to the Indians of their lands.

The treaty of Greenville in 1795 came as the conclusion of Wayne's campaign and practically reaffirmed the former treaties of Fort Harmar.

The treaties after Greenville were merous and as a result little by little of the Indians to any of the land nc State of Ohio was surrendered.

The Miamis, by the Greenville trea treaty later in 1809, ceded their lands the Wabash and the Ohio State line. not join the alliance proposed by Tecu did finally enlist against the America War of 1812 and attacked a detachmen eral Harrison's army commanded by L Colonel Campbell. They were defeated for peace in a final treaty which was with them September 8, 1815, by wl their numbers had very much decreasec sult of their wars and their drunkenness

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY. CARTIER TO PONTIAC.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS—ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE—KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE—CELORON DE BIENVILLE—CHRISTOPHER GIST—GEORGE WASHINGTON—THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY—PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS.

The history of any particular place or people is an integral part of the history of the world. The course of human events is one connected whole, and at no point in the development of the race can the narrator content himself with saying that here begins the history of the particular epoch he is about to describe. This is particularly true in the case of the history of the American people or any community of that people made up as it is of settlers from all parts of the world driven from their homes by various reasons of expediency differing in almost every individual case. Separated as were the original settlements both by time and distance, distinct as were their forms of government and modes of life and manner of thought, they soon touched at many points and finally merged into a united whole sharing in the resultant body the different tendencies that characterize the constituent parts and showing new peculiarities as developed by local conditions of the differing environment.

In the case of a city such as Cincinnati it is a very simple matter for the chronicler to state that it was first settled in 1788, received its present name in 1790, was created a township in 1791, was incorporated as a village in 1802, and became a city in 1819, from which time it has continued to flourish in population, business wealth and culture until the present day. Such a bare recital of chronological details would have the sole merit of accuracy which is the great desideratum of modern historical work but it would be of but little value or interest. From such details one would learn nothing of the condition and causes that led to the settlement of the city, the influences that surrounded its early life and molded its subsequent character, nor any adequate explanation of its present high position in the world of business, art and letters. To understand properly the history of the foundation and development of such a city it is necessary to consider somewhat the events that preceded,—not only those belonging geographically to its immediate vicinity but many that both in point of time and locality seem at first sight a trifle remote.

The early history of the site of Cincinnati and its neighborhood is intimately connected with the history of the great struggle for colonial possession that so involved three great nations of Europe. France was the first great explorer and trader, England a century later began her policy of colonization while Spain ever jealously viewed the great waterways. To quote from a recent writer, Charles Moore:

"France discovered and occupied the North-"west; but England included that region be-"tween the infinite parallels bounding on the "north and the south the colonies of Virginia, "Massachusetts, and Connecticut. It was not "until a full century after France had estab-"lished her trade from the St. Lawrence to the "Mississippi that the English Colonies, as their

"population increased, began to plan the occu-
"pation of the valley of the Ohio. Virginia hav-
"ing crossed the Alleghanies, came into collision
"with France and was driven back. England
"took up the quarrel on behalf of her colonial
"rights; and at the end of the French and In-
"dian War, New France—the picturesque, ro-
"mantic, extravagant, squalid New France—
"disappeared from the map of North America.
"Next, England undertook to keep her own
"subjects from settling and civilizing the North-
"west; and for the annihilation of the British
"posts, the occupants of that country entered
"into the most far-reaching and distinctive In-
"dian conspiracy known to this land. No sooner
"were the savages subdued than the War of the
"Revolution led to the conquest of the North-
"west by Virginia, and during eight years petty
"warfare was carried on by the Indians and
"British against the Americans. Maryland con-
"ditioned her entrance into the Confederation
"of the States upon the cession to the general
"government of the claims of the individual
"colonies to the Northwestern lands, and the
"makers of the treaty of 1783 succeeded in draw-
"ing the boundary lines of the new nation
"through the middle of the Great Lakes and of
"the Mississippi. Then the Congress of the
"Confederation gave to this first territorial ex-
"pansion of the nation a charter of freedom
"and progress never before equalled among men;
"and under this Ordinance of 1787, New Eng-
"land men and ideas became the dominating force
"from the Ohio to Lake Erie. The advent of
"the settlers brought about Indian wars, fought
"by the United States against savages fed,
"clothed and armed by England that nation hav-
"ing, for the purposes of its fur trade, made
"excuse to retain the Northwestern posts. Un-
"der the provisions of the treaty of 1795, how-
"ever, the posts were surrendered, and Great
"Britain retired across the border, there to
"nurse grievances that were to find vent in the
"War of 1812.

"We have been accustomed to regard the
"Northwest as a wilderness that grew into civil-
"ization by some vital force within itself. Such
"however was far from being the case. The
"name of Michilimackinac was a familiar word
"in the cabinets of European monarchs before
"it was known to the people dwelling along the
"Atlantic; the foundation of Detroit was de-
"creed in the councils of France and the rela-
"tions of the Jesuit missions in the Northwest
"were eagerly read even by the polite societ
"of Paris. England, however, was compara
"tively ignorant of the Western Country; bu
"Spain was not without ambition to control it
"waterways. In our own land, the makers of th
"Republic were also the makers of the North
"west. In its defense Washington first learne
"the art of war; Franklin realized its possi
"bilities, and interested himself in its develop
"ment; Patrick Henry planned with Georg
"Rogers Clark for its conquest; John Jay an
"Franklin and John Adams drew about it th
"lines of the United States; Thomas Jefferso
"bestowed upon it the inestimable boon of free
"dom; Washington's chief of engineers led it
"first settlers, and Mad Anthony Wayne subdue
"its savage inhabitants, and received the sur
"render of its frontier posts.

"Many races united to people and to build u
"the Northwest; and many interests were i
"conflict. The story is one of warfare, of cruelt
"and of barbarism." (The Northwest unde
Three Flags, pp. 19-21.)

It would be impossible, and it is not desirabl
in a work of this character to give any detaile
account of the events epitomized in the foregoin
extract. A brief résumé of some of the signif
cant features of the early explorations is impor
ant however in order to make clear the prop
relations of things.

The French exploration and occupation can
dismissed with little discussion for, important
was the part of France in the development
the Northwest as a whole. Cincinnati to a le
degree than almost any other of the older citi
of the West was affected directly by Fren
contact.

Strangely enough Lake Erie and the Ol
River as well as the land that intervened were
all the Western country the last explored a
the least known to the French. In 1534 Cart
had advanced up the St. Lawrence to wit
sight of Anticosti and in the following year
ascended to the sites of Quebec and Montr
then flourishing Indian villages. He return
again in 1541 the year that the Mississippi
discovered by the Spaniards under De Soto.
was not however until 1608 that Champlain
gan the settlement of Quebec and in the follo
ing year he entered the lake that bears his n
and in an encounter with the Iroquois gave
tribe its first experience with gunpowder, th
by winning the everlasting enmity of that pow
ful confederacy for the French. Two y

later (1611) he began the building of Place Royale, the modern city of Montreal. The absurd lies of an ambitious adventurer, Vignau, directed the course of French exploration by way of the Ottawa River rather than the St. Lawrence and as a result Georgian Bay a part of Lake Huron was the first of the great lakes to become known to the adventurous Champlain who skirted its shores and visited the seat of the Hurons in 1615. From this point he crossed to Lake Ontario and after sailing to the opposite shore, struck inland until he reached Oneida Lake in the heart of the Iroquois country. He wintered with the Hurons finally returning by way of Lake Huron and the Ottawa.

Brulé detaching himself from Champlain's party descended the Susquehanna to the sea. This "dauntless woodsman and pioneer of pioneers" the first white man to pass beyond Lake Huron returned from a long journey in 1629 with some copper from Lake Superior which he described as very large and emptying into Lake Huron by a fall (Sault Ste. Marie).

In 1634 Jean Nicolet started from Quebec carrying with him a gorgeous "robe of Chinese damask embroidered with birds and flowers" as an ambassador from Champlain to a "strange people without hair or beard who came from the West" whom he might not unnaturally (according to Parkman) have supposed to be Chinese or Japanese. They were in fact the Winnebagoes living near the head of Green Bay, and to reach them he passed over the waters of Lake Michigan. When he neared the town "he put on his robe of damask, and advanced to meet the expectant crowd with a pistol in each hand. The squaws and children fled, screaming that it was a manito, or spirit, armed with thunder and lightning: but the chiefs and warriors regaled him with so bountiful a hospitality that a hundred and twenty beavers were devoured at a single feast." He ascended the Fox River and turned back when he had almost reached the "Father of Waters" which he supposed from the Indian tales to be the ocean and not the Mississippi. Seven years later Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues skirted the northern shores of Lake Huron and preached to the Indians at the outlet of Lake Superior. Then the terrible Iroquois war, which furnishes the text of so many of Parkman's eloquent pages, stopped all exploration for a time and it was not until 1654 that Radisson and Groseilliers, fur traders and brothers-in-law, made the circuit of Lake Huron, passing through the Straits of Mackinac, and wintered near Green Bay. Radisson declares that they reached the Forked River,—so called "because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which, we believe runs toward Mexico" which Parkman thinks points to the Mississippi and its great confluent the Missouri. This statement is doubted however.

In this same year Father LeMoyne visited Onondaga the seat of the council fire of the Iroquois and was well received and the next year established a mission there under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon.

ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

An exploring trip that is of the greatest interest is that of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. As it is claimed for him that he discovered the Ohio River in 1669 and descended it as far as the rapids at Louisville and possibly to a point beyond its confluence with the Mississippi, he is (if this claim be true) probably the first white man whose eyes ever fell upon the land where now the city of Cincinnati stands. Rufus King seems to discredit this story (Ohio, p. 38) but Parkman gives it as well worthy of belief. Mr. Winsor reviews the discussion at length. (Nar. & Crit. Hist., Vol. 4, pp. 206-207 et seq.)

Parkman bases his belief upon an anonymous paper purporting to be a history of LaSalle taken from the lips of the great explorer himself. LaSalle who had obtained a grant just above Montreal was visited by some Senecas who told him of a river called the Ohio (or beautiful river) which rose in their country and flowed into the sea at a point distant an eight or nine months' journey. This LaSalle took to be the Western passage to China and he soon started on an expedition with two priests Dollier and Galinée, accompanied by twenty-one others with seven canoes. After thirty-five days they reached Irondequoit Bay on the south side of Lake Ontario. At a Seneca village not far distant they were overwhelmed by the native hospitality, being fed upon the flesh of dogs and boiled maize seasoned with oil made from nuts and sunflower seeds. Here too they witnessed the killing by torture at the stake of a prisoner, a young Indian. They could get no guides, but were told that if they persevered in their attempt to go to the Ohio, the Indians there would surely kill them. Leaving the Senecas they coasted the south shore of the lake, passing within the sound of Niagara's roar and reached a friendly Indian

village a few miles north of the present town of Hamilton. They were about to set out with a Shawanee guide who was to take them to the Ohio in six weeks when they heard of the presence of another Frenchman in a neighboring village. This proved to be Joliet, who had just passed over the waters of Lake Erie and who persuaded the priests to abandon the Ohio trip for one to the upper lakes. (Lake Erie appears on Sanson's map of 1656.) It is at this point that the story of the anonymous manuscript becomes important. It relates that after separating from the priests, LaSalle continued his journey to Onondaga, thence to a point six or seven leagues distant from Lake Erie, and continued until he came upon the rapids at Louisville. At length his men abandoned him and he retraced his steps. LaSalle in a memoir afterwards addressed to Count Frontenac states that he discovered "la grande rivière d'Ohio" and followed it to the falls after passing another quite large river which comes into it from the north which Parkman conjectures was either the Miami or Scioto. Parkman concludes "that he discovered the Ohio may then be regarded as established" and in all probability the Illinois also. (LaSalle etc., Chap. 2.)

LaSalle's claim to the discovery of the Mississippi is not generally received however and that honor is accorded to Joliet and Marquette who floating down the Wisconsin on June 17, 1673 entered the great and mysterious river, lost to history since the burial of De Soto a hundred and thirty-one years before. The Ohio is mentioned by them as coming from the country of the Shawanees. It was but eight years later, 1681, that the intrepid LaSalle explored the Mississippi from above the Missouri to its junction with the gulf, passing and noting the mouth of the Ohio (spoken of as the Wabash) on his way. On April 9, 1682 he raised a column in sight of the gulf inscribed with the arms of France and the name of the King and after the chanting of the "Te Deum" and amidst the firing of muskets, he took possession in the name of Louis the Fourteenth of the country (designating it as Louisiana) from the Ohio to the gulf.

In the later expedition projected for the purpose of extending a line of French forts from the mouth of the great river to the Canadian frontier and thus make sure this great basin for his master, LaSalle met with misfortune and death by the hand of an assassin. In this same year (1687) Tonti and DuLhut intercepted and captured the English party under McGregor on its way to attack DuLhut's settlement at th St. Clair River. This was Fort St. Jose had been established the previous yea exploit was the most serious setback to lish that they had received.

This expedition of McGregor's was i a trading venture, the result of the su New York traders at Mackinac the sur fore in the absence of the French garris adventurous English, with their chea and large stock of rum, completely s Chippewa Indian market and had reti their booty before the French could retu

This encounter which resulted so dis for the English was their first real con the French in that section of the We century closed with the French in contr countries watered by the lakes and th sippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. For fo or more, to quote Mr. King, darknes hung over the beautiful region lying f tween the lake and the Ohio. The *coureurs de bois* worked their way a south shore of Lake Erie and up the S and Maumee rivers seeking the Wal Ohio, but they formed no settlements.

In 1701 Cadillac, the inveterate riv Jesuits and foe of the Iroquois, founde building a strong stockade of wooden and with bastions at the four angles, a houses within.

Just a year before Gravier passing th of the Ohio, known to him as the Ouabac bash) mentions that it is formed by thr taries, the present Wabash, the Ohio (a confluence of the Wabash) and the ri the Southeast upon which live the Sl who trade with the English of Virg Carolina. On the map of Gentil present Bibliotheque Nationale in 1713, the Oh down as the Ouabache (Wabash). The too used this name. The Wabash was ent stream of that name and the part of below it. Above the Wabash extendir sources of the Allegheny was La Belle or the Oyo (Ohio). The Indians c main river, between the mouth of the and the Mississippi, the Akansea. As 1697 De Remonville, in a memorial to th ministry upon the importance of colo keep out the English, reports a rumor Governor of Pennsylvania had despat men to settle upon the Wabash or Ol must be considered as a distinct thre French control of the Mississippi.

Iberville realized the importance of the Ohio region because of the easy means of communication between it and the St. Lawrence region and on the other hand between it and the Louisiana region and complained of the Canadian system in favoring the hunter and trapper in preference to the settler and home seeker which he thought a fatal blunder if France expected to hold the country against the English.

His plan was to establish posts near the mouths of the Missouri, Ohio and Arkansas as permanent centers of French influence and also at a later day to induce the tribes of the Illinois, who were friendly to the French, to settle along the banks of the lower Ohio. As a result of the alarm of the Eastern Indians, caused by the fortification at Detroit, came an action which was the basis of the subsequent claim of the English to the title of the Western country. Governor Penn had expressed the view of the colonial governors, when he stated that the just and reasonable boundary was the south side of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, but the basis of this claim was not a very substantial one. The purpose of the French to encompass the English by taking possession of the Mississippi basin was recognized in England as well as in the Colonies, and the Iroquois were represented as a "constant barrier of defence between Virginia and Maryland and the French, and by their constant vigilence they had prevented the French making any descent that way."

Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Livingston, the Secretary of New York, after a week's conference with the sachem at Albany, obtained a deed of cession, July 9, 1701, by the Five Nations to the King, ceding to him the region north of the Ohio and stretching to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers as well as the territory north of Lake Erie stretching east of the Ottawa. This included all the beaver hunting lands of the West and was described as having been conquered by them many years before, at the time when the Hurons were driven out of the Northern portion in 1650, and the Eries and others at a later period were defeated in the Southern portion. The territory ceded commenced north of Lake Ontario, and extended to the Twightwees, about eight hundred by four hundred miles in extent; this cession was confirmed by a later deed in 1726. As a matter of fact, however, the French influence in the territory, which now comprises the State of Ohio, was still predominant and it was not as a result of any permission from the Five Nations that the various Western tribes occupied the territory but by force of arms backed by French assistance.

In 1702 a French fort was established near the site of Cairo by Juchereau in accordance with the plan of Iberville but it was abandoned some three years later. Cahokia had been founded probably as early as 1690 and Kaskaskia about the same time. In 1712 the latter place had become a village and land titles were acquired and preparations for a permanent settlement made as it was chosen as the capitol place of the Illinois. The date of the settlement of Vincennes is variously given, but 1727 seems to be the most likely date.

It was in 1747 that the Indian chief Nicholas stirred up the Miamis against the French with whom they had hitherto been friendly and induced them to burn Fort Miamis of the Maumee. Galissonière the Governor of Canada sent aid, but before the arrival of the troops the Miamis were in full flight; the principal body under La Demoiselle settled on the Big Miami.

As early as 1671, Governor Berkeley of Virginia sent a party of English and Indians under Capt. Thomas Batts "to explore and find out the ebbing and flowing of the water behind the mountains, in order to the discovery of the South Sea." They traveled thirteen days over the mountains and through the woods until they came to a river "like the Thames at Chelsea" in which a few days later they reached "a Fall that made a great noise" where the journey was stopped by the refusal of the Indians to go any further. Their excuse was the difficulty of capturing game, but in reality the moving cause was fear of the Indians who lived down the river, which in all probability was the Kanawha. Those that went down that river never returned so it was said; these fears Captain Batts was unable to overcome and he was obliged to turn back.

KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a most venturesome and active soldier, Sir Alexander Spotswood, was Governor of Virginia. At the age of twenty-eight he had attained the rank of colonel, and had received a wound at Blenheim. He was a man of great force of character and very direct speech and he had the interests of his government and his colony much at heart. He was a strong believer in the theory of the English, that their rights ran from sea to sea. The grant to Penn, he claimed, extended to the border of Ontario, and the Virginia

charter included all other rights to the West, north of Carolina. This was the claim afterward maintained by Virginia and it included the great lakes from Lake Erie to the West and the upper Mississippi country. The English seem at times to have been strangely ignorant of what the French had done.

The English settlements crept slowly inland beyond tide-water and a strip of forest more than fifty miles in breadth was to be traversed before the peaks of the mountains could be reached. In 1710 some adventurers had gone about one hundred miles beyond the settlements and had descended the mountains from which they looked down into the valleys of Virginia, and shortly afterwards Sugar-loaf Mountain was described by Graffenreid, who said that he saw from its summit three distinct ranges and beautiful valleys lying between. The traders, however, must have passed through from time to time as evidences of their traffic were to be found in the possession of the Indians.

In 1716, Spotswood conceived the idea of his celebrated expedition, composed of a party of fifty gentlemen with slaves and Indian guides and pack horses who undertook a picnic jaunt to the mountains. No party of exploration has ever presented such attractive features as this expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. The days were spent in shooting and the nights in enjoying the trophies of the chase, washed down with native wine,—champagne and cognac. At the top of the Appalachian Mountains they drank the health of the king and all of his family. On the banks of the river, to which he gave the name Euphrates, and which is now known by its Indian name Shenandoah, they buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which was recorded the claim of title to this place and all the soil it drained. "We had a good dinner and drank the King's health in Champagne and fired a volley." The Governor had taken with him some graving irons but found the stones so hard that he could not make any impression upon them. It is reported however, that he cut the name of George the First upon a rock at the summit of the highest peak they reached and named it Mount George, whereupon the rest of the party called the next one Mount Alexander, in honor of the Governor. "For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horseshoes, things seldom used in the lower part of the country where there are few stones. Upon which account the Governor upon their return presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, some of which I h seen studded with valuable stones resembling heads of nails, with this inscription: *Sic ju transcendere montes.* This he instituted to courage gentlemen to venture backwards make discoveries and new settlements, any g tleman being entitled to wear this golden s that can prove his having drank his Majes health upon Mount George."

This particular expedition, the first junket tour of which we have any record, has been m the subject of much romantic writing. In report the Governor relates that he reached w in three days' march of a great nation of Indi who lived on the river emptying into Lake E and from the western side of one of the mo tains, which he saw, that lake was visible and above five days' march away. It would b very easy matter he thought to obtain possess of the lake, as the road thither was very pr ticable. This he thought important because British plantations were surrounded by French fortresses in such a manner that t would not only soon engross the whole trade send out such bodies of Indians as w threaten the Virginia plantations. Should t be able to join their settlements along the l with those in Louisiana, they could pos themselves of the English plantations. long chain of mountains formed n ural barrier, but to make this effective thought the English should make some se ments along the lakes and in the passes of mountains to preserve communications with settlements. It is conjectured that the river r of which he spoke, was down the Youghiog to the forks then up the Allegheny and a to the site of Erie, about three hundred r distant in a straight line from the point w he turned back. With some self-complac Spotswood concludes his report: "I flatter self I have attained a more exact knowledge any other Englishman yet has of the situ of the lakes and the way through which the most accessible over land."

It is probable that from the time of S wood's expedition, numerous stragglers cr the mountains to the Indians. Not only d traders undertake these expeditions but su ing parties began to explore the new co Mitchell, a geographer of a later date, te the journeys of Virginia surveyors, wh crossed the gaps and passed down the Ohio to New Orleans.

In 1742, it is reported that John H

passed from the upper waters of the James over the mountains to New River by which he reached the Ohio, which he descended to the Mississippi, where he was captured by some French and Indians and conveyed to New Orleans. In 1744, Col. Abraham Wood led an expedition through the Blue Ridge, by what came to be known as Wood's Gap, and he too reached the upper waters of the Ohio by way of New River.

In 1748, Conrad Weiser, one of the most prominent of the early traders, who had in early life acquired the Mohawk tongue by residence among them, was sent on an embassy to the Shawanees on the Ohio. He proceeded as far as Logs Town, where he met the chiefs of the tribe and delivered presents and received assurances of their support against the French. The treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, was made in 1744. Weiser acted as interpreter for the English who entertained the Indians to the number of over two hundred and fifty, with food and drink for several days. The interpreter for the Indians was Madame Montour, whose husband and son were so prominent in the history of the Indian negotiations. Her son Andrew was at this time absent on the war-path against the Catawbas, by whom his father had been killed a few years before. At this time the commissioners from Virginia urged that the Western lands along the mountains were without occupants when they first knew them, and that the English King held Virginia by right of conquest and that the bounds of that conquest to the westward was the Great Sea. The answer of the Iroquois was as follows: "Though great things are well remembered among us, we do not remember that we were ever conquered by the Great King of England, or that we have ever been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if so it was at a time beyond the memory of man."

The claims of the other commissioners in Pennsylvania and Maryland were ridiculed as well. The conference ended with the payment of a considerable sum by the English and the release of an indefinite extent of territory to the west of the Alleghanies by the Indians. Each side realized that the title so obtained was of doubtful validity, but it was upon this title that a very large part of the contention of Great Britain subsequently rested.

The Ohio Company of which more will be heard of subsequently, was formed in 1748, which was the year in which the Pennsylvania and Virginia traders established their most advanced post at the newly settled Miami town, Pickawillany, on the Big Miami. As a result of the Walker expedition across the Alleghanies and through Cumberland Gap, the first Englishman's house in Kentucky was built April 25, 1750.

It is impossible of course to state when the first white man invaded the Ohio Valley, or even to state who was the first Englishman that appeared in this neighborhood. Undoubtedly traders from Pennsylvania and other Western States had trafficked among the Indians for many years, but at a time of which we have no record. These traders were called by Franklin "the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation," which however is in many respects an unjust characterization. It was true, however, that many of them were of a very low class and of very pernicious habits, which influenced the Indians to distrust the white man and his religion.

While the French were making inroads upon this country from the North, the English were working their way gradually westward, and the struggle for the friendship of the Indian tribes became a keen one. In December, 1747, a deputation of chiefs from the Ohio tribes was at Philadelphia. They told the commissioners that if they were expected to oppose the French on the Ohio, they must be supported by the English. It seemed to be a common complaint that the English gave no assistance to those they desired as allies.

"The several governments of the English Colonies," wrote Colonel Johnston to Governor Shirley, had for three years been persuading the Iroquois, "into a war wherein they had not any concern but to serve their friends and they have left their hunting and other means of living and exposed themselves and families for our sakes" to be left without assistance at a critical time.

In July, 1748, the Twightwees or Miamis, pledged themselves to an English alliance at Lancaster. English traders are said to have been employed along the Wabash as early as 1723, and this treaty gave them additional security. As a result the pack men of Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagon roads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac, from which an Indian trail led to the forks of the Ohio; from this point they took another trail to the towns of the Miamis.

The French were disappointed at the treaty of 1748, as they had been making great efforts

to control the trade of the Miami country and had expected to build forts or stockades to aid them in this endeavor. One of the points suggested was on the Ohio, opposite the Cherokee, now Tennessee River, and another was at the falls of the Ohio. A special effort was made to alienate the Shawanees from the English. These people who had been dispersed between the Senecas and Miamis, with their main villages north of the Ohio, above the mouth of the Kanawha, were pushing westward into the Scioto country, some of them going as far as the mouth of the Wabash. Here they naturally became more under the control of the French, who were anxious to offset them against the Miamis, whose affiliations seemed to be with the English.

In 1745, English traders erected at Sandusky Bay, what Mr. Winsor suggests were "perhaps the first English structures in the present State of Ohio," and made friends among the neighboring Hurons and their chief Nicholas. This chieftain was very active in plotting against the French, and this fact together with the encroachments of the traders alarmed the commandant at Detroit, and determined him to prevent if possible the English from getting a lodgment in the Ohio country. The English traders had already founded their most advanced post at the Great Miami or Twightwee town, Pickawillany, in 1748; this was on the Big Miami, one hundred and fifty miles up the stream from the Ohio. It is said that at this time, during a single season, three hundred English traders led their pack horses and dragged their boats from the mountains across the portages into the Ohio Valley. The most conspicuous of these traders was George Croghan, for many years official representative of the State of Pennsylvania in various negotiations with the Indians.

Croghan was an Irishman, who had been trading for some years along the shores of Lake Erie. As early as June, 1747, the Pennsylvania Council received a letter from Croghan, calling their attention to the Indians along the borders of Lake Erie, who had formerly been in the French interest, but who had now come over and joined the Six Nations against the French, and stating that he had received from them a letter with a string of wampum and a French scalp, which he delivered to the Governor of Pennsylvania. He suggested that as this was a nation of great consequence, on account of their alliances, the Governor should immediately send them a present for their encouragement. Again in September, one of Croghan's men brought a letter to the Council, advising them that the dians on Lake Erie were making war on French, but were very impatient to hear fr their brethren, the English, expecting a pre of powder and lead, "which if they do not he is of opinion they will return to the Fre who will be very willing to make it up w them."

Croghan insisted that "in case the pre was not sent, neither he nor his men would to go into the Indian Country that year. Council concluded to send a present to the va of two hundred pounds, to the Indians of O and Lake Erie, and the Secretary was orde to prepare a letter and a string of wampum accompany the present."

CELORON DE BIENVILLE.

Galissonière, the Governor of Canada, alarmed at the progress made by the Engl and realized that the French occupancy of C ada was imperiled. He was a naval officer is perhaps best known from the fact that a years afterwards, he won a victory at Mino over the famous English admiral, Byng, remembered as the one commanding officer, was shot on his own quarter deck for coward Galissonière, although hump-backed, was a of spirit and ability, and he felt strongly need of uniting Canada and Louisiana, by a cl of forts which should hold back the Bri pioneers and encourage the development French trade throughout the interior. His soning as set out in a memorial concerning French Colonies in North America, was to effect that Canada was necessary to the Fr as a barrier against the English, not bec of its value to the French but because if it bec the property of the English, it would so inc their trade and hence their naval power make them preponderant in Europe. The kr edge that such men as Croghan and other lish traders were crossing the mountains Pennsylvania and Virginia, trafficking a the Indians, who had been formerly Frenc lies, and driving off the French traders stim him to take some decisive action, and in the mer of 1749, he set on foot the expediti Celoron de Bienville, to the valley of the Celoron was a Chevalier of St. Louis, captain in the colony troops. He took wit fourteen officers and cadets, twenty soldier hundred and eighty Canadians, and about Indians, Iroquois and Abenakis, in twenty

birch-bark canoes. He pushed up to St. Lawrence, losing a man and several canoes on the way, crossed Lake Ontario, and passed round Niagara. It took the party seven days, carrying the canoes and baggage up the steep hills through the dense forests of beech, oak and elm that intervened between the shores of Lake Erie and the waters of Chautauqua Lake, eight miles away and one thousand feet higher. They glided over this lake to the outlet so well known to summer tourists. The stream was quite low.

Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain, in his journal, which is the chief record of the expedition, says: "In some places—and they were but too frequent—the water was only two or three inches deep; and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging our canoes over the sharp pebbles, which with all our care and precaution stripped off large slivers of the bark. At last tired and worn and almost in despair of ever seeing La Belle Riviere, we entered it at noon of the 29th." This part of the Ohio is now known as the Allegheny or Alleghany.

This was the beginning of the territory which was already in dispute and which was regarded as so valuable to the French, lying as it did between their possessions in wintry Canada and tropical Louisiana. Not only was it valuable because of its peculiar geographical situation, but because of its inhabitants and the opportunities of trade afforded by them. To the east were the Delawares, Shawanees, Wyandots and Iroquois, called Mingoes by the English traders, and to the west, along the Miamis and the Wabash, was the Miami confederacy, and still farther west, near the Mississippi, were the Illinois. The French had forts on the Maumee, on the St. Joseph and two on the Wabash, all of but little strength. Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, was much stronger with its stone bastions and citadel. There were seventy or eighty French houses at Kaskaskia, half as many at Cahokia, opposite the present site of St. Louis, and a few others along the line of the Mississippi. The English on the other hand were represented by a large number of traders who had been received by the Indians with open arms.

Such men as George Croghan, William Trent and Christopher Gist, were of the better class of traders, who had many men in their employ crossing the mountains with their goods, which were carried into the valley of the Ohio, from village to village. It was these traders that were the special object of Celoron's antipathy and the occasion of his expedition.

Upon reaching the Allegheny, he formally took possession of the country. His men were drawn up in order and in their presence, Louis the Fifteenth was proclaimed sovereign of all the territory. A sheet of tin, on which was stamped the arms of France, was nailed to a tree, and a plate of lead was buried at its foot, and the notary, who always accompanied the French expeditions, drew a formal record of the whole proceeding. The leaden plate was inscribed as follows:

"Year 1749, in the reign of Louis Fifteenth, King of France. We Celoron, commanding the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière, commander-general of New France, to restore tranquility in certain villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaouagon (Conewango) this 29th July, as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, of all streams that fall into it and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed it or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, notably by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."

After this work was completed the party proceeded down the river, passing various Indian settlements, but finding it very difficult to communicate with their inhabitants who were not at all friendly. In fact the hostile Senecas are said to have dug up his first plate and sent it to the English at Albany. Another plate was buried four leagues below French creek by a rock covered with Indian hieroglyphics. Three days later they came to a Delaware village at the site of Kittanning, whose owners fled at their approach. A little later at an abandoned village of the Shawanees they found six English traders, whom they warned to leave the country. He entrusted to their care a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania and expressed surprise at finding the English trespassing on the domain of France. This letter was properly delivered, for at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council, held January, 1749:

"The Governor informed the Council that three several letters of extraordinary character in French, signed Celoron, were delivered to him by the Indian traders who came from Allegheny, informing him that this Captain Celoron was a French officer and had already in command of three hundred French and some Indians been sent this Summer to Ohio and the Owabach from

Canada, to reprove the Indians there for their friendship to the English and for suffering the English to trade with them."

On the following day they reached another Indian village, this time of the Iroquois, under a female chief, who was friendly to the English. Six more Englishmen were found here and were likewise warned to leave the country, but as did their predecessors they pretended to obey. When they reached Logs Town they found both French and English flags over the town and were greeted with a salute of musketry by the inhabitants who lined the shore. They climbed up the steep bank and encamped on the plateau above, near the village. This consisted of about fifty wigwams and cabins of the Delawares and Shawanees and Mingoes and many fugitives from the deserted towns above. Celoron here delivered a message from the Governor, warning the Indians against the English, whose plans he said tended to their complete ruin. The English intended, he said, to rob them of their country and, to succeed, began by corrupting their minds. The answer of the Indians was practical and to the point.

They asked that the English traders might stay a little longer, since their goods, which were very cheap, were much desired by them. Celoron insisted, however, that the traders, of whom there were ten, should go, to which they agreed, as the chaplain states, "while resolved no doubt to do the contrary as soon as our backs were turned."

At the mouth of the Wheeling creek they buried another plate and another was buried at the mouth of the Muskingum. This was discovered half a century later, after the freshet of 1798, projecting from the river bank, in front of the spot where the fort school afterwards stood, by a party of boys bathing in the river. The plate was seen protruding from the bank and knocked down by a stick, and before its value was known, a large part of it was cut up and molded into bullets. A neighbor from Marietta rescued it and it was presented to the Governor of New York, who sent it to the American Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts.

On the 18th of August, another plate was buried near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This too was found by a boy at play at the edge of the water, in 1846. As the party approached Scioto, on the 22nd of August, they were greeted with shots and threatening yells. Joncaire, who had been sent ahead to propitiate the inhabitants, was threatened with immediate killing, which was prevented by another party who desired to burn him alive. He was however released allowed to return to his people. Celoron very much alarmed, realizing the weakness his party, "two-thirds of which were young who had never left home before, and would l run at the sight of ten Indians." He insi that powder was furnished to the Indians by English for nothing.

A conference was held at which an apo was given for the ill treatement of Jonc and Celoron delivered his message. He prud ly omitted, however, from the message any re ence to the claim by the King of France of ereignty over their lands. The party of Eng traders who were living in the place, he ord to withdraw, but in view of the fact that seemed well established, he made no attemp enforce his order.

On August 30, 1749, he reached the Great ami, called by the French Riviere-a-la-Ro and here he buried his last leaden plate. T bade farewell to the Ohio—"that river so l known to the French and unfortunately too known to the English."

He speaks of the great number of Indian lages along the shores who kept aloof from and also of the number of traders in the vicin "Each, great or small, has one or more Eng traders and each of these has hired men to c his furs. Behold then the English well adva upon our lands and what is worse under the tection of a crowd of savages whom they drawn over to them and whose number incr daily."

Up the Miami for thirteen days they against the shallow current, until they reache Indian village, built just before, at what w terwards called Loramie Creek. This was over by a chief called by the French, La D selle, and by the English Old Britain. Cel object was to induce this chief and his ba return to their old home, near the Frenc on the Maumee and for that purpose h dressed them in council and gave them gifts. The Chief received the gifts and with thanks and agreed to follow it some time. Celoron's demands that they should the towns were in vain, and in fact withi years the town known as Pickawillany b one of the greatest Indian towns and the of English trade and influence.

The following year at a Pennsylvania C was read the message from the T wee race: "That last July about hundred French and thirty-five Frenc

dians came to their towns in order to persuade them to return back to the French Settlements from whence they came, or if fair means would not prevail with them they were to take them away by force; but the French finding they were resolved to adhere to the English and perceiving their numbers to be great were discouraged from using any Hostile Measures, and began to be afraid less they should themselves be cut off. The French brought them a present consisting of Four Half Barrels of Powder, Four Bags of Bullets and Four Bags of Paint with a few Needles and a little Thread, which they refused to accept of, whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their Way off, for Fear of the worst, leaving their Goods scattered about. But at the Time of their Conference the French upbraided the Indians for joining the English and the more so for continuing in their Interest, who had never sent them any Presents, nor even any token of their Regards to them. The Indians further desired to assure the Governors of their steady Friendship to the English, which they hoped would last while the Sun and Moon ran round the World." (Penn. Pro. Council, Vol. V, p. 437.)

Celoron burned his canoes and crossed over to the French post of the Maumee, thence to Lake Erie, and finally reached Montreal. He closed his journal as follows:

"Father Bonnecamp, who was a Jesuit, and a great mathematician, reckons that we have journeyed twelve hundred leagues; I and my officers think we have journeyed more. All I can say is that the Nations of these countries are very ill disposed towards the French and devoted entirely to the English."

He supposed the secret of this devotion to be the inducements of trade offered by the English, which he had seen among the Delawares on the Muskingum, the Shawanees on the Scioto, and the Wyandots on the Sandusky, and among the Twightwees at Pickawillany.

Rufus King, in his "Ohio," says "the fact that Celoron's report was the first authentic relation yet known of Ohio, excites a lively interest in it until it is read: but (it) is so dry and restricted to the details of an official report, that except as to topography it is of little merit. The old soldier would not deign to notice a single scene in all the landscape through which he passed. To Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain and mathematician of this expedition, Ohio owes the first map of her boundaries or outlines yet discovered." Mr. King prints a very good copy of this map.

The Ohio Company had been formed in the State of Virginia, as opposed to those of Pennsylvania. This company included in its body a number of tide-water Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, Thomas Lee, the president of his Majesty's Virginia Council, and Thomas Hanbury, a London merchant of wealth and influence. The company's application for a grant of one-half million acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Kanawha was acceded to in part, on the ground that such a grant would consolidate trade for the English and give them advantages over the French, and on May 19, 1749, a royal order awarded two hundred thousand acres of those asked for with a ten years' freedom from rent, on condition that one hundred families were settled upon them in seven years and a fort built and maintained.

Some years previous, Col. Thomas Cresap had built a hunting and trading cabin near the uppermost fork of the Potomac, and near an old Shawanee town. This man, familiar with the frontier life, was employed by the company to open a way to their new lands and a rough trail was run over the divide in the same general direction as that taken subsequently by Braddock. The company had expected to enlist in its interest some of the Pennsylvania Germans, but the fact that the Episcopalian tithes were fastened upon the land, repelled the provident Germans; for a time at least the plan rested.

CHRISTOPHER GIST.

The news of Celoron's expedition, however, aroused the company, and they concluded to send out a new explorer, Christopher Gist, often called the pioneer explorer of the Miami country and the lands to the north and south of the Ohio as far as the falls, and afterwards the companion and guide of Washington. Speaking of him in connection with the management of Indian affairs, Washington said: "I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with them, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, indefatigable but patient—most excellent where Indians are concerned. As to his capacity, energy and zeal, I dare venture to engage."

Gist, the son of a Maryland surveyor, who had laid out the city of Baltimore, lived with his family on a farm near the home of Daniel Boone on the Yadkin River, in the northern part of North Carolina, then on the extreme frontier. He had retired to the quiet life of a farmer, when in 1750 he was employed for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling certain "and such further handsome allowance as his service should deserve, to explore and report upon the lands upon the Ohio and its several branches as low as the Falls of the Ohio." The instructions given to him by the Ohio Company, September 11, 1750, read in part as follows:

"You are to go out as soon as possible to the Westward of the great Mountains, and carry with you such a Number of Men as You think necessary, in Order to Search out and discover the Lands upon the river Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof: You are particularly to observe the Ways & Passes thro all the Mountains you cross, & take an exact Account of the Soil, Quality & Product of the Land, and the Wideness and Deepness of the Rivers, & the several Falls belonging to them, together with the Courses & Bearings of the Rivers & Mountains as near as you conveniently can: You are also to observe what Nations of Indians inhabit there, their Strength & Numbers, who they trade with, & in what Commodities they deal.

"When you find a large quantity of good, level Land, such as you think will suit the Company, You are to measure the Breadth of it, in three or four different Places, & take the Courses of the River & Mountains on which it binds in Order to judge the Quantity: You are to fix the Beginning & Bounds in such a Manner that they may be easily found again by your Description; the nearer in the Land lies the better, provided it be good & Level, but we had rather go quite down the Mississippi than take mean broken Land. After finding a large Body of good level Land, you are not to stop but proceed further, as low as the Falls of the Ohio, that we may be informed of that Navigation; And You are to take an exact Account of all the large Bodies of good level Land, in the same Manner as above directed that the Company may the better judge when it will be most convenient for them to take their Land.

"You are to note all the Bodies of good Land as you go along, tho there is not a sufficient Quantity for the Company's Grant, but You need not be so particular in the Mensuration of as in the larger Bodies of Land."

Following these instructions, Gist set out tober 31, 1750, from Col. Thomas Cre at the old town on the Potomac River in M land, afterwards called Will's Creek, whic just opposite the Green Spring station on Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; at this time it the westernmost settlement and the rendez of all prospectors, traders and hunters. W ington stopped there in 1748, when surve the lands of Lord Fairfax. After twenty of painful travel and suffering from fever no bear meat and turkey for food, Gist arr at Shannopin, now a part of the city of P burg, where he spent four days for the pur of regaining his health.

"While I was here I took an Opportunit set my Compass privately, & took the dis across the River, for I understood it was dan ous to let a Compass be seen among these dians."

Col. Stoddard Johnston, in his edition Gist's "Journal," explains this on the ground the principal argument of the French in deavoring to alienate the Indians from the glish was that the English intended to take t lands. Gist throughout his journal pretends his mission was to cement the friendship of Indians with the English by means of tre of alliance against France, but in fact he the accredited surveyor of the Ohio Comp making the trip for the purpose of reportin on lands suitable for them to appropriate. onel Johnston also notes the fact that Wash ton upon his trip to the Ohio, three years came in the interest of the same company that the Indians, who were most friendly to and Gist, subsequently became the allie France and the enemies of England on ac of the evident purpose of the English to propriate their lands.

On the 25th he arrived at Logs Town, lage eighteen miles below Pittsburg, just the present site of the town of Economy. had been established by the Shawanees twenty years before. "In the Loggs To found scarce any Body but a Parcel of rep Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being hunting." Here he heard that George Cr the Pennsylvania agent, "who is a meet among his Countrymen the Irish Traders Montour, the interpreter, were a week ah him. The Indians were suspicious of hi

ing, "I was come to settle the Indian's Lands and they knew I should never go Home again Safe" and the next day "tho I was unwell, I preferred the Woods to such Company" and he set out down the river to Great Beaver creek, which empties into the Ohio a few miles below Loggs Town, near the present town of Rochester. Here he met Barney Curran, a trader for his own company; he continued with him as far as Muskingum. They left the river to the southeast and cut across the country, killing many deer and turkeys and finally reached Muskingum on December 14th. This was a town of the Wyandots or little Mingoes, who he said were divided between the French and English consisting of about one hundred families and was near the present site of Coshocton. "When We came within Sight of the Town, We perceived English Colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghans; upon enquiring the Reason I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Trader's, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all the White Men to come into this town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickwelinees: and the Indians had sent to their People to come to Council about it." Three days later, "came into town two Traders belonging to Mr. Croghan, and informed Us that two of his People were taken by 40 French Men, & twenty French Indians who had carried them with seven Horse Loads of Skins to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the Branches of Lake Erie."

On the next day he met Croghan and Andrew Montour, two of the most remarkable characters in the early settlements of the West. Croghan has already been described.

Montour was the son of a prominent chief of the Six Nations and the half-breed, long known as Madame Montour. Both his father and mother acted as interpreter at the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, when the Indians ceded to the English all their lands in Virginia. At the meeting at Loggs Town, which took place the next year, and also at the treaty in the same place in 1752, and at the conference of Carlisle, in 1753, he acted in the same capacity. In 1754, he was Washington's interpreter and confidential agent in the advance to the Ohio, and remained with him through the Braddock campaign. He was faithful to the English for many years, acting as their interpreter as late as 1758, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. He had a European face, derived from his half-breed mother, but was greased and painted like a savage and decked out with tinkling spangles.

On Christmas Day, Gist read prayers, probably the first religious service held by a Protestant in the Northwest. The Indians were so much impressed that they returned thanks to him and invited him to live among them. They gave him a name, which was the name of a good man who had formerly lived among them. He excused himself on the ground that if he should remain, that the French would carry him away as they had the English traders, to which they answered "I might bring great Guns and make a Fort, that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the Principles of Christianity; that they liked Me very well and wanted Me to marry Them after the Christian Manner, and baptize their Children; and then they said they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer Them or their Priests to come near them more, for they loved the English, but had seen little Religion among Them; and some of their great Men came and wanted Me to baptize their Children."

One of them brought him a book which was a kind of an almanac contrived for them by the French, in which the days of the week were so marked that by moving a pin every morning they kept a pretty exact account of the time. Gist staid some days at this village with Croghan and Montour, and from time to time messages were brought in with relation to the doings and claims of the French, who were still taking English traders prisoners.

On Sunday, the 13th, George Croghan acquainted the Indians, by presenting them with four strings of wampum, of the friendly desires of Gist. The chiefs promised an answer at a general council in the spring, upon which the party took its leave, traveling westward. At White Woman's creek he met the white woman, who had been taken from New England some forty years before, at the age of ten, by the Indians. She had an English husband and several children—"Her name is Mary Harris, she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these Woods." The trip continued in the southwesterly direction to Hockhockin, the present site of Lancaster, then a small town of the Delawares, thence to the Scioto and across the country.

On one occasion they lodged at the house of an

Indian, who entertained them very kindly "and ordered a Negro Man that belonged to him to feed our Horses well." At Shannoah Town, at the mouth of the Scioto, he crossed the path of Celoron. This was the point where Celoron omitted in his speech any reference to the claim of French sovereignty. This town, afterwards known as Shawance Town, was situated on both sides of the river Ohio, just below the mouth of Scioto creek, and contained about three hundred men; there were about forty houses on the south side of the river and one hundred on the north side, "with a kind of State-House of about 90 Feet long with a light Cover of Bark in which they hold their Councils." Here another council was held and Croghan and Montour delivered messages from the Governor of Pennsylvania, informing them of the threats of the French and of their building a fort on the south side of Lake Erie, as well as of the sending by the King of Great Britain of a large present of goods which they were invited to partake of the next summer. The Indians promised to attend the conference at Logs Town in the spring and offered to send a guard with them to the town of the Twightwees, about two hundred miles off, and Pickawillany. Here they also witnessed an extraordinary festival, described as follows:

"In the Evening a proper Officer made a public Proclamation that all the Indians marriages were dissolved, and a Public Feast was to be held for three succeeding days after, in which the women as their Custom was were again to choose Husbands.

"The next Morning early the Indians breakfasted and after spent the Day in dancing till the Evening when a plentiful Feast was prepared, after feasting they spent the Night in dancing. The same Way they spent the next two Days till Evening, the Men dancing by themselves and then the women in turns round the Fires, and dancing in their Manner in the Form of the Figure 8 about 60 or 70 at a time. The Women the whole Time they danced sung a Song in their Language the Chorus of which was

I am not afraid of my Husband
I will choose what Man I please

singing those Lines alternately.

"The third Day in the Evening, the Men being about 100 in Number, some Times at Length, at other Times in a Figure 8 quite round the Fort and in and out of the long House, where they held their Councils, the Women standing together as the Men danced by them And as any of the Women liked a Man passing by she stepped in and joined in the Dance, taking hold of the Man's Strond whom she Chose and then continued in the Dance till the rest of the Women stepped in and made their choice in the same Manner; after which the Dance ended and they All retired to consummate."

From this point his party went across to the Twightwee Town, on the Big Miami River "All the Way from Shannoah Town to this Place is fine, rich level Land, well timbered with large Walnut, Ash, Sugar Trees, Cherry Trees &c., it is well watered with a great Number of little Streams or Rivulets and full of beautiful natural Meadows, covered with wild Rye, blue grass and Clover, and abounds with Turkeys Deer, Elks and most sorts of Game particularly Buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one Meadow; In short it wants nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightfull Country—The Ohio and all the large Branches are said to be full of fine Fish of several Kinds, particularly a Sort of Cat Fish of a prodigious Size."

They entered the town with the English colors before them and were invited to the King's house, upon the top of which they set their colors. "The Twigtwees are a very numerous People consisting of many different Tribes under the same Form of Government. Each tribe has a particular Chief, or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others—They are accounted the most powerful People to the Westward of the English Settlements, & much superior to the Six Nations with whom they are now in Amity: their Strength and Number are not thoroughly known, as they have but lately traded with the English, and indeed have very little Trade among them: They deal much the same Commodities with the Northern Indians. There are other Nations or Tribes still further to the Westward daily coming in to them & 'tis thought their Power and Interest reaches to the Westward of the Mississippi, not across the Continent; they are at present very well affected to the English, and seem fond of an Alliance with them—they formerly lived on the other side of the Ohache, and were of the French Interest, who supplied them with some few Trifles at a most exorbitant Price they were called by the French Miamees;

they have now revolted from them, and left their former Habitations for the Sake of trading with the English; and notwithstanding all the Artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them."

They were the people of La Demoiselle, who received the gifts and advice of Celoron with so many thanks and promised to follow it some other time. By reason of their change of allegiance and friendship for the English and to the treaty, subsequently made with Croghan and Gist, the French waged a destructive war against them and took their fort and burnt their villages in 1752. They finally submitted to the French and together with the Shawanees took sides with them in the war against England, and at the time of the later settlements of the Miami Valley were the principal Indians with whom the settlers came into contact.

At this town there was a series of conferences and powwows, which as reported by Gist give as good an idea of Indian character and eloquence as we have preserved. During the negotiations some Ottawa representatives of the French arrived, and Gist and his party had the chance to test the Miamis' friendship. The result was satisfactory and the French envoys were completely discomfited.

The French Indians marched in under French colors and were conducted into the long house, whereupon the Indian chief of the Twigtwees insisted on having the English colors set up as well as the French. Thereupon the speaker for the French stood up "and laid his Hands upon two small Caggs of Brandy that held about seven Quarts each, and a Roll of Tobacco of about ten Pounds Weight, then taking two strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said, 'What he had to deliver Them was from their Father, and then he desired they would hear what he was about to say to them;' then he layed them two Strings of Wampum down upon the Caggs and taking up four other Strings of black and white Wampum, he said, 'that their Father remembering his Children, had sent them two Caggs of Milk, and some Tobacco, and that he now had made a clear Road for them, to come to see Him and his Officers; and pressed them to be much in a hurry.'"

The Twightwee king replied that it was true, the road was clear, but He understood it was rough and full of rocks, and by Them—" and said that they had cleared a road for the English, and that the French had taken some of the English prisoners, "which We look upon as done to Us, and he turned short about and went out of the Council"—"After the French Embassador had delivered his Message He went into one of the private Houses and endeavored much to prevail on some Indians, and was seen to cry and lament (as he said for the loss of that Nation)."

Two days later, the Twightwees delivered the final answer to the French Indians. "The Captain of the Warriors stood up and taking some Strings of Wampum in his Hand he spoke with a fierce Tone and very warlike Air—'Brothers the Ottawaas, You are always differing with the French Yourselves, and yet you listen to what they say, but we will let you know by these four strings of Wampum, that we will not hear any Thing they say to Us, nor do any Thing they bid us.' Directing his speech to the French, he said, 'we have made a road as far as the Sea to the Sun-rising, and have been taken by the Hand by our Brothers the English, and the Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shannoahs and Wyendots, and We assure You it is the Road we shall go; and as You threaten Us with War in the Spring, We tell You if You are angry we are ready to receive You, and resolve to die here before we will go to You;' And that You may know that this our Mind, We send You this String of black Wampum.' After a short Pause the same Speaker spoke again thus—'Brothers the Ottawaas, You hear what I say, tell that to your Fathers the French, for that is our Mind, and We speak it from our Hearts.'"

The following day the four French Indians left for the French fort, that is Fort Miami, the present site of Fort Wayne. "Gist records an exhibition of dancing as follows:

"The Crier of the Town came by the King's Order and invited us to the long House to see the Warriors Feather Dance; it was performed by three Dancing-Masters, who were painted all over with various Colours, with long Sticks in their Hands upon the Ends of which were fastened long Feathers of Swans, and other Birds, neatly woven in the Shape of a Fowl's Wing; in this Disguise they performed many antick Tricks, waving their Sticks and Feathers about with great Skill to imitate the flying and fluttering of Birds, keeping exact time with their Music; while they are dancing some of the Warriors strike a Post, upon which the Musick and Dancers cease, and the Warrior gives an Account of his Achievements in War, and when he has done, throws down some Goods as a Recompence to the Performers and Musicians; after which they proceed in their Dance as before till an-

other Warrior strikes ye Post, and so on as long as the Company think fit."

After receiving the promise of the Indians to join them at the conference at Logs Town in the spring, the English party took their leave. They traveled together to Mad creek near the present town of Springfield, the site of the town of Piqua, destroyed by Clark in 1780. At this point they separated, Croghan and his party going to Hockhockin, and Gist to the Shannoah Town, "and as I was quite alone and knew that the French Indians had threatened Us, I left the Path, and went to the South Westward down the little Miamee River or Creek, where I had fine traveling thro rich Land and beautiful Meadows, in which I coud sometimes see forty or fifty Buffaloes feeding at once—The little Miamee River or Creek continued to run the Middle of a fine Meadow, about a Mile wide very Clear like an old Field, and not a Bush in it, I coud see the Buffaloes in it above two Miles off."

He apparently reached the Shannoah town in safety and was told that there was a party of French Indians hunting at the falls, and that if he went there would certainly be killed or carried away prisoner. Despite this warning he crossed the river and proceeded to the southwest. On this part of his journey he heard of the finding of some teeth of a large beast near the falls of the Ohio, one of which he brought in and delivered to the Ohio Company. "He assured me that the Rib Bones of the largest of these Beasts were eleven Feet long, and the Skull Bone six Feet wide, across the Forehead, & the other Bones in Proportion; and that there were several Teeth there, some of which he called Horns, and said they were upwards of five Feet long, and as much as a Man could well carry: that he had hid one in a Branch at some Distance from the Place, lest the French Indians should carry it away—The Tooth which I brought in for the Ohio Company, was a Jaw Tooth of better than four Pounds Weight; it appeared to be the furthest Tooth in the Jaw, and looked like fine Ivory when the outside was scraped off."

When near the falls he was persuaded from going any farther by the news of the hostile Indians and returned through Kentucky to Virginia.

Arrived on the 18th of May, at his own house on the Yadkin. "When I came there I found all my family gone, for the Indians had killed five People in the Winter near that Place, which frightened my Wife and Family away to Roanoke about 35 M nearer in among the Inhabitants which I was informed by an old Man I met near the Place." Next day fortunately he found his family well.

Gist's journey was published in Pownall's "Topographical Description of North America," London 1776, and his route is pricked on the English map of Mitchell and Evans. The text followed here is that of Col. J. Stoddard Johnston's edition, in Volume XIII, Filson Club Publications.

Immediately upon Gist's return, he was sent upon another expedition, to course the south bank of the Ohio to the Big Kanawha, for good lands. Upon his return in March, 1752, a new grant was obtained by his company, of lands south of the Ohio, and in the spring of that year he went among the Indians again to induce them to take land within the company's grant and by living among the white settlers to add strength to the barrier against the French.

In June, 1752, the proposed conference at Logs Town was held. Gist, Colonel Trent, and others were present on behalf of the Virginians. The purpose of this conference was to get the tribes to confirm the cessions which the Indians had made at Lancaster in 1744. The Indians did not dispute the authority of the Six Nations to make that treaty, but they declined at first to have anything to do with it, but finally after the intercession of Croghan and Montour, representing the interests of Pennsylvania, the disaffected tribes, the Shawanees and Mingoes, yielded, and an agreement was reached. The Indians agreed not to molest Virginia settlers on the south side of the Ohio, and asked that an English fort be built at the forks of the Ohio. As a result of the conference, settlers began to push down the Monongahela, and Gist was instructed to lay out a town and a fort just below the forks. Trent was sent to the Miami country with messages and gifts; here he found a sad state of affairs.

Celoron, who was now the commandant at Detroit, had become more alarmed than ever by the English encroachments, especially in view of the feeling which he had found to exist among the Indians on his trip three years before. He felt the necessity of driving the English traders from the Miami villages, and for that purpose sent an expedition under Charles Landglade, a half-breed, to attack the fort at Pickawillany. Crossing the corner of Lake Erie, the party ascended the Miami of the Lake, and on June

21st completely surprised the Miami town. But eight English traders and a few Indians were there. Fourteen Miamis and one trader were killed and the old chief La Demoiselle, or Old Britain, was boiled and eaten. This victory for a time cleared the valleys of the Maumee and the Miami of the objectionable English traders and gave the French sufficient confidence to carry out their scheme of establishing armed posts throughout the Ohio Valley. In the spring of the next year, Presqu' Isle, at the site of the city of Erie, Le Bœuf on French creek at the site of Waterford, and Venango at the mouth of French creek on the Allegheny were built.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It was now apparent that the time had come for the fight for the control of the Ohio Valley. Franklin and a number of others met a deputation of Indians in council at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in September, 1753. The Indians complained that the English made no effort to protect them against the French. They had protested against the erection of the forts and their protest had been disregarded. The Indians urged that the English, if they desired to retain their trade must fortify the trading posts at Logs Town, at the mouth of the Kanawha and the forks. It was concluded to send a messenger to ascertain the numbers and force of the French and to deliver to their commanding officer the demand of Virginia, that all French troops be withdrawn from her territory. The messenger selected was a young man of twenty-one, who had held the position of adjutant-general in the Virginia militia since he was nineteen years of age,—Major-General Washington. Accompanied by Gist and five others he first visited Logs Town to get information from the half-breed king with regard to the French. From this point he went to Venango, where he was most hospitably entertained by Joncaire. He was the son of a French officer and a Seneca squaw, and acted as scout in Celoron's expedition. He was a man of great influence among the Indians and he tried very hard to win over Washington's Indian companions. In this he was unsuccessful, but on the other hand, Washington succeeded in obtaining much information as to the plans of the French. He was received at Le Bœuf with great politeness, but soon learned that the French were most determined in their purposes. On his journey home, he came near to losing his life at the hands of a treacherous Indian; he was saved however by Gist.

Washington's "Journal" of this expedition, promptly published in England, aroused both that country and the Colonies to the necessity of some immediate steps to protect the Ohio Company against the French. In the spring of 1754, Captain Trent began to build a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, but on April 17th, Contrecœur, with one thousand men appeared before the fort and demanded surrender, which had to be conceded. Thus began the French and Indian War, which waged for nine years on both sides of the ocean. This news was communicated to Washington, who was on the way with a relief party too late for him to be of any assistance. Shortly afterwards he fell in with a French party under Jumonville, and in a quarter of an hour's fighting, the French commander and nine others were killed. At Gist's settlement, which had been built about ten miles from the Monongahela, on what is now Mount Braddock, as a result of the explorations for the Ohio Company, Washington received information of a French force marching against him. He fell back to Fort Necessity, some thirteen miles away, where his party, three hundred in all, were attacked on July 3rd, by a party of Frenchmen and on the next day, July 4, 1754, he was obliged to surrender. This surrender involved the practical abandonment by the English of the Mississippi Valley. In 1755 came the ill fated expedition of Braddock, which for a time confirmed the hold of France on the Great Valley. The defeat of Braddock brought down upon the settlers along the Ohio the relentless savages, although the Six Nations who claimed to own the land favored the English in the war that followed. The actual occupants of this territory, the Delawares and the Shawanees and the Miamis, took the part of the French and soon throughout the Indian towns were to be found the wives and children of the English backwoodsmen who had been murdered.

THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY.

It was not until 1758, that Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of the English under Forbes and became known as Fort Pitt, and in 1760, the Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi was yielded by the French to the English. The principal action of the war had taken place east of the Ohio region and the Indians of the West who had been for so long a time faithful to France, knew little of the successive French defeats. Great was their surprise there-

fore, when little bodies of English soldiers came into the West without any opposition and took possession of the little French forts which the Indians had regarded as impregnable. The fact that these possessions were given up to the new comers without a struggle was beyond the comprehension of these simple warriors, and when they were told that the French armies had been entirely defeated and that the French rule in America was at an end, they could scarcely believe it. So far as they knew no battle had been fought for eight years and the last one had been a great victory. Ignorance naturally resulted in suspicion and the feeling that they had been betrayed by the French grew very strong. The French after all from the Indian standpoint never owned the land. Their policy had been very different from that of the English. When they built a fort it was not to establish a claim to territory but to protect their friends the Indians and provide trading posts. The idea that the defeat of the French involved the surrender of their land to the English was one that they could not bear. The English policy of settlement they were familiar with. As soon as a few Englishmen came to the Indian country and settled themselves they began clearing the land and cultivating it and to exercise acts of dominion over all the surrounding territory. The occupation of the English ever meant the exclusion of the Indians. "You are ignorant," said Duquesne to the Indians, "of the difference between the King of France and the English. Look at the forts which the King had built; you will find that under their very walls the beasts of the forests are hunted and slain; that they are in fact fixed in places most frequented by you, merely to gratify more conveniently your necessities. The English on the contrary no sooner occupy a post than the woods fall before their hands—the earth is subjected to cultivation—the game disappears—and your people are steadily reduced to combat with starvation."

A Mohawk Indian at one of the conferences with Sir William Johnson, is reported to have said: "I must now say it is not with our consent that the French have committed any hostilities at the Ohio. We don't know what you Christians, English and French together, intend; we are so hemmed in by both that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while if we find a bear in a tree there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelihood. We are so perplexed betwe both that we hardly know what to say or think

Horace Walpole in his sarcastic manner r marked of the French and English method "They ensiaved or assisted the wretched natio to butcher one another, instructed them in the u of fire arms, brandy and the New Testamen and at last by scattered extension of forts ar colonies, they have met to quarrel for the boun aries of empires, of which they can neither u nor occupy a twentieth part of the included te ritory; "but," says he again, "we do not ma sacre; we are such good Christians as only cheat." A Delaware sachem asked the questio "the French claim all the lands on one side the Ohio and the English on the other; no where do the Indian lands lie?" Another e presses the fear that "between their fathers, t French, and their brothers, the English, th were in a fair way of being lovingly shared o of the whole country."

Much of this reasoning was indulged in by t savages. At this time when they saw the lar which they inhabited slipping from under the feet, the French traders, who still lingere among them, did much to feed their wrat The apparently helpless condition of the En lish settlements and forts gave them an idea their opportunities. The Treaty of Paris guara teed to the King of England, Canada and a the rights of France east of the Mississip River. Religious freedom was granted to t inhabitants as well as the right to sell their e tates and quit the country within eightee months. By an order in council of October 1763, three new divisions were erected, one which, Quebec, included the Ohio country. T protect the Indians in their hunting ground grants of any lands beyond the heads ar sources of any of the rivers which fall into t Atlantic from the West or Northwest or of a lands whatever preserved to the Indians we forbidden. All lands lying westward of the limits were to be reserved for the use of t Indians and purchasers or settlements witho special leave and license were forbidden und heavy penalties. Settlers in the Indian count were ordered to remove forthwith. No priv persons were allowed to make purchases of t Indians; even the King was to receive cessi at public councils of the Indians. Fair as th provisions appeared they clearly indicated t the territory was regarded as an acquisition conquest.

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

Pontiac, the chieftain of the Ottawas, one of the most remarkable men of his race, was also among the first to divine the change in affairs. He felt that the Indians had been weakened by their contact with the civilization of Europe. A period of decadence had set in. The implements, arms and arts of the red men had given place to the more convenient and more luxurious ones of the whites. As a result he felt that the time would soon come when the Indian would be absolutely dependent upon the foreigner.

Already before the conclusion of the war, he had gone to Fort Pitt to make inquiries as to how the Indians were likely to fare under the new order of things. He was assured that the rivers would run with rum, that presents from the great King of England would be without limit and the markets the cheapest ever known. When Maj. Robert Rogers was sent out with a company of two hundred and fifty British rangers to take possession of Detroit and the other posts to the North and West in September, 1760, he was met by Pontiac who inquired his business. Pontiac was told the news of the French defeat and of the intended English occupation. Fair promises were made to him and for a time he pretended acquiescence. He noted however, the weakness of the British garrisons, as recorded by Sir William Johnson, there were about one hundred and fifty British at Detroit, thirty at Mackinac, twenty at Fort Miami, thirty at St. Joseph, thirty at Ouiatanon, twelve at Sandusky, and thirty each at Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango.

At Detroit, Capt. Donald Campbell was in command. The life of the garrison was full of gayety, and the conclusion of the war left the inhabitants apparently without any care or thought except pleasure. Rumors came however, of disaffection among the Indians.

Sir William Johnson supposed that the Ohio Indians were instigators and he himself went to Detroit to endeavor to make a treaty. At the same time Major Gladwyn was sent with three hundred infantry to strengthen the posts. Sir William's visit was a great social event. Balls beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and lasting until five in the morning, to which the French maidens of the settlement were especially invited, were given by Captain Campbell and a return ball lasting eleven hours, by Sir William. Dinners and calls at which were refreshments of every variety and kind followed. Presents were given to the Indians and finally Johnson returned home satisfied that all was well.

The real instigator however of the mischief was not one of the Ohio Indians but Pontiac. The war had become a matter of religious conviction with him. At a great convention of the Indians, not far from Detroit, on April 27, 1763, he delivered a most impressive harangue, that is commonly reported as one of the most remarkable specimens of Indian eloquence. At this time he was about fifty years of age. He was not above the middle height but very muscular and very symmetrical. He was unusually dark and very stern featured with a most imperious bearing. He ordinarily dressed with the utmost simplicity but on an occasion such as this he stood forth in all the pomp and glory of a costume of war. In his address, delivered with great fierceness, he attacked the English for their arrogance and injustice, their contemptuous treatment and abuse of the Indians. The supremacy of the English meant the destruction of the Indians. The French were about to return and reap vengeance on their enemies. Then he told an allegory to illustrate the degeneracy of his race and to call them back to the simple habits of their ancestors. He warned them that the guns, knives, kettles and blankets of the white men, and worse than all their rum, were instruments about to bring about their destruction and must be discarded. They must expel the English and return to the customs and traditions of their forefathers. As a result all present were eager to join in the conspiracy and it was arranged that Pontiac with a party of warriors should gain admittance to the garrison to ascertain its strength.

On the 1st of May, he and thirty of his warriors were admitted to the fort, where they danced the calumet dance for the edification of the garrison. Ten others of the Indians in the meantime strolled about the fort making notes of its condition. On the night of the 7th, an Indian girl, a favorite of Major Gladwyn, is said to have revealed the plot to him. Whether this story be true or the less romantic one related by other authorities, matters not. When Pontiac and his chiefs entered the council chamber the next morning, where they intended treacherously to massacre the garrison, the troops were drawn up on parade. As Pontiac saw them he realized that his plot had been discovered and asked the reason for such conduct. When he was told that it was simply for the purposes of discipline, he arose and began to protest his

friendship. When he raised the belt of wampum, which according to his agreement was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, at a signal from Gladwyn "a sudden clash of arms sounded from the passage without and a drum rolling the charge filled the council room with its stunning din."

According to one story, Gladwyn drew aside Pontiac's blanket, discovering his concealed weapon. According to another and a more probable one, Gladwyn, who did not desire an open rupture offered the Chief friendship and protection so long as he continued to deserve it. Pontiac and his chiefs retired baffled for the moment.

On the 9th of May open warfare began and the town was besieged. Fort Sandusky was surrounded on the 16th of May, by Indians who appeared to be friendly. The fort was taken by treachery and the garrison was slaughtered. Fort Miami was surrendered after its commander had been shot, while on an errand of mercy to an Indian servant outside the stockade. At Fort St. Joseph, seventeen Indians treacherously gained admission, seized the commander and killed ten of the garrison. Fort Ouiatanon on the Wabash was surrendered after its commander had been treacherously captured. At Fort Michillimackinac, the Indians gathered on June 2nd, to play a game of lacrosse. They played from morning until noon while the officers stood by to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was thrown over the palisade and a number of Indians rushed through the gate to get it, but before the sentries could recover, the officers were seized and fifteen soldiers, one officer and a trader were killed outright, and the rest were taken prisoners. All would have been killed but for the intervention of Charles Langlade. Fort Le Boeuf was attacked, but the garrison escaped in the night time to Fort Pitt, passing on their way the smoldering ruins of Fort V nango. Other forts were attacked throughe the Western country, but Fort Detroit and Fo Pitt held firm. It is computed that in fo months two thousand men, women and childr had been murdered or captured. For five mont the siege continued at Detroit.

The monotony of the siege was varied by number of sorties, in which the savages and t whites met with varying success. Pontia principal hope of success had been in assistar from the French. He was unable to realize f many months that peace between the French a English was a lasting one and that the form nation had been banished from its old realm e of the Mississippi. As time went on howev and he received no assistance and finally asst ances that he could not expect any assistar from the French, it became apparent to him th his cause was lost for the present at lea French messengers came to him from the Fren commandant at Fort Chartres, the principal p of the French in the Illinois country, and up receipt of the information carried by them Po tiac made a virtue of necessity and withdr from the siege. His course was towards t Maumee, where he hoped to stir up the India and renew the war in the spring.

Fort Pitt itself was relieved by an army fr Philadelphia under Colonel Bouquet, after one the most decisive battles ever fought with t Indians in America. This battle of Bushy R as it was called, which took place on July 1763, was won by a stratagem worthy of t savages themselves. Bouquet at the very m ment when his troops were yielding to fatig and despair, under the pretense of a retreat, dr his assailants into an ambush. The Indians w cut to pieces and so completely overawed th the prestige of Bouquet's name became irres ible.

CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY. BOUQUET TO CLARK.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION—THE RETURN OF THE CAPTIVES—CROGHAN ON THE OHIO—THE LAND COMPANIES—THE TREATY OF FORT STANWIX—DUNMORE'S WAR—LOGAN—THE QUEBEC ACT—THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—GEORGE ROGERS CLARK—THE SPANISH CLAIMS—THE MASSACRE OF THE MORAVIANS—THE BURNING OF CRAWFORD—BLUE LICKS—CLARK ON THE MIAMIS—THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

In order to assure the English possession of the Northwest two expeditions were sent out in 1764, one under Colonel Bradstreet and the other under Colonel Bouquet. Bradstreet had been very successful in the early days of the war when he was in charge of a flotilla of whale boats on Lake Ontario. In 1758 he had captured Fort Frontenac. This capture included a large number of guns, provisions and goods and nine vessels in the harbor with their entire armament. It involved the loss of the lake to the French and the cutting off of supplies for Niagara and Duquesne and was one of the most important elements in the final success of the English. As a result of this success Bradstreet had won much renown and unfortunately much confidence in himself. When therefore he was given command of a large force sufficient to give the Indians an effective chastisement he felt satisfied that he would reap the glory of closing the war. A part of his plan was to enlist a contingent of French Canadians which should help to convince the Indians of the hopelessness of a French defection. When therefore he passed up Lake Erie from Niagara in July he was in the proper frame of mind to be approached by treacherous Indians. He was soon met near Presqu' Isle by some strange Indians claiming to be peace commissioners sent by Delawares and Shawanees. These savages had planned to quiet Bradstreet by a treaty of any sort which should enable their confederates a little further south to gain time for further assaults upon the border. He was completely duped and on August 12th entered into a preliminary treaty by which the Indians pretended to cede the existing posts and to grant sites for any others which the English might desire to build. The savages also agreed to deliver up all prisoners and in fact to do most anything which Bradstreet might desire. He was completely misled and his expedition was rendered useless as a result. Not only was this so but he sent a messenger to Colonel Bouquet informing him that peace had been concluded.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION.

Bouquet fortunately was not so easily deceived and he marched directly across the country from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum with two battalions of regular troops and about seven hundred provincials. The prestige of his victory at Bushy Run had attracted to him the most expert woodsmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The march westward was like a picnic. It was through a beautiful country in the fall of the year and at the approach the Indians fled or hid themselves so that there was no sign of an enemy to interfere with their comfort. Not a single shot was fired on the entire march to the

Muskingum. On October 16th, after a wilderness journey of two weeks, Bouquet was met by six Indians who said that they came as ambassadors to sue for peace and on the following day a meeting was had with the representatives of the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanees. The Indians endeavored to throw the blame of their conduct upon their Western nations and the rashness of their young men. According to custom an answer was deferred until the next day and no intimation was given as to the conclusion reached by Bouquet. The severity of the weather and Bouquet's desire to leave them in suspense postponed the next meeting until the 20th. At this meeting Bouquet assailed them with great determination and bitterness. He told them that their excuses were weak and frivolous and recapitulated the instances of their former perfidy. He called to their mind their murders of traders and their attack upon Fort Pitt and murders of the King's messengers ever sacred among all nations, their treacherous attack upon the frontiers, their breach of faith in the case of the treaty with Bradstreet. In this instance too they had failed to return their prisoners despite their promises and they had received each time considerable presents but had never complied with their engagements.

"I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will be no longer imposed upon by your promises. This army shall not leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you.

"I have brought with me the relations of the people you have massacred, or taken prisoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is with great difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment, which is only restrained by the assurances given them, that no peace shall ever be concluded till you have given us full satisfaction.

"Your former allies, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and others, have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us against you. We now surround you, having possession of all the waters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis, and the Lakes. All the French living in those parts are now subjects to the King of Great Britain, and dare no longer assist you. It is therefore in our power totally to extirpate you from being a people. But the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shed the blood, even of their most cruel enemies; and if it were possible that you convince us that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behavior fo the future, you might yet hope for mercy an peace. If I find that you faithfully execute th following preliminary conditions, I will not trea you with the severity you deserve.

"I give you twelve days from this date t deliver into my hands at Wakatamake, all th prisoners in your possession, without any excep tion, Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and chil dren; whether adopted in your tribes, marriec or living amongst you under any denominatio and pretence whatsoever, together with all ne groes. And you are to furnish the said prisoner with clothing, provisions, and horses, to carr them to Fort Pitt.

"When you have fully complied with thes conditions, you shall then know on what term you may obtain the peace you sue for." (Older Time, Vol. I, p. 247.)

THE RETURN OF THE CAPTIVES.

It may be well imagined that this speech mad an impression on the minds of the savages, wh were thoroughly cowed by the firm and de termined spirit of Bouquet and the consciousnes of their own wrong doing. The Delawares de livered a number of their prisoners forthwitl and made promises as to the others. The Shaw anees were not present at this conference an Bouquet determined to march further into thei country to give them full knowledge of hi strength and determination. When they ha reached the center of the Indian country withi a mile of the forks of the Muskingum, they pr ceeded to erect a camp wherein to receive tl captives. In addition to the fortifications fc protection, three houses with separate apar ments were built for the expected captives, ar proper officers appointed to take charge of the with a matron to attend the women and childr so that the camp had the appearance of a litt town. The Shawanees held back and Bouqu insisted that they should be punctual, and adde "As their Nation had expressed some uneasin at our not shaking hands with them, they we to know that the English never took their en mies by the hand before peace was finally co cluded."

Here on the 9th and 12th of November, w enacted a scene the like of which is probal not known to history. After the exchange many speeches accompanied by many strin and belts of wampum, the prisoners were s rendered.

"The scene I mean was, the arrival of the prisoners in the camp; where were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once lost babes; husbands hanging around the necks of their newly recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separations, scarce able to speak the same language, or for some time to be sure that they were children of the same Parents! In all these interviews, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others; flying from place to place in eager enquiries after relatives not found! trembling to receive an answer to their questions! distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought for! or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning their unhappy fate!

"The Indians, too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, skins, horses, and other matters, they had bestowed on them, while in their families; accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of most sincere and tender affection." (Olden Time, Vol. I, p. 255.)

Some of the Indians even solicited leave to accompany their former captives to Fort Pitt and one young Mingo claiming a young Virginia girl as his wife insisted on following her to the frontier at the risk of being killed by the relatives of the prisoners who had been slain by his race. Strangely enough some of the captives did not wish to return. "The Shawanees were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterward found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance." (*id.*, p. 257.)

The army with the captives reached Fort Pitt at the end of November, ending an expedition regarded as the most effective campaign in the military history of America, with the possible exception of that of General Wayne. Bouquet received the thanks of the assemblies of both the Pennsylvania and Virginia people for his services and the honor of appointment by the King, to the position of brigadier-general. His death the following year at Pensacola terminated a life of brilliant service as a soldier in many of the armies of Europe as well as America, but of keen disappointment in his life's desire, because of unrequited affection. Mr. King suggests that as a subject for speculation, what would have been the effect upon subsequent events had Great Britain kept in her service two such officers as Bouquet and Sir William Johnson, both of whom died just prior to the Revolution.

CROGHAN ON THE OHIO.

In the following year, 1765, Sir William Johnson, the Indian commissioner, sent Croghan down the Ohio to take control for the King over the Indians in that neighborhood. He was accompanied by a number of Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanees. He notes in his journal that the Shawanee town, which formerly stood at the mouth of the Scioto, which he and Gist had visited in the winter of 1750 and 1751 had all been carried away (except three or four houses) by a great flood in the Scioto. On the 29th of May, he passed the Little Miami River, and on the next day the Great Miami, finding the country on both sides level. The following is the record in his journal:

"29th—We came to the Little Miame River, having proceeded sixty miles last night.

"30th—We passed the great Miame River, about thirty miles from the little river of that name, and in the evening arrived at the place where Elephant's bones are found, where we encamped, intending to take a view of the place next morning. This day we came about seventy miles. The country on both sides level, and rich bottoms well watered.

"31st—Early in the morning we went to the great Lick, where those bones are only found, about four miles from the river, on the southeast side. In our way we passed through a fine timbered clear wood; we came into a large road which the buffalos have beaten, spacious enough for two wagons to go abreast, and leading straight into the Lick. It appears that there are vast quantities of these bones lying five or six feet under ground, which we discovered in the bank, at the edge of the Lick. We found here two tusks above six feet long; we carried one, with some other bones, to our boats, and set off. This day we proceeded down the river about

eighty miles, through a country much the same as already described, since we passed the Scioto. In this day's journey we passed the mouth of the River Kentucky, or Holsten's River." (Olden Time, Vol. I, p. 407.)

From this point they went to the mouth of the Wabash where he encamped, sending messages to the Illinois Indians. Here they were attacked by a band of Kickapoos and Mascoutens and made captive. They were carried up to Post Vincent, on the east side of the Wabash, the modern Vincennes and from this point to Fort Ouiatanon, the site of Lafayette. Here the Miami chiefs exposed to Croghan's captors the enormity of their offense in making prisoner Sir William Johnson's deputy, which resulted in his immediate release. Croghan resumed his journey through the country of the Miamis, finally reaching Detroit, where he had conferences with the various Indian chiefs, including those from the Big Miami. On this trip he met with Pontiac who took his hand and followed him to Detroit where he joined in the peace conference there.

The result of Croghan's trip was to confirm the British possession of the Northwest for many years. Detroit as the headquarters of the British was a center of control over all the Indians in the territory (almost as far down as the Ohio River) lying west of the Muskingum. Near the old haunts of Demoiselle at Piquatown was about the only serious thorn in the flesh of the English. Here Peter Loramie, a hostile Frenchman, established a trading station in the year 1769 on the western branch of the Big Miami. This place known as Loramie's Store, Loramie's Fork and Loramie's Station became a center of discontent among the Indians who were there supplied with ammunition and arms as well as reasons for creating dissension.

THE LAND COMPANIES.

The disturbing influences at this time were the land companies. The King's proclamation forbidding further sales of lands to the west of the mountains was subject to the one exception, the King's special license. This special license was the loophole through which came the flood of settlers striving with the Indians for the possession of their lands. A number of companies had been formed for the purpose of availing themselves of this great wealth of land. In addition to the Ohio Company, which had been inactive during the war, there were the companies of Virginia, known as the Loyal Com pany, and the Greenbrier Company, which ha been formed prior to the war. They, as well a other associations, began the struggle for th proper grants from the crown. To make a gran effective it must be accompanied by a cession o title by the Indians. Sir William Johnson him self accepted a gift of forty thousand acres o land in New York from the Mohawks. Anothe important company in which were interested Sir William Johnson and Governor Franklin o New Jersey was the Walpole Company, name after a London banker, who was at its hea Its most active promoter was Benjamin Franklin then in London as the agent of Pennsylvania He had written to his son, "I like the projec of a colony in the Illinois country and will for ward it to my utmost here." To bring it i public notice a pamphlet was issued at London i 1763 entitled "The Advantages of a Settlemen upon the Ohio."

Franklin himself submitted to the King i council a plan which had been drawn up by Si William Johnson and his deputy, Croghan. I March, 1764, Croghan, who was in London fo the purpose, urged upon the Board of Trade an Plantations the possibility of fixing a line o division between the colonists and the Indian in the West. His line was to run from th heads of the river Delaware to the mouth of th Ohio.

Lord Hillsborough, who was at the head o the board, was very much opposed to any e tension of colonization. He feared that if th Ohio lands should be opened to settlement *th whole of Ireland would go there* and used, support of his fear, the fact that so many Scot Irish were already on the frontier. Anoth difficulty was the fact that these colonies we so far from the sea coast which would dri the colonists into manufacturing, which wou injure the British trade. Another objection w that a colony beyond the mountains might beco too independent for the home government a would propagate ideas of independence amo the other colonists. The uncertainty of the titude of the Indians was used as a strong ar ment and to overcome this Sir William John proceeded to invite a conference with the Nations. Johnson never lost the idea of Iroquois contest of the Western country. influence with the Six Nations was so great he felt that he could negotiate on more fa able terms with them than with any other Ind

and color of title was, after all, all that he cared for.

THE TREATY OF FORT STANWIX.

The place appointed for the conference was Fort Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y. Sir William arrived at this point on September 20, 1768, accompanied by two hundred boats of merchandise with presents. In his party were Croghan, Daniel Claus, Guy Johnson, Governor Franklin and Lieutenant-Governor Penn, with commissioners from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The great gathering of Delawares and Senecas in the Shawanee country on the Scioto in March, 1765, and the constant interruption of the English traders on the Ohio by the Indians had so frightened the State of Pennsylvania as to induce them to vote a large sum of money to be used as gifts for the savages. The latter complained that when they went to hunt in their own lands it made them tired to be obliged to climb the fences of the white men, who had driven away their deer and cut down their trees. The Pennsylvania money had been used by Sir William to quiet the complaining Indians and preparing them for negotiations. Croghan had taken an important part in the distribution.

The Indians were very slow in gathering. A sachem had died among the Senecas and this required proper attention. The Delawares and Shawanees had been exchanging belts for the last time with the French and Spanish on the Mississippi. By October 24th, there were thirty-two hundred Indians in attendance. Johnson provided lavishly for their wants and entertained them in most elaborate style; the feasting and talking continued for seven weeks. At this time Johnson estimated that the Iroquois numbered ten thousand persons of whom two thousand were warriors. The allies could make up another two thousand, including three hundred Shawanees from the Ohio country, six hundred Delawares from the Susquehanna and two hundred Wyandots from Sandusky. The Ottawa confederacy, which included the Twightwees and the Miamis, and which were unfriendly, were supposed to be double the numbers just given. Johnson reckoned them at eight thousand warriors, three thousand of whom were on the Detroit River. These figures are now regarded as very much exaggerated.

The actual negotiations extended about a week. Johnson opened the conference with a proposal to buy the lands of the Indians. The conference then adjourned, according to the custom, to ponder over the proposal as to which they had been fully informed for weeks. Upon reassembling they calmly suggested a line from Lake Champlain across the heads of the Susquehanna. This Johnson promptly told them was ridiculous. They finally offered the line of the Ohio River at the mouth of the Tennessee to Kittanning on the Allegheny, thence to Shamokin on the Susquehanna and up that river and its eastern branches and to Oswego (Lake Ontario).

The conclusion was reached on November 5, 1768. The Iroquois chiefs signed with the colonial delegates; the other Indians present agreed, but were not allowed to sign on the fictitious idea that they were dependent upon the Iroquois. Of course this action did no more than vest the lands in the crown. They could be opened for settlement by royal grant alone. Johnson took great pains in his closing speech to refer to the matter as having been concluded by the Indians of their own free will and exhorted them to be faithful to their agreement. The speaker for the Indians, an Onondaga, replied, that they were deeply interested in the matter and would notify the Indians at the Ohio of their conclusion, at a public meeting to be held in the Shawanee country, where these nations held their councils, and trusted that they would be able to get their consent.

At a conference which Croghan had held with the Shawanees, Senecas and Delawares at Fort Pitt in May, 1768, he had taken great pains to make no allusion to any new boundary. The Shawanees at that conference, in Croghan's presence and in the presence of the deputies of the Six Nations, had said that the country along the Ohio belonged to the tribes living there and insisted that the Pennsylvanian commissioners should stop their traders from encroaching upon them until they had been consulted.

As a matter of fact, Johnson, in agreeing to this line, had exceeded his instructions. Lord Hillsborough had proposed a boundary which stopped at the mouth of the great Kanawha instead of the Tennessee, recognizing the claim of the Cheroques or Cherokees to the west of that line. This line, however, was an impossible one, as it involved the admission by the Iroquois that they did not control this territory. They insisted upon surrendering this land to show their authority over the Cherokees and other Indians. Johnson preferred to go beyond his instructions to angering the Six Nations. This line, of course, was an interference

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE CITY HALL.

with the claim of the Virginians and figured largely in the subsequent contests with them. If the Indians owned this territory and were able to cede it at Fort Stanwix, the Virginians could have no claim to it.

The Walpole Company asked for territory on the east side of the Ohio from a point opposite the Scioto up to the Pennsylvania line, to be bounded on the south by a line from the Cumberland Gap northwesterly to the confluence of New River with the Greenbrier and thence to the Alleghanies; this would have cut Virginia out of the Kanawha Valley. Other claimants relied upon the military bounty lands promised by the proclamation of 1763 and upon Governor Dinwiddie's promise of a grant of two thousand acres to the officers and soldiers who went out under Washington against the French. These claimants were represented by Washington himself, who addressed letters to the governors, Botetourt and Dunmore, and obtained large grants for his men in the Kanawha Valley. Other claimants were mere squatters who had settled on Cheat River and on the Monongahela. All these parties were interested in the Fort Stanwix conference and all disgusted with the result. The Virginians gained the whole of Kentucky but were limited by the Ohio River. In spite of the complaints the King approved of the treaty in September, 1769, except as to some private grants to Croghan and others. The various land companies immediately became more active. The Walpole Company, represented by Franklin, urged its petition with success. Its offer to repay the crown the amount paid for the whole country, of which this grant was to be a part, together with certain quit rents and the promise to bear the expenses of the civil government, was accepted August 14, 1772. The Mississippi Company, composed of forty-nine Virginians, including George Washington, made application for lands but was unsuccessful.

The only real result, however, of all this excitement about royal grants, seemed to be to arouse the Indians beyond the Ohio because of their being ignored in behalf of the Six Nations. The settlers who were moving in paid little attention to the Indians or to companies or to royal grants and as a result the matter settled down to a fight to last twenty years in which the Indians endeavored to save at least the lands of the Ohio itself.

The Shawanees took a leading part in the conflicts on both sides of the river and at a conference of the Western tribes held at the Scioto plains in 1771 and the two following years the tried to reunite the tribes in the war of extermi ation against the English. Johnson made ever effort to conciliate them and had some succe with the tribes of the far West, but the tribes the Ohio country were relentless. Their feelin against the colonists continued during the Rev lutionary War, and was largely the result of wh they regarded as the injustice done at Fort Star wix and subsequent thereto.

DUNMORE'S WAR—LOGAN.

This conflict in regard to the various lin and the rights of the different States had muc to do with Dunmore's War, which broke o against the Shawanees in 1774. The particul occasion of this was an attack made by son Cherokee Indians upon three of Butler's trader Dr. Connolly, a nephew of Croghan but a creatu of Dunmore and for years afterwards a bitt enemy of the settlers in the West, who was that time having a contest with the Pennsy vanian traders who were at the forks of the Oh took this occasion to call upon the Virginia to hold themselves in readiness to repel and atta the hostile Shawanees. This was given as a excuse for collecting a force of militia wi which he could intimidate Pennsylvania an maintain the sovereignty of Virginia beyond t Ohio and incidentally to despoil the Indians. number of adventurers of all kinds, includin hunters and grabbers, had assembled at the mou of the Kanawha. Among them was a famo frontiersman, Michael Cresap, the son of Wash ington's frontier friend and partner in the Oh Company's venture. Another one of the numb was a young man of great spirit and darin George Rogers Clark, who was looking after grant which he had obtained. At this spot Eb nezer Zane had squatted in 1769 and at this tim there were a number of other houses, all squatter settlers, clustering about those of Zan These people were wholly irresponsible and i clined to believe any exaggerated story. Zan himself was a man of prudence and Cresap is no regarded as a leader of a fair amount of cauti and of good intentions. The alarm, howeve caused by the Indians was so great that the settle were passing eastward in great numbers, many as a thousand crossing the Monongahe in one day. Stories of all sorts were told of t Indian outrages and outrages committed by t whites were also attributed to the red men. Son men of Cresap's company ambushed and kill

two Shawanees who had been employed by Butler to recover his stolen goods from the Cherokees. This outrage aroused the traders to further indignation and it was planned to go to the mouth of the Big Beaver and there attack the camp of Logan. This determination was abandoned for the time, but towards the close of April ten Indians, including a number of Logan's family who had crossed the Ohio to get rum, were butchered in cold blood while drunk. Cresap at the time was charged with this deed and Logan held him responsible for it in the celebrated speech, regarded by Mr. Jefferson "as challenging whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero or any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished any, to produce a passage superior to it." It has since been pretty well established that Cresap had no connection with these murders, but that they had been committed by one Greathouse and a party of twenty men under him. Indian runners spread the news of the massacre and Logan was soon on the war-path. Logan himself was a Mingo chief living among the Shawanees and had long been a friend of the English. In the campaign which followed some of the most renowned frontiersmen took part. Besides Gen. Andrew Lewis there were Daniel Morgan, George Rogers Clark, William Crawford, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty. Pennsylvania held itself aloof from the war, leaving to Virginia the entire burden of conquering the savages.

Lord Dunmore's army was divided into two sections and included some of the most experienced and stalwart Indian fighters of the time. On October 10th General Lewis' section, including eleven hundred men, was attacked at Point Pleasant by a large force of Indians under the Shawanee chief, Cornstalk. In the battle, which continued for the entire day, one-fifth of the whites were killed or wounded, while the Indians lost but forty. The Indians had come upon the whites without warning, having evaded scouts who had been looking for them for four days. At dark they retired as noiselessly as they had come, unwilling to suffer the loss of any more comrades even to achieve ultimate success. Lewis marched to join Dunmore, who was at Sipo creek, a tributary of the Scioto near the line between Ross and Pickaway counties. The Indians there made a proposition of peace. Logan, however, sulked in his tent and was sent for by Lord Dunmore to join the conference. Simon Girty, the messenger, failed to bring him and then Colonel Gibson went for him. He brought back the celebrated speech. "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat, if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said Logan is the friend of the white man. I had even thought to have lived with him but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap last spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Eloquent as was this speech it did injustice to Cresap, who was not within fifty miles of the place of the murder when it was committed. Logan, however, joined with Cornstalk in assenting to the peace, determined upon according to the Indian custom by the majority of the council and Lord Dunmore returned to Virginia to receive the praise that belongs to the conqueror. As a matter of fact the charge has been made that the whole expedition was intended to arouse the savages against the colonists in the war with the mother country, which everyone realized was impending. The officers, however, passed a vote of respect for Dunmore, who they were confident "underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of his country." It is not unworthy of notice, however, that the first paragraph of the resolution adopted on the banks of the Ohio, November 5, 1774, was as follows: "Resolved, that we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third whilst his Majesty delights to reign over a free people; that we will at the expense of life and every thing dear and valuable exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every

power within us for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

Captain Cresap in the following year marched with a company of backwoodsmen across the Alleghanies and joined Washington at Cambridge. His health, however, was such as to make it necessary for him to leave the army and on his journey west he died at New York and was buried with honors in Trinity Churchyard.

THE QUEBEC ACT.

The Dunmore War may have been a trick either of England or Virginia, but it conquered for the time a peace which opened up the Western country for settlement; these settlements founded by the men who subscribed this pledge of independence served as a barrier between the Colonies and the savages of the Northwest during the war that was to follow. During this campaign Parliament had passed an act known as the Quebec act, by which the whole country bounded by the Ohio, Mississippi and the lakes west of the west line of Pennsylvania was annexed and made part of the Province of Quebec.

The purpose of this act, which was passed June 22, 1774, was to extend the boundaries and government of Quebec so as to include the French at Kaskaskia, on the Wabash and at Detroit, and also to provide for the people at Quebec, who were almost entirely French Catholics, a government applicable to their religion and their manner of life and thought. By its terms it extended to all inhabitants of the province the free exercise and the enjoyment of the tenets of the Church of Rome and also provided for a government in accordance with French methods which at that time were opposed especially to the principle of popular representatives and trial by jury. The outcry against the act both in England and America was astonishing, particularly when viewed in the light of modern ideas. It simply carried out the principles of religious and political liberty and was a fulfillment of the promise of the King made in 1763. However, it was denounced as arbitrary, dangerous, cruel, oppressive, odious and "destructive of that liberty which ought to be the ground work of every constitution." by Lord Chatham himself. It was opposed on other grounds by Colonel Barré, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke and the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London. In the course of a discussion as to the abandonmen of trial by jury, Sir Guy Carleton testified tha the French Canadians thought it "very strang that the English residing in Canada should pre fer to have matters of law decided by tailors an shoemakers mixed up with respectable gentle men in trade and commerce; that they shoul refer their decision to that of a judge." He als stated that there were at that time, in 1770, i Canada, about three hundred and sixty men wh claimed to be Protestants, while the Roma Catholics numbered one hundred and fifty thou sand.

The passage of this act was made a subjec of complaint in the Declaration of Independence where among the repeated injuries and usurpa tions of the King of Great Britain is cited the giv ing of his assent to acts "for abolishing the fre system of English laws in a neighboring provinc establishing therein an arbitrary governmen and enlarging its boundaries, so as to rende it at once an example and fit instrument for in troducing the same absolute rule into thes Colonies."

At any rate whatever may have been the motiv it is hard at this date to criticise the soun statesmanship of the Quebec act so far as i referred to the Province of Quebec in Canad By its terms Ohio was added to Canada again an remained a part of that section until the treat of independence in 1783. The connection wa however, simply nominal, as there seems to hav been no effort to assert any civil or militar authority over the Northwest Territory by eith the French, English or Americans.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

During the War of the Revolution the ca paigns in the Northwest were in the main tho conducted by George Rogers Clark against t Indians and their English allies. Under t Quebec act Detroit was made the capital of t territory northwest of the Ohio and was the s of the English power during the war. Hen Hamilton was the lieutenant-governor and sup intendent and it was to him that the news the Declaration of Independence came in a c of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 24, 1776. T paper had been brought to Detroit by the De ware chief, Captain White Eyes, who appea with a letter, a string and a belt, soliciting Western Indians to attend a conference at Pi burg in the interest of the colonists. Some t

years later Baubin and Lorimer, two Frenchmen, appeared at Detroit at the head of some fourscore Shawanee Indians and a large number of captives. They had made a raid through the Miami slaughter house up the Kentucky River and had come upon Daniel Boone and twenty-six others making salt at the salt licks. They captured them without the loss of a man and after a long trip through the Indian country had brought them to the English commandant.

Boone, at that time forty-four years of age, and the leader of the pioneers in the Kentucky country, made a marked impression both upon the Indians and Hamilton. According to his own account he was treated by the latter with great humanity. "During our travels the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was so great that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the governor offered them £100 sterling for me on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune and touched with human sympathy, generously offered me a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness, adding that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity." (Filson's Boone.)

After five months' captivity, Boone, having heard that the Indians were about to attack Boonsborough, succeded in making his escape. He traveled one hundred and sixty miles in five days with but one meal during the whole trip and succeeded in warning his friends.

In the summer of this year, June 17, 1778, a great council of Indians, including every important tribe of the Northern Indians, met at Detroit. With them were the Indian agents, Hay and Alexander McKee, and the notorious Simon Girty.

Girty and his two brothers, James and George, were the sons of an Irishman who formerly made his home on the banks of the Susquehanna and engaged in Indian trade. The father was killed in a drunken spell by an Indian named "The Fish" and the Indian was then killed by one John Turner, who thereupon married Girty's widow. The entire family were taken prisoners in 1756 and Turner was tortured to death in the presence of his family. The three sons were separated among the Indians, Simon being adopted by the Senecas, James by the Shawanees and George by the Delawares. During their Indian life they became accustomed to witnessing scenes of the most horrible torture. In time no Indian could equal them in barbarity.

Three years later as a result of the treaty of Easton in 1756, they came together again and made their headquarters at Pittsburg. By reason of their knowledge of the Indian dialect and their acquaintance with the different tribes they were much used as interpreters. Simon Girty was one of Lord Dunmore's scouts and afterwards received a commission in the Virginia militia. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he first attached himself to the Americans, but his loyalty was soon suspected and after a short time he became associated with Sir William Johnson and Alexander McKee, whose position as crown deputy had also placed him under suspicion. At the end of March, 1778, these two, together with Matthew Elliott, another Irish trader, escaped to Detroit and cast their lot with the British. From this time the names of Girty, McKee and Elliott were associated in the minds of the settlers with the most terrible cruelties practiced by the savages along the border.

The council of Indians at Detroit, which has been just referred to, opened with prayer, after which Hamilton congratulated the Indians on the number of their prisoners and the far greater number of scalps they had taken. Every artifice was used to arouse the passion of these savages against the whites who were in revolt and the party separated after a riotous feast. Despite the congratulations of Hamilton and his feeling of security he was to hear in a few days of Clark's wonderful expedition against Kaskaskia, which he entered at the head of a handful of troops on the evening of July 4, 1778.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

After Dunmore's War, Clark had cast his lot with Kentucky. Early in 1778 he had been able to obtain authority from Governor Patrick Henry to make an attempt to gain the Northwest for the Americans. Gathering together such volunteers as he could, about one hundred and seventy-five in all, he started on his campaign to extend the limits of the American Colonies far beyond any point claimed by them before that time. Kaskaskia was completely surprised while the British were engaged at a ball when Clark entered the place. His treatment of the people was so tactful that they volunteered to go with his party to Cahokia. It surrendered immediately upon the approach of his force under Major Bowman. Vincennes, too, yielded immediately, largely as

the result of the intercession of a priest, Father Gibault. On October 17, 1778, Virginia, as a result of Clark's conquest, established the county of Illinois, embracing all the charter limits of the Colony west of the Ohio River.

Hamilton at Detroit was stunned by Clark's success and called upon Veteran Langlade to arouse the Indians. As a result in the campaign which followed Captain Helm, who had been left in charge at Vincennes, surrendered that post to Hamilton on December 17th, without firing a shot as a defense would have been useless. The campaign that followed, as a result of which Clark retook Vincennes, is one of the most remarkable episodes in American history. It has been a favorite story with historians and also with writers of romance. On February 5, 1779, the miniature army of one hundred and seventy men had set out from Kaskaskia to capture a British commander in a fortified fort well supplied for a siege, with a garrison at least equal to one-half of the number of the attacking party. A large part of their march was through water up to their waists. For periods of more than two days at a time they would be without food of any kind. Vincennes was completely surprised and on the night of the 23rd Hamilton heard the shots of the besiegers. After some parley, Hamilton was obliged to surrender on February 25th, and a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the fort by Clark in honor of the Colonies. It seems unfortunate that Hamilton, who had treated Boone so well, should have been treated with so little generosity. He was sent to Williamsburg, a distance of twelve hundred miles, with other prisoners, and the uncomfortable journey lasted almost three months. The latter part of his journey was in irons. He was kept in confinement for nineteen months and was not paroled until October 10, 1780. The reason for this cruelty was the wide-spread belief in his guilt of buying Virginia scalps from the Indians. The English retained possession at Detroit and although Clark made many plans to attack this post he was never able to carry them out. During the remainder of the war the Northwest country remained a neutral ground so far as the principal combatants were concerned. The subsequent expeditions by Clark and others up the Miamis and through the West were against the Indians.

While Clark was occupied in the Illinois country the colonists were engaged in an expedition which was raised at Pittsburg, for the purpose of marching against the Indians in the neighborhood of the British fort at Sandusky and possibly to cooperate in an attack upon Detroit. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, a Scotchman about fifty years of age, was assigned to command at Fort Pitt. Here McIntosh in September, 1778, attempted to conciliate with presents the Delawares, among whom the Moravians had already established themselves. The Shawanees in the lower valleys of the Great and Little Miamis and Scioto, were rather friendly to the English and the upper waters of these same streams were held by the hostile Mingoes. Beyond these on the Sandusky were the Wyandots, very uncertain in their sympathies, and the Ottawas on the Maumee, who were devoted to the British cause. McIntosh made some slight headway with these Indians at a conference and received the consent of the Shawanees to pass through their country. This conference, however, had caused much delay and the season for an active campaign passed without result. Accordingly, he began the erection of the fort on the north bank of the Ohio, thirty miles below Fort Pitt, near the mouth of Beaver creek, at which, called Fort McIntosh, he established his headquarters on October 18, 1778. This was the first fort built north of the Ohio River and was in a good position to assist the settlements already extending to the Muskingum and up that river. His delay in building this stronghold, which was called by his successor, Brodhead, "a romantic fort," has since been regarded as the cause of the failure of his campaign in its main object,—the capture of Detroit. At length he pushed westward with twelve hundred men over Bouquet's route until he reached the Upper Muskingum or Tuscarawas, where he arrived November 19, 1778, after making but fifty miles in a fortnight. He had not met the Indians, but fearing the danger of surprise, he erected a stockade on the west bank of the Tuscarawas near the site of the modern Bolivar and close to a spot where Bouquet had built a stockade some distance above a Moravian settlement. This he named Fort Laurens, after the president of Congress. A slight embankment to-day marks the site of this fort, which was the first erected in Ohio, with the exception of those near the lake shore.

McIntosh describes his so-called invasion in a letter to Washington, in the year following:

"A letter by express from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, a little afterward, informed me that no supplies came yet, and we had very little

expect during the winter, nor could he get the staff to account for, or give any reasons for their neglect and deficiencies, which disappointed all my flattering prospects and schemes, and left me no other alternative than either to march back as I came without effecting any valuable purpose, for which the world would justly reflect upon me after so much expense, and confirm the savages in the opinion the enemy inculcates of our weakness, and unite all of them to a man against us; or to build a strong stockade fort upon the Muskingum, and leave as many men as our provisions would allow to secure it until the next season, and to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country; which last I chose with the unanimous approbation of my principal officers, and we were employed upon it while our provisions lasted." It is not remarkable that a man capable of such an unconscionably long sentence as this was unable to accomplish any results.

McIntosh put Colonel Gibson of the Thirteenth Virginia regulars in command of the post with a force of one hundred and fifty men and in December returned to Fort Pitt. During the winter the garrison at Fort Laurens had but little trouble; in the spring they began to suffer from the artifices of the savages. At one time the Indians stole the horses of the fort and took off their bells which they jangled along the path in the woods. Some men were sent out from the fort to bring in the horses and of these, sixteen in number, fourteen were killed on the spot and the other two captured. In the evening the Indians who were under the command of Simon Girty paraded past the fort in war paint and feathers, over eight hundred in number, including Iroquois, Delawares and Shawanees. After they had indulged in all sorts of antics in celebration of their victory in full view of the garrison, they disappeared. Colonel Gibson, thinking that they had left the neighborhood, concluded to send a dozen invalids, under the escort of fifteen soldiers, back to Fort Pitt. This party was ambushed within two miles of the fort and but four escaped. The blockade continued for about a month, at the end of which time McIntosh, with a relief party of seven hundred men, came to their aid. As the packhorses carrying supplies came within hearing of the welcoming salute fired from the fort they took fright and carried the provisions off into the woods so that they were not recovered. The garrison had reached the point of living on raw hides and roots.

In the meantime Colonel Brodhead had been placed in command of the department and at the end of May, hearing that Fort Laurens was to be attacked "when the strawberries are ripe," he reinforced it, but in August concluded to abandon the post. Fort Randolph, at the mouth of the Kanawha, had been abandoned in June, which left Fort Henry at Wheeling the most advanced post.

In July Colonel Rogers' party of Kentuckians who were bringing up supplies from New Orleans had been attacked by Indians under Girty and Elliott on the Ohio, near the Licking, and had been practically annihilated. It was during this same summer that Col. John Bowman crossed the Ohio, near the Licking, with three hundred Kentucky volunteers, with whom he made a dash up the Scioto Valley and attacked the Shawanee town, near the modern Chillicothe. Although he burned some houses and secured some plunder, he retreated without accomplishing any great result.

In May, 1779, an expedition of Colonel Byrd's at the head of a large party of whites and Indians captured two small stockades on the Licking and then retreated rapidly to Detroit. One of the reasons given for his retreat is that he was shocked at the barbarity of his Indian allies. The generally accepted reason is that the Indians refused to take the chances of a pitched battle and following their usual procedure insisted upon retiring before the Kentuckians could recover from their surprise. This expedition was one of the most extensive ones planned during the war and could have annihilated every settlement between the Ohio and Cumberland Gap. Clark gathered together a thousand men and swept north through the Miami Valley in an assault upon the Shawanee town at Pickaway. This and many other towns and the crops around them were completely destroyed. A similar expedition from Pittsburg under General Brodhead burned the crops and villages of the upper Muskingum.

THE SPANISH CLAIMS.

It was at this time that the Spanish claims afterwards urged with more force than justice took their origin. Spain had declared war upon England in 1779 and thereupon the English at Detroit, under command of a garrulous and bustling soldier of twenty-five years' service, Patt Sinclair, proposed to sweep clean that "nest of tares," the Spanish post, St. Louis.

St. Louis was now a town of about one hun-

dred and twenty houses, mainly of stone and contained a population of about eight hundred whites, mainly French, and one hundred and fifty negroes. On May 26, 1780, a force of about nine hundred Indians fell upon some farmers who were without the stockade. No assault, however, on the post followed, as the savages were unwilling, as usual, to attack a fortified place which had been forewarned. The attacking party withdrew after killing a small party of whites and taking about eighteen prisoners.

The Spaniards planned an expedition against the deserted English post of St. Joseph, which was on the south bank of the river St. Joseph, a mile or so west of the present city of Niles, Michigan. After Pontiac's War, the fort had been abandoned, although the place continued to be occupied as a trading post. In 1780 it contained eight houses and seven shanties and a population of forty-five French persons and four Pawnee slaves.

Spain had already seized the English posts at Natchez and Baton Rouge and Mobile, which, with St. Louis, gave her the practical control of the lower Mississippi Valley. She now thought of establishing herself in the Northwest, which would place her in a position to make a trade with England for Gibraltar, a serious thorn in the side of his most Catholic majesty. As a result, in January, 1781, an expedition of Spaniards and Indians made a winter journey of four hundred miles to capture the deserted post of St. Joseph. The march northward through the snow was a fatiguing one, but it and its result were the occasion of the most elaborate claims on the part of the Spanish. There were at the post no English and but few French except trappers, but the commander, in the name of the King of Spain, took possession of the place and its dependencies and of the river of Illinois. The report of this expedition seems to have been held back until March, 1782, when the matter of boundaries was being discussed between France, Spain, England and America. This wonderful victory was used in support of the Spanish claim at the treaty of Paris to all the lands west of the line drawn southward through what is now Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi which, in addition to large parts of the States mentioned, would have given to Spain all of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. Fortunately, however, the Mississippi River boundary was insisted upon by the American commissioners and finally retained by them at the treaty of Paris.

THE MASSACRE OF THE MORAVIANS.

The surrender of Cornwallis took place October 19, 1781. This surrender concluded the war in the East and the treaty of peace was finally signed September 3, 1783. In the West, however, the war continued and during the year 1782 occurred some of the most horrible episodes in the history of Indian warfare. The villages planted by the Moravian missionaries on the banks of the Tuscarawas River in 1782 are regarded by Mr. King in his history of Ohio as fairly entitled to rank as the first settlements in Ohio. Many white people, of course, had lived in the country before that time and many a white child had been born there, but history does not know them and they made no permanent impression upon the land. For this reason Marietta's claim as the earliest settlement in Ohio is without foundation, and the very terms of the grant to the Ohio Company in July, 1787, as well as the ordinance of 1785, providing for the surveys and disposals of Western lands, excepted and reserved the Moravian villages and the land surrounding them, ten thousand acres in all, for the Christian Indians who formerly settled there. The title was vested in the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and the gift wa subsequently enlarged to twelve thousand acres In 1823 this was all reconveyed to the Unite States with the exception of the church yards cemeteries and some special leases.

The Moravians or United Brethren were sect who took as their guide the "Daily Word composed of texts from the Gospel for each day' meditation and who submitted to lot all question of difference. They were bound to bear a things for conscience' sake and relied for the defense not upon arms but upon prayer and r monstrance. Military duty and the taking o oaths in court were contrary to their tenets. The religion was not dogmatic but included all wh believed in the Christian Church. Foreign mi sions had been adopted by them as their vocatio They came in 1735 to Georgia but were oblig to leave that colony because of the border wa with the Spaniards requiring every man in t colony to bear arms. They fled to Pennsylvan where Bethlehem on the Lehigh became the ce ter of their system and still remains so. Th first mission was established by Zinzendorf 1741 among the Mohicans near the boundary l tween New York and Connecticut. They w obliged to flee from this point and finally sett twenty miles above Bethlehem and called th

colony Gnadenhütten (Tents of Grace). Here their teachings took a great hold upon the Delawares and as a result, as they and the Shawanees were gradually pushed westward, the missionaries headed by Zeisberger accompanied them.

Zeisberger by his wonderful preaching and vivid word pictures painted in the Indians' own language made a wonderful impression on the Delaware Indians. The wave of religious enthusiasm swept over the nation converting many of the Indian chiefs to the new belief. Finally Zeisberger and five Indian families, twenty-eight in all, arrived May 3, 1772, at a new settlement in Ohio on the Tuscarawas River. This settlement was called Shoenbrun, from a beautiful spring at its site and was about two miles southeast of the present town of New Philadelphia.

In August the missionaries Ettwein and Heckewelder arrived with about two hundred and fifty Christian Indians from the Allegheny and the Susquehanna and a second colony was established about ten miles below the first which was reserved by the Delawares. As the second was taken by the Mohicans, they called it Gnadenhütten from their old home on the Lehigh.

Here the Moravians and the Indians lived in peace and amity. Churches and schools were built and farms and shops inaugurated as well. As a result the Indians prospered mightily in their contact with civilization. More warlike Indians naturally looked upon them with scorn but as their homes were always open to the wanderer and were always well supplied with food they finally won the respect of their savage neighbors. The population of the Moravian villages at the close of 1775 was 414 persons.

At the outbreak of the war the Moravians were invited to attend the council of the Eastern and Western Indians at Pittsburg but Zeisberger declined. At the council the division among the Delawares part of whom were inclined toward the King and part towards the colonists was apparent. They were asked by the commissioners of Congress to remain neutral which they had said they would do. In the discussion however there had been much feeling. Captain White Eyes would not conceal his affection for the Americans and was reminded by one of the speakers of the Six Nations that the Delawares were a subject race and not worthy of consideration. White Eyes retorted with a claim of ownership by his people of the lands west of the Allegheny. This defiant speech was used afterwards by Captain Pipe to the injury of the Americans. He pretended to believe that it would bring down the resentment of the Six Nations upon the Delawares and in this way he brought about a division among his people into a war and a peace party. The Moravians insisted upon remaining neutral but the English at Detroit suspected them of giving the news to Fort Pitt and in 1781, McKee, Elliott and Captain Pipe with three hundred warriors ordered the Christian villages moved to the Sandusky River. Here the greatest hardships overtook them and their leaders were summoned to Detroit to respond to the charge of giving information to the Americans. They freed themselves from this charge and were treated by the English with great consideration and allowed to return to their homes on the Sandusky but in March, 1782, the teachers were ordered back to Detroit where they established a new settlement near the present city of Mount Clemens. The bitter winter had brought intense suffering to those who remained in the settlement and when the spring came their provisions had become exhausted and one hundred of them were permitted to return to their old villages in February, 1782, to save the corn which had been left standing. Strangely enough the American border settlers always viewed the Moravian Indians with suspicion. It is probable that many of the outrages committed by the warlike Indians had been attributed to these innocent converts and it is suggested that at this time suspicion was diverted to these returning wayfarers by concealing in their homes plunder which had been taken in raids upon the border land. Whatever the excuse is, when the party had about finished its work on the 7th of March and were about to return, a barbarous band of about ninety borderers commanded by a wretch called Col. David Williamson came upon them and under pretense of escorting them to Pittsburg secured from them their hatchets, pocket knives and everything in the shape of weapons. After this they were overpowered and shut up in two houses, the men in one and the women and children in another. Thereupon Williamson left it to the vote of his men whether he should take them as prisoners to Pittsburg or to put them to death. Out of the ninety white men but eighteen voted against this basest act of treachery. The Indian prisoners penned up as they were like sheep and ninety-six in number were slaughtered without any possible excuse or means of defense. "My arm fails me," said Williamson as he struck the life from his fourteenth bound victim "to go on the same way; I think I have done pretty well." At the conclusion the ninety-

six corpses of murdered Christian Indians, forty men, twenty-two women and thirty-four children were left to be fought over by the bears and panthers. This massacre of Indians by whites is justly regarded as one of the most barbarous episodes in the history of Ohio. Not without provocation therefore was much of the barbarism of the so-called savages which soon found an opportunity to repay this outrage.

THE BURNING OF CRAWFORD.

In May of the same year an expedition started to punish the British-inspired Indians for their raids on the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders. Four hundred volunteers assembled near the present site of Steubenville to attack the Indians at Sandusky. According to the Moravian accounts the purpose of this expedition was to destroy the remaining Christian Indians but this is disputed by other narrators. This expedition was commanded by Col. William Crawford, who was elected by five majority over the fellow Williamson whose hands were still stained with the blood of the Moravians.

Crawford was a friend of Washington and had been with him at the time of Braddock's defeat and afterwards in Forbes' army. He also surveyed Washington's lands on the Ohio and was with him in his trip down that river and the Great Kanawha in 1770. He served under Washington on Long Island and at Delaware, Trenton and Princeton.

Crawford and his force proceeded to Upper Sandusky but were unable at first to find any Indians to oppose them. Upon their reaching an Indian trace which ran through a swamp they were attacked by the Indians who were hidden in the tall prairie grass all about them. They were soon compelled to retreat and during the confusion Colonel Crawford became separated from the main force and with a companion Dr. Knight was captured by the Indians and fell into the hands of Captain Pipe. They were taken to the half king's town at Upper Sandusky where Crawford appealed to Simon Girty, whom he had long known and who had often been a guest at his table, to save his life but without avail. Girty, to whom Crawford offered one thousand dollars, pretended however to be impressed. The conversation was overheard and repeated to the Indian chiefs who were incensed at it and determined to torture Crawford to death. Nine other prisoners were given over to the squaws and the boys, who tomahawked and scalped them all. The scalps reeking with blood were dashed in Crawford's face. After this they were taken from point to point until they reached the place of execution. A stake fifteen feet high was driven into the ground and about it at a distance of about six yards was built a fire of small hickory poles about six feet in length. Crawford was stripped naked and ordered to sit down. He was then beaten with sticks until his body was covered with bruises. After this his hands were tied behind his back and a rope extended from the foot of the post to the bands at his wrists. The rope was long enough to permit him to sit down or to walk around the post once or twice. Crawford asked Girty if they intended to burn him and when Girty responded in the affirmative he replied that he would take it all patiently. About four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday June 11, 1782, the torture itself began. The Indians fired powder into Crawford's bruised body from his feet to his neck; not less than seventy loads were fired at his naked body. They then crowded about him and cut off both his ears. Several Indians would pick up the burning poles and stick the burning ends next to his body already black with the gunpowder. They stood on all sides of him and would meet him with their burning fagots or with wooden shovels full of hot coals whichever way he moved as he ran around the post. In a short time there was nothing but coals of fire for him to walk upon. Crawford called several times to Girty asking him to shoot him and end his misery. Girty laughingly replied that he had no gun and by his actions and gestures seemed delighted at the terrible scene. All this took place in the presence of Dr. Knight, to whom Girty stated that he would receive the same treatment within the next two days. At this point Crawford began to pray in a low tone and after suffering in terrible agony for about two hours longer being almost exhausted he lay down upon his stomach in the ashes. Thereupon one of the savages scalped him and threw the scalp into Knight's face taunting him with comments about his great captain. An old squaw then upon collected a pile of hot coals and laid them upon Crawford's back and wounded head. The excessive pain seemed to arouse him and he got up on his feet and began to walk about the post apparently insensible however of what was going on about him. At this point Knight was dragged away to prepare for a similar fate. According to Girty's report however "Crawford died like a hero; never changing his countenance tho' the

scalped him alive and then laid hot ashes on his head; after which they roasted him by a slow fire."

It seems one of the unexplained mysteries of fate that the horrible wretch Simon Girty who was concerned in so many of the outrages upon the white settlers and who was present and connived at the burning of Abner Hunt in Hamilton County long after the conclusion of the war, should have been permitted to die a peaceful death in the arms of his wife after having survived until 1808. According to Oliver M. Spencer who saw him during his captivity in 1792, Girty's appearance did not belie his character. "His dark shaggy hair, his low forehead, his brows contracted and meeting above his short flat nose, his great sunken eyes averting the ingenuous gaze, his lips thin and compressed and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance to me seem the very picture of a villain."

When the manner of Crawford's death became known along the border and in army circles, the grief and rage felt on all sides was beyond expression. The English officers as well as the officers of the Continental forces were deeply shocked although they regarded the torture of Crawford as retaliation for the slaughter of the Moravian Indians. Dr. Knight fortunately escaped from his guard. He subsequently married a daughter of Crawford's half brother and lived at Shelbyville, Kentucky, until 1838. The spot where Crawford was tortured was a short distance northeast of the town of Crawfordsville in Wyandot County, Ohio, and is marked by a monument erected there about a quarter of a century ago.

BLUE LICKS.

The news of the cessation of war did not arrive in time to avert the unsuccessful attack on Bryan's Station in Kentucky and the battle of Blue Licks which followed. A war party under Caldwell and McKee came upon the station on August 16, 1782. The settlers were in the field at work but the advance party of Indians skulking about was discovered by them. An attack was at once suspected. Bryan's Station had no spring within its walls and it became a matter of importance to provide for water. To send the men to the spring would indicate to the Indians that they had been discovered. Accordingly the women took their pails and buckets and with seeming unconcern talking and laughing as they walked they went to the spring and procured a sufficient supply of water. The Indians fearing that if they attacked the women all chance of surprising the fort would be lost permitted them to go unharmed. Immediately afterwards the attack on the fort began but it was without success. News was sent to Lexington and a relief party under Maj. Levi Todd were able to make their way into the station. The Indians tried to burn the fort during the night but were unsuccessful. In the morning Girty who was with the attacking party tried to frighten them into a surrender with a threat of no quarter in case of an assault. The attempt failed and the Indians withdrew after having lost five of their number. But four of the defenders were killed. Among the children in the station at that time was a babe named Richard Johnson, who thirty years later at the head of the Kentucky riflemen took part in the victory of the Thames and is said to have killed with his own hand the great Indian chief Tecumseh.

At the news of the attack upon the station, troops gathered from all sides under the County Lieutenant John Todd and Boone, Colonel Trigg and Majors McGarry, Harlan and Lincoln. This party of trained hunters and skilled veterans including in its number the most daring of the Kentucky pioneers hurried to Bryan's Station from which point they followed the Indians along the great buffalo trace to the Blue Licks. They overtook the savages on August 19th. Boone, who saw that his party was much outnumbered and to whom as the most experienced Indian fighter present all turned, urged that no attack should be made until reinforcements which were coming up under Logan should arrive. The more conservative officers agreed with him but the younger and bolder spirits, headed by Maj. Hugh McGarry, were opposed to delay. Raising the war cry he dashed into the stream separating them from the Indians and called on all who were not cowards to follow him. This left no option to Boone and Todd and the others. All crossed together and formed in the line of battle. The Indians arose on all sides from the long grass and in less than five minutes the attack became a wild rout in which each vied with the other in his efforts to escape. Seventy of the Kentuckians were killed outright, including Colonel Todd and Lieutenant Trigg and seven were captured and twelve badly wounded. The victors lost

but one white man and six Indians killed and ten wounded.

In the party was Capt. Robert Patterson one of the founders of Cincinnati. At the time of the retreat he was not able to get a horse. As he was suffering from an unhealed wound he soon became exhausted. At this moment a young man Aaron Reynolds rode up and dismounting insisted upon Patterson taking his horse. Patterson did so and escaped unhurt being the last man over the ford. Reynolds swam the river but was captured by two Indians on the other side. He succeeded in escaping however and when Patterson asked him why he had saved his life he answered that it was because Patterson had once reproved him for swearing. Of the seven whites captured by the Indians four were put to death by torture. Another saved his life by a trick. He was forced to run the gauntlet and had succeeded in reaching the council house when he turned and hurled a powerful Indian to the ground and sticking his head between the legs of another Indian threw him clear over his back. He thereupon jumped upon a log, knocked his heels together and crowed after which he called the Indians a pack of cowards. He was adopted by one of the chiefs in admiration of his strength and courage.

CLARK IN THE MIAMIS.

The disaster of Blue Licks was one of the most severe ones suffered in the early history of Kentucky. In retaliation Clark gathered a large body of riflemen and swept up through the Miami valleys to the Indian towns which he ravaged. Although in this as in many other of the expeditions the number of Indians slain was not large, the great loss occasioned by the burning of their growing crops and supplies drove them more and more to rely upon hunting. As time advanced the hunting fields in the neighborhood of the settlements became exhausted and as a necessary consequence the Indians were obliged to move farther away from civilization. In this way these constant raids of Clark and others gradually pushed forward the limits of the settlements. The battle of the Blue Licks was the last serious conflict in Kentucky and with the attack of Clark which followed the War of the Revolution may be said to have ended in the Northwest.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

In the foregoing chapter the effort has been made to trace the course of events in the great Northwest, the great territory lying east of the Mississippi and northwest of the Ohio River, with a view of indicating the basis of the claims made by three great countries to jurisdiction over the land on which to-day rests the city of Cincinnati. By the supposed conquests of the occupying Indian nations, the Iroquois or Five Nations, subsequently the Six Nations, claimed ownership of the entire tract. At a very early time this nation came into contact with the French explorers and as a result of their first meeting this powerful confederacy submitted itself to the protection of the English. The rights such as they are which pertain to discovery, early exploration and partial occupation clearly were earned by the French. Prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century the whole region was unknown to the English. In the early part of that century the Virginians in their search for the limits of their chartered rights cast longing eyes to the westward but it was not until the century was half gone that any serious effort was made to learn much about the region. At how early a period the French *coureurs de bois* and the English traders wandered through the country of the Miamis and the Illinois it is impossible to state. The knowledge taken back to their homes of the possibility of trade with the Indians aroused the interest of both France and England at about the same time and the expedition of Celoron and that of Gist was the result.

The different manner of occupation by the French and English had a very important bearing on the final result. The French were not a colonizing nation in the true sense and in no place has this national weakness been made so clear as in the territory northwest of the Ohio. At first the advantage was with the French but by the treaty of Paris in 1763, the country was lost to them forever. By this treaty taken in connection with a secret treaty of Spain made during the previous year, France lost entirely her foothold on the American continent. Then followed the greatest of all Indian attempts to reclaim the hunting grounds of their fathers,—the last despairing gasp of the red men. Then came a series of negotiations and conferences with the Indians which were finally to result

complete abandonment of their lands along the Ohio. The Revolutionary War so far as the West was concerned was largely but an incident in the struggle with the red men. The English who used the Indians as their allies and kept possession of the Northwest forts for so long a time were not conscious of the value of the territory involved and their principal purpose was to harass the colonists in the rear. It is not likely that they would easily have yielded possession of this territory had the authorities in London understood its value. The fair fame of England will ever be sullied by her willingness to use the savages as allies in a war against England's own kinsmen. It must be remembered however that despite many statements to the contrary, the colonists of Massachusetts were willing at the outset of the war to receive aid from similar sources.

The result of the War of the Revolution assured the settlement of these regions by the Americans. It remained however a mooted question to be settled by much negotiation as to the quarter from which the settlements were to come and the jurisdiction under which they were to be made. With this question a new division of the history of the Northwest opens up.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF THE STATES—JEFFERSON'S MANY STATES—EXTINCTION OF INDIAN TITLES—SQUATTERS ALONG THE OHIO—SURVEYS—THE OHIO COMPANY AND THE ORDINANCE—THE SELECTION OF TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

By the treaty of 1763 all rights of France in the country which afterwards included the State of Ohio were ceded to Great Britain and the title of the land vested in the crown. By the proclamation of October 7, 1763, this territory was reserved by the King for the Indians as hunting grounds and was not opened to settlement or purchase without special leave and license from the crown. The policy of maintaining these fertile lands as a hunting ground proved to be a failure, as has been seen. By the Quebec act of 1774, this territory became incorporated in the Royal Province of Quebec. The Colony of Virginia however never admitted any question as to its rights within the parallels referred to in its charter west as far as the Mississippi and in 1769 created the county of Botetourt which included a large tract of land seven hundred miles long extending from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi, within which was the territory now known as Hamilton County. It is pleasing to know that Virginia exempted the residents of this county, situated on the Mississippi, from the payment of any levies for the purpose of building a court house and prison for the county.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF THE STATES.

In 1776 it is said that the present territory of Ohio was included in the section of the State of Virginia called the District of West Augusta and the county of Ohio. After the conquest of the Illinois country by Clark in 1778 the county of Illinois was created by the Virginia Legislature out of the county of Botetourt, including all the territory between the Pennsylvania line, the Mississippi, the Ohio and the lakes. Col. John Todd who afterwards lost his life at the battle of the Blue Licks in 1782 was the first county lieutenant. It is apparent therefore from the foregoing that at the time of the cession by Great Britain to the United States in 1783, of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, there was a serious conflict as to the jurisdiction of these lands. The proclamation of the King in 1763, fixing the Western boundary of the seaboard Colonies as the watershed between the rivers flowing into the Atlantic and those discharging into the Mississippi, although not questioned at the time, was never treated by the colonists during the Revolutionary period as of any legal force. Jefferson in 1774 in his "Summary View" gave as a theory regarding the ownership of the soil that the soil of the Colonies belonged to the communities by whose exertions it had been converted to the uses of man, that is to the colonists themselves.

The Quebec act of 1774, which extended the limits of Quebec to include the country west of the Alleghanies as far south as the Ohio River, strangely enough contained a reservation that it should not in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colony. The

reservation and the clauses of the act reserving the rights of holders of grants from the crown do not seem to have been widely known in America. Virginia's claim covered those of three other states and was based on her charters of 1606, 1609 and 1612 all of which had been annuled in 1624, since which time she had been a royal province. The proclamation of 1763 certainly disposed of her claim. New York's claim rested upon the various submissions made by the Iroquois League to the Governor of New York. Virginia also claimed by right of conquest as the British posts had been captured by Clark's expedition organized and paid for by the State of Virginia. This latter claim, which after all was the only one of real consequence, was questioned by the other States on the ground that they had all made common cause in securing independence and that accordingly such results as might accrue from the confirmation to them of these unsettled lands at the peace ought to be shared in common by the States, since they had all been instrumental in acquiring them. Before the Declaration of Independence, it will be remembered that the Continental Congress asked the Colonies to establish governments for themselves. Virginia in her constitution adopted in pursuance with this request ceded to Maryland, North Carolina and Pennsylvania, the territory which had been set apart to them by the King, one hundred and fifty years before; it concluded however with the reservation that the western and northern extent of Virginia should remain as fixed by the charter of 1609 and the public treaty of peace of 1763. The purchase of lands of Indian nations was forbidden except by authority of the General Assembly. Of course the proviso was absurd so far as the proclamation of 1763 was concerned for the reason just stated, and the charter of 1609, long since revoked, merely covered the territory from sea to sea west and northwest, —clearly too indefinite a description to be available.

Maryland in 1776, Rhode Island and New Jersey in 1778 urged that the Western lands be sold by the Confederation to defray the expenses of the war and Maryland subsequently refused to enter the Confederation until this question was settled. Thereupon Virginia arrogantly passed a statute in 1779 opening a land office for the entry of lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. This brought forth remonstrances from various companies claiming rights under the Walpole grants and by other concessions. Virginia objected to the consideration of these remonstrances as being matters pertaining to her own internal affairs. Maryland at this time secured a passage by Congress of a resolution recommending that Virginia close her land office and at least refrain from issuing land warrants while the war lasted. All the delegates except those of Virginia and North Carolina joined in this recommendation. The commandant at Pittsburg in 1779 reported that he was expelling trespassers from the west side of the Ohio and destroying their cabins. This report which was referred to Virginia with the request that further intrusion be prevented drew a remonstrance from Virginia on the ground that the United States could have no territory otherwise than in the right of one of the States. The logical result of this claim is pointed out by Mr. King to be that no cession could be obtained by a treaty as a result of the war, and therefore Virginia's own claim would be lost. The contest became a bitter one and aroused much feeling. At this juncture however the New York Assembly acting under the advice of Schuyler, one of the delegates in Congress from that State, passed an act ceding her Western land to the national government for the common good. It will be remembered that the western boundaries of New York had been fixed in the Quebec act upon the intervention of New York's London agent, Edmund Burke. New York's gift therefore was of all the lands held north and south of the Ohio as far west as the Mississippi River including Kentucky, which she claimed to hold under her treaties with the Six Nations and their conquered tributaries. The tenuity of this claim in this respect has been referred to a number of times and therefore the magnanimity of this State in surrendering something which she did not have may not be impressive when viewed at this late date. At the time it had great influence upon Congress. That body having under consideration the complaints of Maryland and the Virginia remonstrances and the New York cession, finally urged the different States to remove all embarrassment by surrendering to the general government their territorial claims and thus establish "the Federal Union on a fixed and permanent basis and on principles acceptable to all its respective mem-

bers." Congress indicated that all lands ceded should be disposed of for the common benefit and formed into new States upon equal footing with the original States. All expenses incurred by a particular State in subduing any British should be reimbursed by the general government. This last provision was a concession to Virginia by reason of her aid to George Rogers Clark. Thomas Paine at this time published his tract called "Public Good" in which he attacked the Virginia claims and urged the forming of a new State in the West and the paying of the debts of the war from the sale of the lands. This was clearly the general trend of public opinion. Connecticut had previously offered to give up her title to the lands on condition that she retain jurisdiction over the territory. The purpose of this, as supported by Alexander Hamilton, was to prevent the forming of New States on the frontier. Virginia by this time perceived that something must be done by her and thereupon on January 2, 1781, she offered to cede her lands northwest of the Ohio upon condition that her lands southeast of that river be guaranteed by the United States and that the claims of all other persons held under royal grants or by purchase from the Indians inconsistent with the charter rights of Virginia should be held void. Congress refused to accept such conditions as being inconsistent with the honor, interests and peace of the United States. Maryland, convinced that her point against the acquisition of territory by individual States was now practically made, joined the Union by signing the Articles of Confederation on March 1, 1781, This made the United States an accomplished fact. The proper announcement was made to the various States and to foreign countries and to the army.

The proposition made by New York in her deed of cession impressed Congress favorably because by accepting it the United States would acquire all the territory in controversy. For this reason they felt that they could not accept Virginia's cession nor that of Connecticut as they were inconsistent with the claims of the national government by this cession of New York. To an observer at this late date it seems surprising that such flimsy rights and such meretricious arguments should have endangered the organization of the new government. Finally on March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded her rights making but two reservations, th first of one hundred and fifty thousand acr promised to George Rogers Clark and his o ficers and soldiers and the second of a tra between the Scioto and the Little Mian rivers to be used as bounty lands for the Vi ginia soldiers during the Revolutionary Wa Other stipulations provided that the new te ritory should be for the common benefit an formed into States not less than a hundre nor more than one hundred and fifty mil square to be admitted into the Union upon a equality with the original States. Othe States surrendered their claims in turn, Mas achusetts in April, 1785, and Connecticut i 1786. There was reserved to the last State section of Ohio now known as the Wester Reserve, which was peopled subsequently b settlers from Connecticut, just as the Virgin military district lying east of the Little Mian was peopled by settlers from Virginia.

Charles Moore in discussing these land ce sions gives the moral as follows: "Marylan by standing out for the national ownership an control of the Northwest brought about a resu of tremendous benefit to the United States; Ne York by giving up early what she never had w for herself great credit; Virginia generously ma a distinct sacrifice of dearly conquered territo over which she was actually exercising jurisdi tion; Massachusetts quit claimed a title she cou not defend; and Connecticut gained an empire which she was not entitled but which she put the very best of uses."

Mr. King calls attention to the fact that th is still an open question between the States on t opposite banks of the Ohio as to their respect jurisdiction over its waters. It has been det mined that Virginia and Kentucky did not tend further than low water mark on the north shore but "whether they extended to that lin as yet unsettled." As a matter of fact the c stant practice of courts particularly those which admiralty questions have arisen has b to accept this line as a boundary.

JEFFERSON'S MANY STATES.

The first proposition with relation to the di ion of the Northwestern lands was to divide t into States of not less than one hundred nor r than one hundred and fifty miles square. Je son was made chairman of the committee to c into the details of the organization of the country. He reported on March 1, 1784, a

dinance somewhat in accord with the idea just mentioned. His plan however included not only the territory northwest of the Ohio but the country of Virginia and the other Southern States across the mountains from which slavery was to be excluded after the year 1800. The scheme contemplated fourteen States south of the 45th parallel and north of the 31st parallel. The whole Western country was to be divided by lines of latitude two degrees apart intersected by the meridians of longitude drawn through the mouth of the Kanawha and the falls of the Ohio. The most westerly north and south column would include six States south of the 43rd parallel and one above lying west of Lake Michigan and the second lying still farther north reaching to Canada. The States south of the 43rd parallel were to have for their eastern boundary a meridian cutting the falls of the Ohio. Clark had already founded at this point, Louisville, a town which now included about one hundred houses and the only store in the Ohio Valley which was supplied with stock by traders passing up and down the river from Pittsburg. North of the 43rd parallel and lying between Lakes Michigan and Huron was to be another State and south of that four which would reach to the 35th parallel. The country further to the south and east of the meridian of the falls was to be joined to South Carolina and Georgia. The eastern boundary of the second column of States was as has been said the meridian of the mouth of the Kanawha. By this arrangement an irregular piece of territory was left to the east of the Kanawha meridian extending to the Allegheny River and the western boundaries of Pennsylvania and to Lake Erie; this was to be another State. This scheme would divide Ohio into two States lying between the 37th and 39th parallels.

Jefferson not only provided this checker-board division into states but supplied the names. The most northerly State was to be called Sylvania; to the west of Lake Michigan was to be Michigania and at the east Chersonesus; next south came Assenisipia and Metropotamia and next there came Illinoia and Saratoga. Polypotamia included the country with the many rivers joining the lower Ohio; to the east of this and in the main south of the river Ohio lay Pelisipia. The irregular State just west of Pennsylvania was to be called Washington. Northern Ohio was in Metropotamia; the rest of the State would have been divided between Washington and Pelisipia. Pelisipy seems to have been another name for the Ohio River. These States were to be admitted to the confederation as they reached a population equal to the smallest of the original States. Jefferson's famous anti-slavery proposal was as follows: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise than in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty."

The ordinance was recommitted and after some modifications reported March 22nd. Amendments made other changes in its provisions. The wonderful names were given up. The Ohio River was selected as a boundary between the States of Saratoga and Pelisipia. The territory from the 45th parallel northward was added to Michigania and the slavery clause was dropped. In its new form the ordinance was adopted April 23, 1784. It provided that the States could adopt a constitution like that of any of the original States and that when they reached a population of twenty thousand they could be admitted to Congress by delegates and would have a right to vote whenever the census showed their State to have a population equal to that of the smallest of the old States. As a supplement to this ordinance, Mr. King of Massachusetts introduced on March 16, 1785, another provision with relation to slavery. This was as follows: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of April 23, 1784, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty and that this regulation shall be an article of compact and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in said resolve of the 23d of April, 1784."

This proposition was referred to a committee who reported on April 6th, but no definite action was taken at the time. It was clear however by the ordinance and various resolutions that Congress was committed to the retention of the Northwest Territory, forever as a part of the United States, and secondly that some provision in opposition to slavery was bound to be incorporated in the final scheme of organization.

EXTINCTION OF INDIAN TITLES.

Necessary steps preliminary to such an organization were the extinction of any Indian titles and proper surveys. To attain the first object Congress established in 1784 a board of commissioners to treat with the Indians. The red men by the treaty of 1768 and by the treaty of Fort Stan-

wix recognized the Ohio as the boundary between them and the whites and were not disposed to make any concessions with regard to the lands on the northwest bank of that river. Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) the leader of the Mohawks and practically of the Six Nations had already formed a confederacy with the Western and Lake Indians for the protection of the Indian lands as far south as the Ohio. This remarkable Indian, the brother of Sir William Johnson's Molly Brant, visited England in 1785 to obtain compensation from the British for the losses incurred by the Mohawks during the Revolution. While there he received the welcome accorded to foreign sovereigns and was wined and dined by the royal family, statesmen, wits and ladies of quality. The Prince of Wales, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir Guy Carleton, —the new Governor of Canada,—all vied with each other to do him honor and he was the sensation of the time. At a masque ball, the Turkish diplomat tried to examine his painted nose, which he thought was false, whereupon Brant resented the indignity with a war whoop that would have done honor to one of Pontiac's braves. Upon his return he was able to strengthen the determination of the Indians to adhere to their claims with regard to the lands above the Ohio. In November, 1786, the united Indian nations held their first conference at the rapids of the Maumee and prepared an address to their "Brethren of the Thirteen United States of America." In this they deplored their not being included in the peace made with Great Britain and gave notice that in the future no council would be held legal unless the entire confederacy gave its assent. They said they were ready to make a lasting treaty of peace but on one condition; that was that the surveyors and "others that march on land" must cease crossing the Ohio until they had come to terms. The address concluded with this warning: "Brothers! it will be owing to your arrogance if this laudable plan which we so earnestly wish for is not carried into execution. In that case the result will be very precarious and if fresh ruptures ensue we are sure we will be able to exculpate ourselves and most assuredly with our united force be obliged to defend those immunities which the Great Spirit has been pleased to give us; and if we then should be reduced to misfortune, the world will pity us when they think of the amicable proposals we made to prevent the effusion of unnecessary blood."

This address represented the feelings of the tribes of the Northwestern confederacy which included the Six Nations, Hurons, Delawares, Shawanees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Cherokees, Wabash Confederates and Miamis.

Congress however had all the time refused to pay any attention to this confederacy and through its commissioners had been negotiating with separate bands of savages. Richard Butler, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee met the New York Indians at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, where a treaty was made which shut off the Iroquois from any advance along the southern shores of Lake Erie. The Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas were met at Fort McIntosh in January, 1785, by Isaac Lane, George Rogers Clark and Samuel H. Parsons, and a treaty was agreed upon surrendering certain lands in the northwestern part of the State of Ohio to the Indians forever, except certain reserve tracts about six miles square about the military posts. This reserve region ran along the south shore of Lake Erie from Cayahoga to the Maumee and as far south as the portage between the Miami and the Maumee. It was this reservation which made it impossible for the Symmes grant, subsequently made, to include the number of acres originally contemplated.

SQUATTERS ALONG THE OHIO.

What were called by many the "lawless emigrants" were not waiting for treaties and acts of Congress but settlers were pushing to the West and into the lands north of the Ohio. Governor Henry of Virginia warned the intruders of the dangers incurred and General Harmar, in the spring, sent a force along the north bank of the Ohio as far as Wheeling to dispossess the squatters; the officer in command reported that there were one hundred more extending as far west as the Miami. Harmar issued a proclamation on April 2, 1785, and by May 1st reported that the cabins of the squatters had been burned. It was estimated however that by the close of 1785 there were something like fifty thousand souls west of Pittsburg including English, Scotch, Irish and German and in 1786 their numbers were sufficient to warrant the setting up of the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies, the *Pittsburg Gazette*. The emigrants were at the rate of from five to twenty thousand a year and their boxes within twelve months reached the number of thousand most of which were for the Kentucky side. Some however attempted settlements on the north.

In fact the principal efforts of the governm

at this time seem to have been directed to the prevention of settlements by these so-called "banditti",—the original squatters,—rather than to the protection from the Indians of the bona-fide settlers on the southern side of the Ohio. General Harmar had been directed, as has just been stated, to prevent the surveying and settling of the lands not within the limits of any particular State and to employ such officers as he might judge necessary to drive off persons attempting to settle on the lands of the United States. On May 1, 1785, he transmitted to Congress the report of Ensign Armstrong who had marched down as far as opposite Wheeling and had executed his orders (excepting a few indulgences granted on account of the weather). Armstrong's report showed that he dispossessed one family at Little Beaver, other families at Yellow creek, Mingo Bottom and Norris' town and another one at Mercer's town and still another at a place opposite Wheeling. He had arrested a man named Ross who seemed to be obstreperous and had sent him to Wheeling in irons. He had also been threatened by one Charles Norris with a party of armed men. Upon showing his authority he had met with no further offensive demonstration. At Mercer's town he learned that Charles Norris and Joseph Carpenter had been elected as justices of the peace and had acted as such. This was probably the first attempt at organized government in the Northwest Territory. Armstrong also transmitted the opinion "of some reputable inhabitants on the eastern side of the river." These reputable inhabitants were of the opinion that if Congress did not prevent the settlements "that country will soon be inhabited by a Banditti whose actions are a disgrace to human nature." Armstrong states that he had distributed copies of the instructions in the settlements to the west of the Ohio and had posted them up at most public places on the east side of the river in the neighborhood through which the people passed but that in spite of these instructions they were moving to the unsettled country by forties and fifties. There were already at the falls of the HawkHawkin (HockHocking) upwards of three hundred families and at the Muskingum "a number equal." At the Moravian town there were several families and more than fifteen hundred on the rivers Miami and Scioto. "From Wheeling to that place there is scarcely one bottom of the river but has one or more families living thereon." He refers also to an advertisement by one "John Amberson," which was being complied with by the inhabitants. This advertisement is of interest as showing the capacity for self government inherent among the early settlers regardless of their quality or condition. It reads as follows:

"ADVERTISEMENT."

"March 12, 1785.

"Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of the west side of the Ohio River that there is to be an election for the choosing of members for the convention for the framing a constitution for the governing of the inhabitants, the election to be held on the 10th day of April next ensuing, viz: One election to be held at the mouth of the Miami River and one to be held at the mouth of the Scioto River, and one on the Muskingum River, and one at the dwelling house of Jonas Menzons; the members to be chosen to meet at the mouth of the Scioto on the 20th day of the same month.

"I do certify that all mankind, agreeable to every constitution formed in America, have an undoubted right to pass into every vacant country, and there to form their constitution, and that from the confederation of the whole United States, Congress is not empowered to forbid them, neither is Congress empowered from that confederation to make any sale of the uninhabited land to pay the public debts, which is to be by a tax levied and lifted by authority of the Legislature of each State.

"JOHN AMBERSON."

The plans of these original expansionists would have resulted in the foundation of a State at a somewhat earlier period than was contemplated had they been left undisturbed. They certainly seem to have made every effort to establish a law abiding community. From the points selected for the election, it is plain that there must have been a number of settlers in the neighborhood of the Miami River and in what is now Hamilton County almost four years before Stites landed at Columbia.

Harmar received from sixty-six of the settlers a petition asking for a further indulgence of time and insisting that they desired "to act consistent with our duty to our country and the commands of the Legislature," to which they had already appealed that is,—Congress. Harmar gave them until the 21st of May to remove themselves at the expiration of which time he reports to the President of Congress that he expects to detach parties to drive off the settlers

within a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from Fort McIntosh, "which in my present situation is all that is practicable." He concluded with the statement that the "number of the settlers lower down the river is very considerable and from all accounts daily increasing."

General Butler on his way down the river to the conference at Fort Finney makes frequent reference to these early settlers. Just below Yellow creek near the present site of Wellsville he felt called upon to put in to warn off one Penniman and one Pry. This latter "appears to be a shrewd, sensible man. He assured me he would go off, that he would go to Kentucky, having been disappointed in a place he had formerly purchased, it being taken from him by a law suit. I told him, as well as the others, that Congress was determined to put all the people off the lands, and that none would be allowed to settle but the legal purchasers, and that these and these only would be protected; that troops would be down next week, who have orders to destroy every house and improvement on the north side of the river, and that garrisons will be placed at Muskingum and other places, and that if any person or persons attempted to oppose Government, they may depend on being treated with the greatest rigor. He seemed not well pleased, though he promised submission."

At the Mingo towns just below the present site of Steubenville "we found a number of people, among whom one Ross (Joseph) seems to be the principal man of the settlers on the north side of that place. I conversed with him, and warned him and the others away. He said he and his neighbors were misrepresented to Congress; that he was going to Congress to inform them that himself and neighbors were determined to be obedient to their ordinances, and we have made it a point to assure them that Congress had no respect to persons, that the lands would be surveyed and sold to poor and rich, and that there would, or could be no more of preference given to one more than another, which seemed to give satisfaction."

In view of the regulations of Congress this statement does not seem quite candid. On the next day, October 2nd, at Cross creek eight miles below, he "called at the settlement of Chas. Norris, whose house has been pulled down, and he has rebuilt it. At this place found one Walter Kean, who seems but a middling character, and rather of the dissentious cast. Warned all these off, and requested, they would inform their neighbors, which they promised to do. Col Monroe (the future President) spoke to them also, which had weight, as I informed them of his character."

General Butler continued distributing proclamations and giving warning all the way down the river. Of course these attempts to drive off the unauthorized settlers were not entirely successful but they had great influence in discouraging emigration to the Ohio country. The number of the people passing down the river at this time and subsequently was very great. Butler speaks of settlements along the river on both sides. A little later in December, 1787, General Harmar writes to the Secretary of War concerning the population of the Western world as follows: "From the first June to this day, there have passed this garrison, bound for Kentucky, one hundred and forty-six boats, three thousand one hundred and ninety-six souls, one thousand three hundred and eighty-one horses, one hundred and sixty-five wagons, one hundred and seventy-one cattle, two hundred and forty five sheep, and twenty-four hogs." In a letter of June 15th of the next year he again reports "From the 9th of December to this day, three hundred and eight boats, six thousand three hundred and twenty souls, two thousand eight hundred and twenty-four horses, five hundred and fifteen cows, six hundred sheep, nine hogs, and one hundred and fifty wagons have passed this garrison (Fort Harmar) bound for Limestone and the Rapids. The emigration is almost incredible." In other words in about a year almost ten thousand people were noted by him as emigrating to Kentucky. It is not strange that Symmes subsequently complains that by reason of the lack of military protection and for other reasons the settlements in Kentucky were being favored at the expense of those in Ohio. We have no further account of the settlers on the northern bank of the Ohio. Mr. King in his "Ohio" states that "the history of these squatters is hardly worth pursuing. The blood of the Moravians is the 'damned spot' upon their memory." This seems hardly justified as the Moravian massacre took place a number of years before and there is no reason to connect all this large number of people with that horrible outrage. The impression left by their own proclamations and proceedings as well as the statements made by General Butler and others is that they were as law abiding a community as any pioneer settlement is likely to be. The

only offense seems to have been that they were not willing or were not able to pay the trifling sum demanded by Congress for the lands. This refusal to pay was probably due more to the lack of the knowledge of affairs and the lack of a promoter than to any desire to take advantage of the government.

To return to the negotiations with the Indians. During the summer the Wyandot and Delaware nations brought in their prisoners to the fort and professed great friendship. It was apparent however that the Indians were very much dissatisfied. The Indians coming to trade would get drunk and become quarrelsome and in the affray that followed either a white man or Indian would be killed; in each case this led to great feeling. Complaint, the chief of the Senecas, came to Fort Pitt to tell Colonel Harmar that his people were dissatisfied with the treaty of Fort Stanwix and desired to revoke. The Cherokees killed and scalped seven people near the mouth of the Scioto and Harmar reported in his letter to General Knox on January 1, 1785, that the British including one Simon Girty were doing all that was possible to stir up feelings against the Americans. In a later letter (July 16, 1785) Harmar states: "It is reported that a Mr. Brant has lately arrived from London who (with the commanding officer of the British in that quarter) has informed the Six Nations that their lands were never ceded to the Americans by the King of Great Britain. In consequence of which these chiefs complain of being accused by their Nation of treachery and say they are in danger of their own people. They have left Fort Pitt highly satisfied to appearance with the answer to their speech; but so long as the British keep possession of the posts, it is very evident that all treaties held by us with the Indians will have but little weight with them."

The Shawanees made great professions of peace but had not been included in the treaty at Fort McIntosh. It was determined therefore to arrange a treaty with them at the mouth of the Great Miami where at Fort Finney, built for this purpose, Generals George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Samuel H. Parsons as commissioners concluded in January, 1786, a treaty which confined the Shawanees to the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash. This treaty for a time also afforded protection to the surveyors of the Western lands, although from time to time evidences of dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians were given by attacks in which a number of the settlers were killed. This dissatisfaction was the cause of the efforts to negotiate further with the Indians which finally led to the treaties concluded by General St. Clair at Fort Harmar in January, 1789. The first treaty was with the Six Nations (except the Mohawks who had withdrawn with Brant) and confirmed the cessions made at Fort Stanwix and the other was with the Wyandots and other Western tribes and confirm the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. By these various treaties Congress assumed to have acquired the Indian title to all the Northwest country beyond the Ohio with the exception of the reservation in the northern part of Ohio mentioned above.

SURVEYS.

The other important matter in connection with the opening up of the new country to settlement was the matter of surveys. Complaint had been made with regard to the Virginia habit of scrambling for allotments and setting up what were known as "tomahawk claims" such as prevailed in Kentucky and which proved a great incentive to Indian attacks. Jefferson's entire plan with regard to the Western territory had been referred to the grand committee and on April 12, 1785, this committee reported an ordinance providing for a scheme of surveying and disposing of the public land west of the Ohio River. According to this bill which was finally adopted May 20, 1785, the lands were to be divided into townships six miles square and five ranges of townships were to be surveyed between the Ohio and Lake Erie beginning west of the Pennsylvania line. A section of a square mile was to be reserved in each township for the support of schools. The district between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers was reserved for the Virginia military claims. The matter of States troubled the members of Congress considerably. Monroe felt that five States would be enough for a region to which Jefferson had accorded almost double that number and others thought that three would be sufficient. Jefferson objected to a small number of States and thought that they should be of about thirty thousand square miles each and not one hundred and sixty thousand as he did not believe that people of such large States would be kept together but would be likely to break up their territory into parts some of which might join the British and others Spain.

In accordance however with the Ordinance of May 20, 1785, there was appointed as the first

geographer of the United States, Thomas Hutchins, who had been Bouquet's engineer and had served as a captain in the Sixtieth British Infantry. He was directed to survey seven longitudinal ranges of townships north of the Ohio, west of Pennsylvania and south of the Reserve. This survey was the first systematic one west of the mountains and was known as the Seven Ranges. The initial point was established by Hutchins and Rittenhouse, the official geographer of Pennsylvania, at the point where the north bank of the Ohio River is intersected by the west line of Pennsylvania which line is that of the meridian at the west extremity of the celebrated Mason and Dixon's line. The line was run forty-two miles due west to a meridian that struck the Ohio a little above Marietta which formed the western bounds of the nineteenth township in the most westerly of the ranges. At each mile was set a post and every six miles was marked as a township corner through which ran the meridian line to the Ohio and the line of the Reserve (41°) which was cut by east and west lines at regular distances of six miles. This survey was accomplished during the years of 1786 and 1787, despite the many hostile Indians who in spite of the cessions to the United States were wholly opposed to the occupation of the land by white men.

Thomas Hutchins the first and last geographer of the United States had made many explorations in the Western country and published in 1778 a topographical description which includes probably the first printed notices of the Miami rivers. As engineer of Bouquet's expedition he surveyed the route from day to day after it left Pittsburg. He kept a journal of the march and a map showing each encampment and while in the Ohio country he conceived the plan of settling military colonies in it which he thought would be the best method of securing peace with the Indians. At the opening of the Revolution he was in London and being suspected of negotiating with Benjamin Franklin at Paris he was imprisoned and his fortune to the extent of forty thousand dollars was confiscated. He succeeded in reaching Savannah in Georgia in 1778. He became geographer of the Confederation. He it was who substituted in this country surveys on base lines from the parallels of latitude instead of those determined arbitrarily by roads, rivers, mountains and coasts. Hutchins did not live to complete his work but died in 1788 at Pittsburg and with him expired the office of geographer. Its duties were for a time assumed by the Treasury Department and finally in 1796 the office of Surveyor-General of Public Lands was created. Gen. Rufus Putnam was the first man appointed to this office.

THE OHIO COMPANY AND THE ORDINANCE.

One of the surveyors who accompanied Hutchins was Benjamin Tupper of Massachusetts. Upon his return to the East he wrote to Washington expressing his admiration for the country in which he had been working and afterwards met at his home in Rutland, Massachusetts, Gen. Rufus Putnam. Putnam had been a lieutenant-colonel of a militia regiment during the Revolution and he it was that had devised the scheme of fortifications which led to the evacuation of Boston. Senator Hoar in his eloquent oration delivered at the centennial celebration of Marietta says: "We take no leaf from the pure chaplet of Washington's fame when we say that the success of the first great military operation of the Revolution was due to Rufus Putnam." Subsequently Putnam devised the fortifications of West Point and rendered valuable service throughout the war. At the conclusion of the war he retired to his farm at Rutland and acted in various official capacities for his neighbors. He kept in mind throughout the whole time however a scheme for the building of a new State westward of the Ohio. His old leader Washington had been interested in the Northwest and was a large land owner on the Ohio and Kanawha and to him there was sent in 1783 before the dissolution of the army a petition of two hundred and eighty-eight officers praying for the location and survey of lands north and northwest of the Ohio River for veterans of the army in redemption of the pledges of Congress. The year later he wrote again. Washington at all times took an active interest in his plan but stated that he had tried in vain to have Congress take action. In 1785 Congress appointed Putnam one of the surveyors of the Northwestern lands. He was compelled by his engagements to remain at home but he sent General Tupper as his substitute. On January 9, 1786, the two friends sat up all night framing a call to officers and soldiers of the war and other good citizens of Massachusetts who might wish to become purchasers of land in the Ohio country. This privilege was to extend afterwards to the inhabitants of other States as might be agreed upon. In accordance with this call, on March 1, 1786, a convention was held at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston at which on March 4,

1786, was formed the Ohio Company. Putnam, Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons were made the directors.

General Parsons a Connecticut man was selected to go to New York to secure a grant of lands and a passage of an act for government. He failed but events of recent years seem to have raised the suspicion that his good faith not only in the Revolutionary cause but in the matter of the Ohio Company was not beyond question. Thereupon the other director Cutler, a minister of the Gospel in Ipswich, Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale, as Parsons was of Harvard, was selected to take up the task in which Parsons had failed. He left Boston on the evening of June 25, 1787, on which day he recorded in his diary that he had conversed with General Putnam and settled the principles upon which he was to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company. To quote Senator Hoar again: "He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern, and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

"It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete."

On April 26, 1787, the committee reported an ordinance for the government of the Western territory. This ordinance was intended to supplant Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784. The bill came up for second reading on May 9th, at which time General Parsons was present for the Ohio Company and put in a memorial for a grant of land within the jurisdiction of the proposed ordinance. Something in the manner of Parsons excited the suspicions of both Cutler and Putnam as to his honesty but as there was no quorum on the following day the business was laid over. On July 10th, Congress being dissatisfied with the report of the committee referred it back to a new committee consisting of Mr. Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Edward Carrington of Virginia, Mr. John Kean of South Carolina and Melancthon Smith of New York. Dane and Smith were the only members of the older committee retained. Cutler had arrived in New York on July 5th, with his application on behalf of the Ohio Company representing two hundred and fifty shares of one thousand dollars each. His proposition to Congress came before the original committee on July 6th, and included a payment for the land of 66 2/3 cents an acre in soldiers' certificates which was equivalent to eight or ten cents specie. At the same time he is supposed to have insisted that there should be recognition of the principles of freedom formulated in the constitution of his own State. This proposition appealed to Congress by reason of the financial relief it involved and when it was recommitted to the new committee Cutler was called in to make remarks and amendments. Cutler's conditions and demands changed the whole situation. The new proposals opened a way to pay off about one-tenth of the national debt but on the other hand seemed to afford an opportunity of formulating into a definite code the principles of freedom which had been so many times adverted to in the discussions of Congress. Some of these principles of course were dangerous from the standpoint of some of the members of the committee. This was particularly true with regard to the matter of forbidding slavery. "Cutler was in his element in standing as the champion of freedom, and he was politician enough to know how the Virginia opposition could be quieted by showing to the representatives of the Southern States the better chance they had of compacting their interests south of the Ohio, if they conceded something on the other side of that river to the principles of the North, since such concessions might strengthen the obligations of the North to protect the products of slave labor in the South and to stand by that section of the country in an inevitable contest with Spain over the free navigation of the Mississippi. This was to be the chief victory of Cutler in paving the way for the later motion of Dane. The other points upon which Cutler insisted were more easily carried. Such were reservations of land for the support of religion and education. The latter object received a double recognition. Five sections in each township were set aside for the benefit of schools, and two whole townships were devoted

to the advancement of liberal learning." (Winsor, The Westward Movement, p. 283.)

After forty-eight hours' deliberation the committee brought in a new measure which after being debated and amended on July 12, was passed by a unanimous vote on July 13, 1787, all the States present voting for it. The amendment was the provision concerning slavery. This was not reported back with the ordinance but was proposed by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts and agreed to with but one dissenting vote. Says Senator Hoar in his Marietta address:

"To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having been the draughtsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the mass of columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country in her first great act of national legislation should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, 'gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other Southern man who was present in 1787.'"

This statement is open to discussion. Dane claimed the authorship of the anti-slavery amendment in a number of statements made on the subject. In a letter to Rufus King of July 16, 1787, three days after the ordinance was passed he said: "When I drew the ordinance (which passed a few words excepted, as I originally formed it) I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery as only Massachusetts of the Eastern States was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft. But finding the house favorably disposed on this subject after we had completed the other parts I moved this article which was agreed to without opposition." At a later time Mr. Dane compiled his well known "Dane's Abridgment" which was a digest of the laws of the States. In this work, speaking of the Ordinance of 1787, he incidentally says: "This ordinance formed by the author of this work was framed mainly from the laws of Massachusetts, etc." This statement was in the seventh volume issued in 1824. In volume nine issued in 1830, Dane being disturbed by the statements in the great debate in the Senate on Foote's resolutions made a more explicit statement. In that great debate Senators Benton and Hayne by their allusions to Dane and the ordinance had called from Webster his celebrated statement with regard to the ordinance and its authorship in which Mr. Webster states explicitly "it so happened that he drew the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territory." Mr. Dane in his statement traces the history of the amendment mainly for the purpose of refuting Benton's statement that the ordinance was chiefly copied from the plan of Jefferson. As to the main body of the ordinance the statement is not important but Mr. Dane's statement with reference to the slavery article is interesting. He states distinctly that it was originally reported in 1784 by a committee consisting of Jefferson, Chase and Howell. As already stated in this chapter it admitted slavery to the year 1800 and for all time, in certain considerable portions of the Territory. He admits that he took from Mr. King in 1785 the words of his article as to time and extent of territory in which freedom was to be granted. Certain other provisions were taken from Mr. Jefferson's resolutions of 1784.

The question of the verbal authorship of the ordinance is not so important however as that of the influences which secured its enactment. There can be no question that the sentiment in favor of the anti-slavery provision was in the air. The resolutions of Jefferson in 1784 and those of King in 1785 showed this clearly. Dr. Cutler has been credited with the greatest influence in securing the incorporation of this article in the ordinance and the statement has even been made that he brought it already prepared from New England and forced it on the committee of Congress as a prerequisite to his land purchase. There is no evidence whatsoever to support any such statement. Senator Hoar in his celebrated address particularly disclaims such an idea. Cutler went to New York expecting to purchase lands under the Ordinance of 1784 provided he could make suitable arrangements with the Treasury

Board. His appearance with the money to purchase the Western lands came at a fortunate time and gave encouragement to those who favored the insertion of the anti-slavery limitation. As a result after the ordinance was reported Dane was emboldened to propose the amendment prohibiting slavery and it was carried with one dissenting vote. As to the ordinance, its subsequent critics have naught but words of praise. Webster denominated it "as a measure of great wisdom and foresight and one which had been attended with highly beneficial and permanent consequences." He further stated "We are accustomed to praise the law givers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus but I doubt whether one single law of any law giver ancient or modern has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." Judge Cooley speaks of it as "immortal for the grand results which have followed from its adoption, not less than for the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship that conceived and gave form to its provisions. No charter of government in the history of any people has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience: it had not a temporary adaptation to a particular emergency, but its principles were for all time, and worthy of acceptance under all circumstances. It has been the fitting model for all subsequent territorial government in America."

Cooley accredits to Jefferson the honor of first formulating the purpose of dedicating the Territory to freedom and says that "for him it constitutes a claim to immortality superior to the presidency itself. The one was proof of his greatness and far-seeing statesmanship; the bestowment of the other evidenced only the popular favor. The ordinance was the beginning of the end of American slavery. It checked at the banks of the Ohio the advance of a system fruitful of countless evils, social and political; and the opponents of the system found in its mandate of uncompromising prohibition an inspiration and a prophecy of final triumph in their subsequent warfare."

Senator Hoar in his great address at Marietta says: "The ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three great title deeds of American constitutional liberty."

The ordinance provided that the Territory, which included two hundred and seventy thousand five hundred and fifty square miles or thereabouts, a country much larger than any known in Europe except Russia and twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined was to be one district subject to be divided into two. It also made provision for the descent and distribution of the States, reserving to the French and Canadians their own laws and customs. There was to be a Governor whose commission was for three years who must reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein of a thousand acres of land; a Secretary commissioned for four years who must reside in the district and must have a freehold estate of five hundred acres of land; and a court of three judges any two of whom would form the court with common law jurisdiction who must reside in the district and have each a freehold estate of five hundred acres of land. The Governor and judges or a majority of them were empowered to adopt and publish such laws of the original States as might be necessary and report them to Congress. These laws were to be in force and in effect until the organization of the General Assembly unless disapproved by Congress. The Governor was to be the commander in chief of the militia with the power of appointing all the officers below the rank of general officer which last named officers were to be commissioned by Congress. Magistrates and other officers were to be appointed by the Governor until such time as the General Assembly should be organized. The Governor was to divide the district into counties and townships. Provisions were made for the election of a General Assembly. A property qualification was provided for both representatives and electors. The General Assembly was to consist of the Governor and a Legislative Council of five members and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was to be nominated by the House of Representatives and appointed by Congress from ten nominations submitted for the five places. The Governor was given the veto power. Provision was also made for the election of delegates to Congress. In conclusion the ordinance contained six articles of compact between the original States and the people and States of the Territory, to remain unalterable forever except by common consent. The first article guaranteed religious liberty; the second the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, proportionate representation, right of bail, moderate

fines, freedom from cruel or unusual punishment, the immunity from the taking of liberty or property except by the law of the land, the right of compensation for property taken for public use and the inviolability of private contracts. Article three begins as follows: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." The remainder of the section is devoted to the protection of the rights of the Indians. Article four provides that the Territory shall remain forever a part of the United States and for the payment by its citizens of their share of Federal taxes. The legislatures of the new States are prohibited from interfering with the primary disposal of the soil by Congress and from levying any tax on lands the property of the United States and from levying higher taxes upon non-residents than upon residents. The navigable waters are declared to be common highways. Article five provides that there shall be formed in said Territory not less than three nor more than five States but fixes the boundaries to take effect as soon as Virginia shall consent to the same. The eastern State provided for was to be bounded by a direct line drawn north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, by said territorial line and Pennsylvania and the Ohio River. Provision is made by which Congess can alter the boundaries and for the admission of the States into the Union. Article six is the slavery section and reads "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

As soon as the ordinance had been passed the next point for Cutler to consider was the law for the sale of lands. It is apparent that at this stage much political manoeuvering became necessary. Cutler soon found that General St. Clair who was at that time the president of Congress wanted to be Governor of the Northwest Territory. The Ohio Company had selected General Parsons for this office but it soon became apparent that St. Clair's influence was necessary and Cutler was prevailed upon to support St. Clair. Under this arrangement Parsons was shifted to a judgeship. Mr. Smith in his "St. Clair Papers" resents the suggestion that St. Clair was influenced by the offer of this position and devotes considerable space to a discussion to prove that St. Clair was not a party to any arrangement of the kind. Cutler's own diary however leaves no doubt as to the impression on his mind. St. Clair was not present on July 13th, at the time the ordinance was passed but returned to New York on the 17th. On the 18th Cutler records that he paid his respects to the President of Congress, General St. Clair. On the 23rd appears the following entry:

"Spent the evening with Colonel Grayson and members of Congress from the southward, who were in favor of a contract. Having found it impossible to support General Parsons as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General St. Clair had secured, and suspecting this might be some impediment in the way, for my endeavors to make interest for him were well known, and the arrangement of civil officers being on the carpet, I embraced this opportunity frankly to declare that, for my own part, I ventured to engage for Major Sargent that, if General Parsons could have the appointment of First Judge, and Sargent, Secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency, General St. Clair, might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members to favor such an arrangement. This I found rather pleasing to the Southern members, and they were so complaisant as to ask, repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to me in the Western country. I assured them that I wished for no appointment in the civil line.

"July 26. This morning I accompanied Generals St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Ministers. . . . Being now eleven o'clock, General St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the street, General St. Clair assured me, he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress, to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly; but said we must expect opposition. I was now fully convinced that it was good

policy to give up Parsons, and openly to appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members, in favor of his appointment."

On the 23rd Congress authorized the Board of Treasury to sell to the Ohio Company a tract lying between the seven ranges and the Scioto and beginning on the east five miles away from the left bank of the Muskingum. This tract was supposed to contain one and a half million acres and they were to be paid for it a million dollars in soldiers' certificates, one-half down and the other half when the land was surveyed. Cutler discovered that it was advisable to conciliate Colonel Duer, secretary of the Board of Treasury, and land speculator and the "representative of some of the principal characters in the city" and devised a new scheme. This New England parson and agent of the Ohio Company, and above all first-class politician, without saying anything to his principals, enlarged his proposition to include five million acres of land for which he offered three and a half millions of dollars. As a result on July 27th, Congress approved a contract which was satisfactory to the Doctor. "By this ordinance, we obtained the grant of near five millions of acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars. One million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company." The private speculation became known as the Scioto purchase. This scheme which was not carried out by the principal characters in America, is as good an illustration of practical politics as the history of our country can present. On the day that the bargain was clinched Cutler and Sargent, to whom the grant had been made, sold a half interest to Col. William Duer who agreed on his part to advance the money to help meet the payment on the whole.

THE SELECTION OF TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

All the other terms of the compact having been complied with it remained to carry out the election of officers who had been agreed upon. On Friday, October 5, 1787, Congress elected the officers for the new government. Arthur St. Clair was elected the Governor and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary. Samuel Holden Parsons, John Armstrong and James Mitchell Varnum were elected the judges of the Territory. Mr. Armstrong declined the appointment and on February 19, 1788, John Cleves Symmes was appointed in his place. The appointments took effect as of February 1, 1788.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

THE OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORY—THE SETTLEMENT OF MARIETTA—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE JUDGES OF THE TERRITORY—THE ERECTION OF WASHINGTON COUNTY—CAPTAIN BRANT AND LOUISA ST. CLAIR—THE TREATY OF FORT HARMAR—THE SETTLEMENT OF GALLIPOLIS.

The territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River whose formation has been discussed in the preceding chapter was the first important addition to the original Colonies. From the land within its limits was subsequently formed the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, States which have certainly contributed their share of prosperity and happiness to the life of the country. Not the least important element in the subsequent development of this vast region was the character of the men who were chosen to govern it at the outset. Although the population was small and although the contact of the settlers with the governing officials was in many instances a very rare occurrence, the character of these officials made a great impression upon the people whom they served. It is true that these officials were not at all times in entire harmony with each other but this lack of harmony had no serious effect upon their relations to the community and was in fact largely due to honest difference of opinion with regard to governmental measures. The vast territory which had for so long a time been a wilderness given over to savages and wild beasts and which had enjoyed practically no government when under French or English occupation was impressed from the outset with the fact that it was an organized community to be governed under the forms of law and that the period of irresponsibility had passed. Much of this was due to the personality of the officials all of whom were men of very high standing and of education. Five of the six men originally chosen for the important offices in the Territory had received a college education. St. Clair had been educated at the University of Edinburgh; Sargent and Parsons were graduates of Harvard; Varnum was a graduate of Brown; Armstrong had been a student at Princeton and Symmes who was appointed in his place was a man of education who had served for many years in many responsible positions including twelve years as judge. Men of this character were fully convinced of the importance of a well ordered government and it is largely due to their strict adherence to their ideas of duty that the Territory over which they presided became from the first a law abiding community.

THE OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORY.

Arthur St. Clair the newly appointed Governor was a Scotchman. He was a relative (sometimes said to be the grandson) of the Earl of Roslyn. He was born in Thurso in 1734 and was educated at the University of Edinburgh and studied medicine under the celebrated Dr. Hunter of London. Inheriting a large sum of money from his mother he purchased a commission of ensign in the English Army and came to America in 1758. He participated in the capture of Louisburg and distinguished himself under Wolfe at Quebec In 1760 he married at Boston the half-sister or niece of Governor Bowdoin. He resigned his commission in 1762 and in 1764 he set

tled in the Ligonier Valley in Pennsylvania where with his inherited wealth and the fortune brought to him by his wife he purchased a large quantity of land and built large mills and a handsome dwelling house. He became in time the owner of eleven thousand acres of land. He held various offices including that of surveyor, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, member of the Governor's Council, recorder of deeds and the like and was one of the most prominent citizens in his community. At the time of Dunmore's War the unprincipled Dr. John Connolly representing Governor Dunmore of Virginia in the controversy with Pennsylvania as to the jurisdiction of the head waters of the Ohio took possession of Fort Pitt. St. Clair, who was then a magistrate, had Connolly arrested on a warrant and committed to jail. As a result of this, Lord Dunmore insisted that St. Clair should be dismissed from office but Governor Penn declined to remove him. "Mr. St. Clair is a gentleman," said Governor Penn, "who for a long time had the honor of serving his majesty in the regulars with reputation, and in every station of life has preserved the character of a very honest, worthy man." St. Clair became colonel of the militia in 1785 and accompanied the commissioners to negotiate with the Indians at Fort Pitt, as their secretary. He served in Canada in 1776 and in August was made a brigadier-general. He joined Washington's army in November. He was engaged actively in New Jersey until April 17, 1777, when he was placed in command at Ticonderoga which he was obliged to evacuate on July 4th, by reason of the presence of Burgoyne in overwhelming strength. He then became a member of Washington's official family commanding for a time the light infantry in the absence of Lafayette. As much criticism has been aroused by his conduct during the war, criticism which was part of the attacks made upon Washington and his favorite generals, he demanded a court martial which acquitted him of the charges made against him with the highest honor. He was a member of the court martial which tried Major Andre and was obliged to vote with the others the penalty of death. He was in command at West Point during the latter part of 1780 and aided in suppressing the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops in January of the next year. He afterwards joined Washington and participated in the capture of Cornwallis and finally led a body of troops to join Greene in South Carolina. The war left St. Clair an impoverished man. He was elected as a delegate to Congress and became president of that body in the year 1787, resigning that position to accept the governorship of the Northwest Territory.

Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory was from Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard in 1781. He served throughout the war with success and was a major at its termination. He became connected with the Ohio Company in 1786 and was a surveyor in the Northwest Territory and was subsequently Adjutant-General under St. Clair and under Wayne, and was made Governor of the new Territory of Mississippi in 1798, dying in New Orleans on June 3, 1820.

Samuel Holden Parsons was born in Connecticut May 14, 1737, and graduated at Harvard in 1756. He was a Representative in the Connecticut Assembly for eighteen sessions. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was made a colonel in a militia regiment and took part in the siege of Boston. In 1776 he became a brigadier-general and as such engaged in the battle on Long Island. In 1779 he succeeded General Putnam as commander of the Connecticut line. In the following year he was commissioned a major-general. He had taken part as commissioner in the negotiations with the Indians. He subsequently settled in the new Territory and was drowned in the Big Beaver River, November 17, 1789.

James Mitchell Varnum was born in Massachusetts, December 17, 1748, and graduated at what is now known as Brown University in 1769. He served throughout the Revolutionary War becoming a brigadier-general in 1777. He resigned in 1779 and was chosen major-general of the militia which office he held until his death. He served in the Continental Congress from 1780 until 1782 and in 1786 and 1787 and was remarkable for his wonderful gift of eloquence. He removed to Marietta June, 1788, and held his office until the time of his death, January 10, 1789.

John Armstrong who declined the appointment of judge was born in Pennsylvania in 1758. While a student at Princeton in 1775 he became a volunteer in a Pennsylvania regiment and took an active part in the war until its conclusion at which time he held the rank of major. He is best known as the author of the "New-

burgh Addresses," written at the end of the war to induce the army to make such a demonstration as would require Congress to do it justice. After the war he was Secretary of State and Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania and in 1784 conducted operations against the settlers in the Wyoming Valley. Two years after declining the nomination of judge he married the sister of Chancellor Livingston and removed to New York. He was a member of the National Senate from 1800 to 1804 at which time he resigned to become Minister to France. He was commissioned a brigadier-general in July, 1812, and in January of the following year became Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Madison. The failure of the operations against Canada and the capture of Washington in 1814 made him so unpopular that he resigned and retired to private life. He died April 1, 1843.

THE SETTLEMENT OF MARIETTA.

Some time prior to the appointment of the officers, on August 29th, Dr. Cutler met the directors and agents of the Ohio Company once more at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston and reported to them that he had made a contract with the Treasury Board for a million dollars worth of land at seventy-five cents an acre and on the following day the plat of the proposed city on the Muskingum was settled upon and proposals for sawmill and corn mill sites invited. Rufus Putnam was chosen as the leader of the pioneers and boat carpenters from Danvers were sent ahead and by the last of January, 1788, they had reached the Youghiogheny. Putnam and the main party with surveyors and engineers joined them on February 14, 1788. They found no boats and no boards to build any, no person able to hollow out a canoe, the sawmill frozen up and smallpox prevailing. However they set to work and by April 2nd, the "Mayflower," a forty-five ton galley, first known as the "Adventure" floated out upon the stream. On April 7th, this historic boat accompanied by the "Adelphia" a three-ton ferry and three log canoes reached the Muskingum. Here they were greeted by the garrison at Fort Harmar which had been built there in 1785 for the protection of the surveyors and which with Fort McIntosh at the mouth of the Big Beaver were the only stations then held by the government north of the Ohio. Among others who greeted them was the famous Captain Pipe fresh from participation in the burning of Colonel Crawford. The site selected for the town was a level plain thirty feet above the Muskingum on the eastern side of the stream opposite the fort, at the point where the mound builders had left so many of their remains. The town name selected in Boston was Adelphia but at the first meeting of the directors held on the ground, July 2nd, the name Marietta was adopted in honor of Marie Antoinette, the friend of the struggling Colonies. Here the land was cleared and one hundred acres planted with corn and huts were built, as was the custom, from the planks that had made their boats. On the top of the ancient fortifications of the mound builders, whose parapets, twenty feet high still remain, was built a stockade including a building two stories in height with blockhouses at the angles; this was called the Campus Martius. In the spring the changeable quality of the climate, an entire novelty to the settlers, manifested itself. There was intense heat and much insect life followed by cloudbursts which deluged the rivers and caused them to rise as they had never seen rivers rise before. A sudden fall in the temperature made them fear the approach of winter in the mid-summer; however their crops leaped into life and the game which was at hand furnished them with food and plenty. Emigrants began to arrive and in considerable numbers. In May came Col. John May, the first journalist of the colony and in June two of the judges, Parsons and Varnum.

Lieutenant Denny, whose diary has been quoted so extensively before, joined the forces at Fort Harmar on May 29th. He was much impressed with the character of the settlers "many of whom were of the first respectability,—old Revolutionary officers." On July 4th, Independence Day was celebrated when venison, bear and buffalo meat regaled the appetite and Judge Varnum delivered a patriotic address in the course of which he referred to the expected visit of the Governor. "We mutually lament that the absence of his Excellency will not permit us, upon this joyous occasion, to make those grateful assurances of sincere attachments, which bind us to him by the noblest motives than can animate an enlightened people. May he soon arrive. Thou gently flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequaled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending heaven, bear him oh, bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou beautiful, transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!"

The great episode of the arrival of the Gov

ernor took place five days later on July 9th. On this day intense excitement prevailed throughout the settlement and at the fort on the opposite bank. The officers assumed their newest uniforms and the soldiers' muskets and trappings were polished to the highest degree of cleanliness. The distinguished citizens,—many of those in the number were distinguished citizens,—collected about the Campus Martius awaiting the arrival of their hero. General Harmar and his officers proceeded to the landing where amidst the ruffling of drums and the booming of the Federal salute of fourteen guns they received the Governor as he stepped from his twelve-oared barge of state. He was accompanied by Major Doughty of the artillery and Judge Parsons and Secretary Sargent. The party proceeded in solemn state to the fort where it was to remain until the formal opening of the civil government.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

On Tuesday, July 15, 1788, civil government was established in the territory west of the river Ohio. General St. Clair attended by Judges Parsons and Varnum and Secretary Sargent made his public entry into the city of Marietta being escorted across the river in a barge of state to the accompaniment once more of drums and guns. A bower had been erected under which he was received by Gen. Rufus Putnam and all other citizens with the most sincere and unreserved congratulations. He was escorted by the townspeople to the Campus Martius whereupon all took their seats in solemn array. After a short period of silence his Excellency arose and addressed himself to the assembly in a concise but dignified speech. He expressed his great pleasure at meeting them upon so important an occasion and informed them that he had brought with him a most excellent constitution for the government of the Territory to which he invited their attention. The Governor's address was followed by the reading of the Ordinance by Secretary Sargent and also of the commissions of the various officers. After this formality had been concluded the Governor spoke at length of the importance of good government; of his desire to administer the trust confided to him in such manner as to merit their approbation; of the relations of the Northwest Territory and the general government and of the opening of a new country under such favorable auspices and of the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Indians. "Endeavor to cultivate a good understanding with the natives without much familiarity; treat them on all occasions with kindness and the strictest regard to justice; run not into their customs and habits which is but too frequent with those that settle near them but endeavor to induce them to adopt yours. Prevent, by every means, that dreadful reproach, perhaps too justly brought by them against all the white people they have yet been acquainted with, that, professing the most holy and benevolent religion, they are uninfluenced by its dictates and regardless of its precepts. * * * The present situation of the country," he concluded, "calls for attention in various places, and will necessarily induce frequent absence, both of the judges and myself, from this delightful spot; but at all times and places, as it is my indispensable duty, so it is very much my desire to do everything within the compass of my power for the peace, good order, and perfect establishment of the settlement; and as I look for not only a cheerful acquiescence in, and submission to necessary measures, but a cordial co-operation, so I flatter myself my well-meant endeavors will be accepted in the spirit in which they are rendered, and thus our satisfaction will be mutual and complete."

A contemporary account states that "during the address of His Excellency, a profound veneration for the elevated station and exalted benevolence of the speaker; the magnitude of the subject; the high importance of the occasion; the immense consequences resulting; the glory, the grandeur of a new world unfolding; heaven and earth approving, called forth all the manly emotions of the heart. At the close, peals of applause rent the surrounding air, while joyful echo reverberated the sound. Every citizen felt to the extent of humanity, and affection herself impressed upon the mind, in characters never to be obliterated: long live our Governor!"

At the conclusion of the Governor's address, Gen. Rufus Putnam congratulated him on his safe arrival in a few appropriate remarks and presented to him a formal address on behalf of the citizens.

Immediately after the conclusion of the formalities Governor St. Clair and the two judges who were present entered upon the duties of their office and set to work forming a code of laws for the government of the Territory. The Ordinance provided that the laws should be selected from the statutes of the thirteen original States; the judges however did not strictly follow this practice but whenever they could not

find laws suited to the condition of the Territory they supplied the want by enactments of their own. This practice was acquiesced in by Governor St. Clair but with considerable reluctance on his part. The laws which were not selected from the statutes of the States finally failed to receive the approval of Congress but with two exceptions were continued in force because necessary until the second grade of the government was established in 1795 when the Governor and council formally enacted a code of laws. Salmon P. Chase in his preliminary sketch called attention to the fact that although the government and judges may have exceeded their authority it must be concluded that this was done without any desire to abuse it as is shown by the fact that all the laws, with the exception of two, were confirmed and reenacted by the first Territorial Legislature.

The first law created providing for the organization of the militia was prepared by Judges Varnum and Parsons and presented to St. Clair for his approval. The beautiful harmony which had hitherto prevailed comes to an end at this the time of the first official action in the Northwest Territory. Governor St. Clair submitted with great deference some observations to the two judges which he thought might appear to them worthy of consideration. If these observations left anything of the original law without criticism it is not apparent. Thereupon the judges submitted a law relating to real estate which brought forth an elaborate veto from the Governor. This veto induced an elaborate correspondence between the judges and Governor as to their respective authorities in which apparently the Governor's view prevailed. Fortunately despite the warmth of the correspondence the personal relations between the Governor and judges remained of the most cordial nature. The laws which were finally approved by St. Clair and the two judges were ten in number and related to the establishing of militia; establishing of General Courts of Quarter Sessions, and of Common Pleas, and for the appointment of sheriffs; establishing a Court of Probate; fixing the terms of the General Court; describing the forms of oaths of office and respecting crimes and punishments; regulating marriages; fixing fines for infraction of militia rules; creating the office of coroner; and limiting the time of civil actions and for instituting criminal prosecutions.

The signature of John Cleves Symmes appears on the law of August 30th, establishing a Court of Probate but on no other. This must have been signed by him at the time of his visit to the Western country in the summer preceding the settlement between the Miamis. These laws took the place of the code of laws which in the absence of constituted authority were drawn up by Col. Return Jonathan Meigs, father of the judge of that name.

Judge Manning F. Force in "The Bench and Bar of Ohio" speaks of this code of laws as follows: "Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., became the law-giver *protempore* by common consent. He drafted a code or system of regulations on ordinary foolscap which was carefully tacked up for ready reference on the trunk of a large oak from which the rough bark had been removed. It is creditable to the self-restraint of the emigrants that history has recorded no infraction of these regulations which were read and approved by all."

A comment of Judge Force in the same article upon the matter already referred to of the power to adopt a new law seems pertinent: "The court as a Legislative Council was empowered only to adopt laws selected from the statutes of the original States and had no authority to enact new statutes. The Congress assumed that the code and statutes of the original States were sufficiently comprehensive and elastic to meet all conditions; whereas the experiences of broad minded intelligent men encountering the actualities of a new settlement convinced them that original legislation was imperative. It may be regarded as singular in the light of subsequent history that great men in the Congress of the confederacy, who were the especial guardians of the rights of States and the champions of local self government, should be so careful to reserve for themselves in the general government the prerogative of vetoing or nullifying local legislation by the settlers of the Territory; or that they failed to apprehend the marked dissimilarity in the physical conditions and wants of the emigrants in the new Territory and those of the citizens of Virginia and Massachusetts. But men of the past were jealous of power and that was one hundred years ago."

The laws which were adopted at this time had been regarded so far as those relating to crimes and offenses are concerned as very strict and ever cruel. As there was no jail, minor offenses were punished by fines, whipping and confinement in the stocks. This latter emblem of terror remained in use in Ohio until 1812. It may be as well to conclude here the matter of State judiciary down to the time of the sessions of the first Terri

torial Legislature. As soon as a sufficient number of States had ratified the constitution of the United States and Washington had assumed the reins of government thereunder it was thought to be the duty of the executive to issue new commissions to officers whose commissions, having been issued by the Continental Congress were held to have expired with that government. For that reason President Washington in a letter dated New York, August 18, 1789, nominated Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent, Samuel Holden Parsons, John Cleves Symmes and William Barton as Governor, Secretary and judges respectively of the Northwest Territory. The nominations were confirmed by the Senate but Mr. Barton declined the appointment and George Turner was appointed in his place. George Turner seems to have made but little impression upon his time and served until his removal from the State in 1796, when he resigned.

THE JUDGES OF THE TERRITORY.

In November, 1789, the Chief Justice, Judge Parsons, was drowned while attempting to pass the falls of Beaver. He had an interest in a tract on the Mahoning and being anxious to prove that the navigation of the falls in canoes was practicable, undertook to pass the falls in a canoe and was cast out and drowned. Lieutenant Denny in a letter to General Harmar, November 22, 1789, conveys the first information of this disaster:

"I am very sorry, indeed, that I have to inform you of the loss of one of the most serviceable members of the Western Territory, General Parsons. He left the old Moravian town up Beaver early on the 17th, on board a canoe, accompanied only by one man. Sent his horses down by land. About one o'clock that day, as we entered the mouth of the creek we met the wreck of a canoe, with a good deal of her cargo drifting down, all separately. Part of the loading we took up. When we got to the blockhouse, Mr. McDowell told us they had taken up a piece of the canoe, a bundle of skins, and had seen a pair of saddlebags, which were well known to be the Judge's, and the same evening the man arrived with the horses, and told us he left the Judge early that morning about twenty-five miles up the creek, that he intended to dine that day with Mr. McDowell at the blockhouse, and the man knew the property which we took up to be part of what was in General Parsons' canoe, leaves no doubt of his being lost in attempting the falls of Beaver. The canoe was very much shattered, and bottom uppermost, when we met her. Mr. McDowell has made search on both sides of the creek, above and below the falls, but can make no further discovery, more than finding part of the canoe at the foot of a remarkably dangerous fall in the creek, which strengthens the belief that there the old gentleman met his fate."

General Butler in a letter November 25th, written to General Irvine, mentions this occurrence:

"I am sorry to inform you that I have every reason to fear our old friend Gen. Parsons is no more. He left this place in company with Capt. Hart, (who is sent to explore the communication by the way of Beaver Creek to Cuyahoga and the lake), on the 5th inst., in order to see the Salt Springs, and from whence he had returned, and was coming down Beaver creek in a canoe. On Tuesday, the 17th inst., he had sent a man with his horses from the place where he had encamped the night before, and directed him to tell Lieut. McDowell, who commanded the blockhouse below the falls of Beaver, that he, Gen. Parsons, would be there to dinner. A snow had fallen in the night, which retarded the progress of the man with the horses. At one place on the Beaver shore, he saw where a canoe had landed, and a person got out to warm his feet by walking about, as he saw where he had kicked against the trees, and then tracks to the canoe again. The man did not get down till evening, but about noon, the canoe, broken in pieces, came by the blockhouse, and some articles known to belong to Gen. Parsons were taken up, and others seen to pass. Lieutenant McDowell had diligent search made for the body of the General, but made no discovery. There was one man with a broken leg in the canoe with the General, who was also lost."

Gen. Rufus Putnam was appointed March, 1790, to succeed Judge Parsons and served until December, 1796, when he resigned to accept the position of surveyor-general of the United States. He was succeeded by Joseph Gilman. The vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Turner was filled by the appointment of Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., in 1798. Judges Gilman, Symmes and Meigs served until the State was admitted into the Union in 1803.

Joseph Gilman was from New Hampshire, where he was born in 1736. He was chairman of the Committee of Safety for his State during the Revolution and impoverished himself in his efforts to equip the soldiers. He was a member of the Ohio Company and settled in Marietta in 1789 with his wife and son, B. Ives Gilman. He was appointed judge of Probate and Quarter

Sessions by General St. Clair and from that position was selected for the Supreme Court. He was regarded as a careful, upright and very studious judge although not a profound lawyer. His strong common sense and absolute determination to get at the right of propositions submitted to him usually led him to good conclusions. He died in 1806.

Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., was a son of the first law-giver of Ohio and was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1765. He graduated at Harvard at the age of twenty and studied law in his native State and came to Ohio in 1788. He was appointed by St. Clair in 1790 as a commissioner to the British commander in Detroit. He was an active participant in Indian wars and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After the incorporation of the State he was elected by the Legislature as one of the judges and the first chief justice of the State of Ohio where he served two years after which he was appointed to the District of Louisiana. In 1807 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court of Michigan and soon afterwards elected Governor of Ohio. The Supreme Court held that he was ineligible on account of his residence in Louisiana and Michigan. The Legislature thereupon elected him to the United State Senate for the unexpired term of John Smith, who had resigned because of the charges against him of complicity in the Burr conspiracy. In 1809 he was again elected Senator but in the following year the people elected him to the governorship which position he retained until 1814. He was Postmaster-General under President Madison and served from 1814 to 1823. He died at Marietta in 1825, leaving behind him a name and a career which have always been among the most cherished possessions of the State.

Judge Force tells an interesting story as to the origin of his peculiar name. "His grandfather Jonathan Meigs courted an attractive Quakeress near Middletown, Connecticut and suffered a nonsuit on two occasions. He was a persistent suitor however and pleaded earnestly for a new hearing and a reversal of judgment. Again unsuccessful, he had turned from the presence of his idol and mounted his horse and was slowly riding away, when the Good Spirit moved the heart of the gentle Quakeress to set aside the judgment thrice decreed and grant the prayer of the petitioner. Hastening to the cabin door, she shouted, 'Return Jonathan, Return Jonathan!' The happy lover returned, a marriage followed and the 'Return' prefixed to his own good Bible name 'Jonathan' was applied to their first born at his christening and descended with manifest family pride to the second generation and some collateral branches. Few men in the annals of the Ohio Company or the history of the Northwest Territory and the erection of the Ohio State government occupied a position of dignity, responsibility and usefulness equal to that maintained by the Meigses, father and son." (The Bench and Bar of Ohio, Vol. I, p. 8.)

There is no record of any public acts of the Legislative Council during 1789. The following year the council consisting of Sargent, the Secretary and the acting Governor, and Symmes and Turner sat at Vincennes during the summer. In November St. Clair took Winthrop Sargent's place and the council sat at Cincinnati. In 1791 the council published at Cincinnati seven acts approved by them during the summer and in 1792 the sessions were again at Cincinnati. In 1795 the council sitting at Cincinnati revised the code of laws eliminating those to which Congress had objected and published the revision as certified to by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. This publication was printed by William Maxwell printer at Cincinnati and is known as the "Maxwell Code." It is regarded as the first book printed in this city. The council again sat at Cincinnati in 1798 and enacted a number of new laws which were the last legislative acts of the territorial council.

THE ERECTION OF WASHINGTON COUNTY.

On July 27, 1788, Governor St. Clair by proclamation erected the county of Washington which embraced the eastern half of the present State of Ohio and within the next few days he commissioned justices of the peace, and judges of the Court of Common Pleas and of the Court of General Quarter Sessions for the county of Washington. He also appointed officers of militia and a judge of Probate. Thereupon on Tuesday, October 2, 1788, there was held at Marietta the first duly appointed Court of Common Pleas with Generals Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper and Archibald Crary sitting as judges. The population on the Ohio at this time had increased to one hundred and thirty-two souls, most of whom seemed to have received commissions either in the military or civil government. The occasion was

one of great interest and was attended with great pomp and ceremony. The citizens including the Governor and the territorial officers and the military from Fort Harmar assembled on the point and a procession was formed at the head of which marched Col. Ebenezer Sproat, sheriff, with drawn sword and wand of office, "with all the dignity and impressiveness of his prototype, the sheriff of Middlesex at a Harvard commencement." (Moore). A path was cut through the forest to the hall, the northeast blockhouse of the Campus Martius. General Force remarks that the parade was observed with interest by the Indians of the neighborhood and it is recorded that these same Indians were more impressed by this event than by any losses in battle that they had suffered for many years.

"As the photographer had not yet arrived with his art the scene lacks the modern luminous illustration obtained from snapshots of the kodak in the hands of the enterprising amateur; fortunately the graphic description by the local historian which has been preserved and handed down needs no artistic illustration. The procession was led by the high sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, with drawn sword in his right hand and in his left the wand of office. He was a commanding figure, six feet, four inches in height and symmetrically proportioned. He had borne a conspicuous part in the numerous battles of the Revolution and had the bearing of a soldier. The United States officers from Fort Harmar with their bright uniforms and glistening swords added to the martial aspect of the scene. The imposing procession made up almost entirely of generals and colonels and majors and captains who had by their courage and patriotism established the right of self government of this continent marched to celebrate the dawn of judicial history in the little colony. When all were assembled in the hall the solemn services were opened by prayer by the Reverend Manasseh Cutler. The court was organized by reading the commissions of the judges, the clerk and the sheriff, after which the latter by proclamation declared it open for business." (Force.)

The opening of the court by Colonel Sproat was in these words: "O, yes! a court is opened for the administration of evenhanded justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case."

A week later the first Court of Quarter Sessions was opened in the residence of Colonel Battelle in the southeast blockhouse. Colonel Meigs read the commissions to the sheriff. Colonel Sproat once more commanded the solemn attention of all. Generals Putnam and Tupper were the justices of the quorum assisted by Isaac Pierce, Thomas Lord and Colonel Meigs, the son. At this term of court Paul Fearing the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory presented a certificate, received from Judges Parsons and Varnum, and took the oath as a member of the bar. He was appointed court counsellor for the United States in the county of Washington.

Fearing was from Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard, but came to Marietta in June 1778. He was not naturally a ready speaker and his first argument in the Supreme Court has been frequently quoted: "May it please your honors—may it please your honors—I have forgotten what I intended to speak." In spite or perhaps by reason of the brevity of this argument he became a very successful lawyer, serving a term as judge of Probate and finally in 1810 became one of the associate judges. He was a member of the Legislature in 1789 and 1790 and was elected to Congress in 1801.

At the session of the Court of Quarter Sessions just described the charge was given to the grand jury with much dignity and propriety by Judge Putnam after which the grand jury retired for thirty minutes. On its return the jurors presented a written address to the court which was read and filed. Judge Putnam delivered a reply to the address and as there were no suits before the court and no person accused of any crimes the court adjourned without day.

In addition to these solemn matters of state there were diversions of more pleasing character to occupy the attention of the settlers. The blockhouse was appropriated for the use of the Governor and his family and there was much entertaining. Directors of the company gave a dinner to the Governor and the officers of Fort Harmar on August 20th. The twelve-oared barge, the solemn vessel of state, conveyed the party from the fort to the landing on the other side of the river where the guests including a number of ladies were received with great courtesy. At this dinner were served the greatest variety of game, fish, vegetable and fruit among them peaches grown from pits planted by Major Doughty when he erected Fort Harmar in 1785, "very fine and luscious."

Emigrants kept passing on the way down the river and to Kentucky. Rufus Putnam in one of

his letters speaks of seven thousand who had gone down the river since the settlement had been begun. On one of the boats Colonel May counted twenty-nine whites, twenty-four negroes, nine dogs, twenty-three horses, cows and hogs besides provisions. On August 27th, Judge Symmes with his family stopped on the way to the new purchase at the Miami. On September 9th, Lieutenant Denny records the arrival of Gen. Richard Butler, commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania to the Indians accompanied by Cornplanter and about fifty Senecas. With them came a man who afterwards became the first mayor of the city of Cincinnati. "They were escorted from Fort Pitt by Captain Ziegler's company of recruits. They were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and music. Ziegler is a German, had been in Saxon service previous to our late war with England. Takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment and to do him justice his company has always been considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four-fifths of his company have been Germans. The majority of the present are men who served in Germany."

That Captain Ziegler was as successful in other particulars as in the drilling of his soldiers is indicated by the entry in Lieutenant Denny's diary of February 22nd of the next year. "Married this evening, Captain David Ziegler, of the first regiment, to Miss Sheffield, only single daughter of Mrs. Sheffield, of Campus Martius, city of Marietta. On this occasion I played the Captain's aid, and at his request, the memorandums made. I exhibited a character not more awkward than strange, at the celebration of Captain Ziegler's nuptials, the first of the kind I had been a witness to."

CAPTAIN BRANT AND LOUISA ST. CLAIR.

This little episode in the life of Captain Ziegler which terminated so happily was not the only case of romance which had for its scene Marietta and Fort Harmar, if the gossips of those days can be believed. On the very day that St. Clair was appointed to the governorship he was directed to take steps to negotiate with the Indians. The only Indian chief who held aloof at this time as has been already stated was Brant the leader of the Mohawks and of the new confederation of Western tribes.

Brant had a son known as Captain Brant and this son's name has been connected with that of the daughter of Governor St. Clair in the legends of the St. Clair family. In the winter of 1790 the Governor arrived at Marietta with his son Arthur, at that time twenty-one years of age, and three daughters. The eldest of these daughters, Louisa, was about nineteen years of age and is described in Hildreth's "Pioneer History" as "a healthy, vigorous girl, full of life and activity, every way calculated for a soldier's daughter; fond of a frolic, and ready to draw amusement from all and everything around her. She was a fine equestrienne, and would mount the most wild and spirited horse without fear, managing him with ease and gracefulness; dashing through the open woodlands around Campus Martius at full gallop, leaping over logs or any obstruction that fell in her way. She was one of the most rapid skaters in the garrison; few, if any of the young men equaling her in speed and activity, or in graceful movements in this enchanting exercise. Her elegant person and neat dress showing to much advantage, called forth loud plaudits from both young and old. The broad sheet of ice on the Muskingum, near the garrison, for a few days in the winter, afforded a fine field for this healthy sport. She was also an expert huntress; and would have afforded a good figure of Diana in her rambles through the woods, had she been armed with the bow instead of the rifle. Of this instrument she was a perfect mistress; loading and firing with the accuracy of a back woodsman, killing a squirrel from the highest tree, or cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision. She was fond of roaming in the woods, and often went out alone into the forest near Marietta, fearless of the savages that occasionally lurked in the vicinity. She was as active on foot as on horseback, and could walk for several miles with the rapidity of a ranger. Her manners were refined; her person beautiful with highly cultivated intellectual powers, having been educated with much care in Philadelphia. Born with a healthy, vigorous frame, she had strengthened both her body and mind by these athletic exercises when a child; probably first encouraged by her father, who had spent the larger portion of his life in camps. She was one of those rare spirits, so admirably fitted to the times and the manners of the day in which she lived."

According to the story referred to, during the negotiations Louisa St. Clair visited at his camp at Duncan's Falls, nine miles below Zanesville, young Brant, son of the famous chief of that

name. She rode on a pony and was dressed in Indian style carrying a short rifle slung to her body. She prevailed upon a ranger whom she met to accompany her until they came within sight of the Indian camp. There she dismissed the ranger and dashed off on her pony and was soon a prisoner in the hands of the Indians. She was brought before Brant who appeared in full panoply of war. She had met him before while he was a student on a visit from college to Philadelphia and upon seeing her he became quite excited and took from her and read a message which was reported to be from her father. After he had read the paper she demanded a guard back to Marietta as she had risked her life to see him. The young Indian accompanied her home and she introduced him to her father. The negotiations which she trusted would follow came to nothing, but Brant had fallen in love with Louisa St. Clair. It is said that he renewed his suit for her hand a number of times but without success. The story goes that at the time of St. Clair's defeat Brant led the Chippewas and told the warriors to shoot the General's horse and not him. St. Clair had four horses killed under him but escaped without injury. This story which is sufficiently romantic unfortunately lacks consistency in the matter of dates.

THE TREATY OF FORT HARMAR.

The great event of the fall and winter following the settlement of Marietta, was the treaty of Fort Harmar. The Indians were restless under the occupation of the white men and their attacks upon the settlers were continued. One of the great inconveniences resulting from these attacks was the fact that the surveys had to be practically abandoned. Governor St. Clair in writing to Parsons in September, speaks of this as being necessary because of the disturbance in the minds of the Indians on the subject of lands. General Harmar in October felt obliged to detach a captain's command with Captain Hutchins the geographer for his protection to the mouth of the Scioto in order to survey the exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase. The importance of this matter of survey made all interested in the enterprise of settling the Northwest Territory very anxious especially as they were now in active competition with the State of Kentucky for settlers.

General Harmar writing from Fort Harmar, December 15, 1788, to the Secretary of War, speaks as follows:

"My calculation is, that before Christmas the two exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase will be completed. The geographer is at present sick at Fort Pitt. If he was able to come down and take the latitude of the northern corner of the tenth township of the seventh range, Mr. Ludlow, who is a smart active young fellow, could run the northern boundary; the purchase money could then be paid, that business finished, and in the spring the next affair would be, to take up Judge Symmes' purchase. Several chiefs of the different nations arrived at this post the day before yesterday. The inhabitants of Kentucky, I am informed, have it in contemplation to declare themselves not only independent of the State of Virginia, but of the United States altogether."

The reference in the last sentence of General Harmar's letter is to the efforts of Connolly at Louisville. Connolly was upon the half-pay list of England but at that time was tampering with the people of Kentucky endeavoring to induce them to throw themselves in the arms of Great Britain for protection and support or if that could not be brought about to induce them to accept the hospitalities of the Spaniards or in any manner to cause a breach with the new nation. At this time the Spaniards were offering one thousand acres of land gratis to every American who would move into the West or Florida and Colonel Morgan who obtained a grant on the Spanish side opposite the mouth of the Ohio was endeavoring to induce the Kentuckians to avail themselves of the Spanish grant. Fortunately the schemes of Connolly and Morgan failed.

In the meantime the warrior chieftains were beginning to assemble at Fort Harmar for the purpose of holding the conference. They began coming as early as September 19th, but it was not until December 13th, that they arrived in any great numbers. On the 14th there was a meeting in the council house to welcome each other and on the 15th the council was opened. On the 20th the Indians' cause was stated by the old Wyandot chief Shendatto. He described the origin of his race and how the thirteen fires had gotten possession of his country. In two instances by treachery "the first he said was in a bargain made with them for just as much ground as an ox hide would cover—merely to build one fire on. The Americans cut the hide into strings and claimed all the ground they could encompass therewith. The second case was a bargain for such an extent of country in a certain direction as a white man would travel to and back in one

day. A surprising walker was found who went as far and back again the same day as any of their swiftest men could do in two." He insisted that the Ohio River was the proper boundary and presented a large belt of wampum with a black strip running through the middle representing the Ohio River. On the 6th of January the Governor stated his side of the case and explained to the Indians by simile how they had forfeited their country. He had all the time insisted upon the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. He reminded the Indians they had taken up the hatchet against the United States and joined the English in the late war. The English had ceded to the United States the country south of the lakes and the Indians by their actions had forfeited their rights. The United States wanted peace but if the Indians wanted war they should have war. The views of St. Clair prevailed and the treaties were agreed to on the 9th and signed on the 11th. On the 13th the goods were given out to the different nations of Indians and in the afternoon the officers of the fort attended the funeral of Judge Varnum. The treaty was proclaimed by St. Clair on January 24, 1789, and was supposed to be to the satisfaction of all concerned. It was soon learned however that Brant had not lost his influence and that the Indians to the Northwest particularly the Shawanees were by no means satisfied.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GALLIPOLIS.

While the settlers at Marietta were holding courts and making treaties and giving dinners and planting trees another colony a little lower down the river was endeavoring to find a resting place. When Cutler's little bit of politics which resulted in the increase of the grant three times the size originally contemplated was understood by his associates it did not receive the approval of all. Cutler and Sargent retained an interest in the lands ceded to the Scioto Company. This they shared with Putnam, Parsons and others including Joel Barlow the poet, and the apothecary John Craigie, whose house in Cambridge is one of the historic buildings of this country, having been the headquarters of Washington and the residence of Longfellow. Barlow sailed from New York for Paris where he arrived in June, 1778. Here during the following year he formed a company to which he sold three millions of acres of the Ohio west of the seventeenth range. To advance this speculation he circulated a prospectus which Cutler had written and printed at Salem in 1787. This prospectus was misleading in that it represented a settled country both in the "Seven Ranges," and in the lands of the Ohio and Scioto companies. The uncertainty of the Revolutionary times tended to aid the schemes of the promoters and as a result a large number of French were induced to start for America. The French government suspected the snare and tried to warn the victims by caricatures but were unsuccessful. One hundred thousand acres of land were sold and among the purchasers were a number who had been prominent as founders of the National Assembly. Brissot, who had been in America two years before and was a member of the assembly, in his speeches as in his book published the next year warned the loyal aristocrats who showed a tendency to fly from what was coming and thus seeking "to preserve their titles, their honors, and their privileges they would fall into a new society (in America), where the titles of pride and chance are despised and even unknown" and pointed out to the poor that they would find in America an asylum where they could obtain property. As a result on October 20, 1790, the first of the emigrants from France arrived at Gallipolis where a house had been built for them by Putnam. The transaction seems involved in fraud and misrepresentation throughout in which the names of Putnam, Cutler and even General Knox were used in a way that did not reflect credit upon their sagacity. The settlers were made up of all kinds of people except laborers. "There were carvers and artists with no annual salon to look forward for. There were gilders and friseurs with no expectation of a drawing room. There were carriage makers going to a country without a road. There were artisans to make tools without a farmer to wield them." They seemed to be unable to help themselves or make any progress and as a result there was great dissatisfaction concluding with a financial panic involving Duer, Craigie and many men of Ohio. The settlement persisted however and to-day is the county seat of Gallia County.

Another settlement made north of the Ohio was that at Massieville, now Manchaster, twelve miles above Maysville, where in December, 1790, Daniel Massie from Virginia, a surveyor and land operator, led thirty families. They built a stockade and block house to protect their station which was one of the greatest dangers on the river.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY VISITORS TO THE OHIO COUNTRY.

McBride — Bouquet's Soldier — Croghan — Findley — Boone — The McAfees — Floyd — Clark — Rogers — Benham — Lytle — Bird — McCaddon — The Blockhouses — Vickroy — Laughery — McCracken — Galloway — Kenton — Hindman — Purviance Party — Baxter and Hall.

As early as 1754, a party headed by James McBride descended the Ohio River as far as the mouth of the Kentucky River, and after a partial examination of the country returned with an account of their discoveries.

If the story reported by the late Dr. A. E. Jones, in his "Early Days of Cincinnati," as told to him by Joseph Coppin, who came here in 1805, be true, it would seem that in 1764 there were visitors to the present site of Cincinnati. According to this account, Coppin stated that "soon after his arrival in Cincinnati he with some other boys were looking at some men digging a drain in front of the old red tavern, which stood on Water street below Main, near where the suspension bridge lies on this side. The old tavern had a porch along the entire front, and on it sat a very old man, the oldest loking man he had ever seen; his hair was as white as snow, literally.

"He got up and leaned on the bannister a few minutes, looking at the men digging in front, and then tottered to where the men were at work. Leaning upon his cane, he asked what they were digging for. They told him they were making a drain. 'Well,' said he, after looking over at Licking and all around him, as if getting the points of the compass, 'within six feet of where you are digging there is a man buried,' and pointing with his cane said, 'dig right there and you will find it; if it is not rotten, you will find a bullet hole over the right eye.' Rather to gratify the old man, than from any confidence in what he said, they dug where he had indicated, and sure enough, about three feet under ground, they found the skeleton, and the bullet hole over the right eye, in the skull; and the ball rattled in the skull when they pulled it up. Astonished, he was asked how he knew the skeleton was there. He replied: 'In 1764 I was a British soldier in General Bouquet's army when he made his expedition on the Muskingum, and after we returned to Fort Pitt, a squad was sent down the Ohio to see if the French had established any trading posts north of the falls. We landed right here one evening, and pitched our tent there,' pointing to a certain spot with his cane. 'We built our fire here to cook our supper, and while sitting around the fire, eating, a shot was fired from the direction of the corner of Main and Front streets, and one of our men was killed. As it was dark we were afraid to move far away to bury him; we put out our fire, and dug his grave and buried him where you found his skeleton.' This was a burial 'away back,' and is probably the first white man buried within the limits of our city." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 33.)

In the following year, 1765, came Croghan's trip down the Ohio on his errand to Vincennes and Detroit, as commissioner for Sir William Johnson. It will be remembered on the 29th of May he passed the Little Miami River and the following day the Great Miami, commenting on the level character of the country on both sides and the rich and well watered bottoms. It was on this trip that he was captured and carried to Vincennes by some young Indians who were

ignorant of the serious character of their offense until some of their elders told them of the danger they incurred while meddling with an emissary of Sir William Johnson.

In 1767, John Findley or Finlay, an Indian trader, from North Carolina, led another party through the Cumberland Gap up along the banks of the Kentucky River. Impressed with the country, he returned to the banks of the Yadkin, and there communicated his discoveries to the celebrated Col. Daniel Boone. Boone was so much impressed by the flattering account given by Findley, that in 1769, in company with James Robertson, a young Scotch Irishman, he undertook to explore the wilderness, and after great hardship and fatigue, reached the neighborhood of the present city of Lexington, where he remained until 1771, having been joined in the meantime by his brother, Squire Boone. During this expedition he explored the fertile lands of the Elkhorn and Kentucky rivers. Much impressed with the beauties of the country and full of schemes in regard to future explorations and settlements he returned in 1771 to the Yadkin Valley.

In 1773 Boone again started west with a party, having in it the first women and children who passed the Cumberland Mountains. They tarried for a short time with a few families settled west of Holston and along the Clinch River, but in October they were attacked by the Indians, and turned back. It was apparent that an Indian war was coming, and the following year Boone was sent to give warning to the various wanderers, hunters and surveyors scattered through this remote country. His farthest point on this trip was the rapids of the Ohio.

In the year 1773, about the beginning of June, the three McAfee brothers named James, George and Robert, from Botetourt County, Virginia, set out on an exploring tour for the West with the intention of settling opposite the mouth of the Licking if they found the country such as it had been described to them. If it turned out to be unavailable, their plan was to push on for the waters of Salt River, where they had acquaintances from their own neighborhood in Virginia. They struck the river near the Kanawha, where they procured dugout canoes in which they embarked with a considerable equipment of rifles, blankets, tomahawks and fishing tackle. On several occasions on their trip they met some Shawanee Indians and succeeded in keeping on friendly terms with them, but on one occasion while talking with the chief Cornstalk they were startled to see a band of the young braves coming from an attack on the settlements with a number of stolen horses. The rivers they found filled to the banks by an unprecedented rise and the Ohio was still rising. "In this stage of water they made rapid progress, keeping the current of the river as a measure of safety from the savages, who, watching the approach of boats, frequently lay hid on the northern bank; and by the time they reached the mouth of Licking river, the Ohio had swelled to such a degree, as to spread itself at this point—to use their own expression—'full from hill to hill.' This, in reference to the Cincinnati side, meant the abrupt bank which, at a distance of one hundred feet south of Third street, followed the line of that street, nearly, from Broadway to John street, and even further west. This, no doubt, was the great flood whose extreme height was marked at the time on a tree, below Fort Washington, and pointed out by the Indians as the greatest height to which the river had ever risen. As nearly as could be ascertained, it was twelve feet higher than the subsequent rises of 1832 and 1847, the greatest known since, on which occasion the Ohio did not overflow Covington or Newport. The McAfee party, ignorant of the character of the country and the extraordinary nature of the freshet, concluded it would not answer to settle lands subject to such inundations, and, as they had contemplated, went into Kentucky, where, after first re-visiting Virginia, they finally settled. One of these brothers was the father of General Robert McAfee, author of a history of the War of 1812 and afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, and still later U. S. *charge* to Bogota." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 46.)

During the next year many surveying parties wandered through Kentucky and along the upper Ohio. Among these was one headed by John Floyd, afterwards to play some important part in the history of Kentucky. His party consisting of eight men came down the Kanawha in April. They traveled in a canoe and shot bear and deer and caught great pike and catfish for food. They made surveys for Colonel Washington and Patrick Henry and other prominent Virginians and on their trip learned from other parties of surveyors that an Indian war was threatened. At the mouth of the Kanawha some twenty or thirty men were found who wished to go further down the river, and about one dozen of these joined Floyd's party which now filled

four canoes. On their trip down the Ohio they came across other parties who joined them and also met a number of Indians none of whom molested them. This party passed the Miami country in the early part of May. Floyd's contingent went to the falls. After much surveying and hunting they were obliged to return to the settlements on Clinch River because of the war with the Shawanees.

Mr. Roosevelt distinguishes three kinds of explorers, the hunters represented by Boone, settlers represented by the McAfees and the surveyors to which class Floyd and his party belonged. Floyd's experience shows how these parties were continually meeting other parties and again dividing up. His party started out with eight men, afterwards increased to 37 and on his return home he was accompanied by three men.

In 1775, Boone again started West to open a trail to the Kentucky side of the mountains, blazing and cutting out a way, afterwards known as the "Wilderness Road." This was to form a means of communication between the Cumberland Gap and the new colonies just settling in Kentucky. On April 18th he built a fort which was called Boonsborough. Later in the year he brought his wife and children and a number of other families to this post. The settlements in Kentucky were being continually harassed by wandering hordes of savages, most of whom, fortunately however, lived north of the Ohio. They showed a hostile spirit to the early settlers on all occasions and attacked them whenever an opportunity offered. The settlers defended themselves with courage and seldom ventured to go from one village to another, except in parties.

Boone's daughter, who was in a canoe in company with two other girls on the river near Boonsborough, was captured by one of the wandering bands of savages. Boone started in pursuit with a party of seven men, including the three lovers of the captured girls, and after following the trail for a day and two nights they overtook the kidnappers and recovered their captives, returning with them in triumph to the fort. The story of this episode as given in the various accounts is quite romantic. Two of the girls were in complete despair when captured, but the oldest of the three, Betsey Callaway, felt confident that they would be followed and rescued.

"To mark the line of their flight, she broke off twigs from the bushes, and when threatened by the tomahawk for doing this, she tore off strips from her dress. The Indians carefully covered their trail, compelling the girls to walk apart as their captors did in the thick cane and to wade up and down the little brooks. Boon started in pursuit the same evening. All next day he followed the tangled trail like a bloodhound, and early the following morning came on the Indians camped by a buffalo calf, which they had just killed and were about to cook. The rescue was managed very adroitly; for had any warning been given, the Indians would have instantly killed their captives according to their own invariable custom. Boon and Floyd each shot one of the savages and the remaining three escaped almost naked, without gun, tomahawk or scalping knife. The girls were unharmed, for the Indians rarely molested their captives on the journey to their home towns unless their strength gave out, when they were tomahawked without mercy." (Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, Vol. I, p. 326.)

Betsey Callaway and her lover, Samuel Henderson, were united in marriage three weeks after their return to their fort, by Squire Boone. This was the first wedding that ever took place in Kentucky. Both the other couples were married within the next year or more. An oil painting representing this capture hangs in the rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

In 1778, in the early part of January, Boone with 29 others went to the Blue Licks, to get salt for the garrisons. In the following month the party was surprised and captured by the Indians. These Indians were Miamis, upwards of eighty in number, and were led by two Frenchmen, Baubin and Lorimer. Boone surrendered on condition that the party should be well treated, which promise was well observed. He was taken first to Old Chillicothe, the chief Shawanee town of the Little Miami, and afterwards to Detroit, where he was well treated by Hamilton, commanding the Englishmen, who tried to ransom him for £100 sterling, as the price of his liberty. The Indians refused to give him up, as they had become very much attached to him and he was taken back to Chillicothe as their prisoner. Here he remained for about two months or more and so won the good graces of the Shawanees by his good humor and wonderful ability as a hunter as well as his tact in shooting contests with Indians, that he was adopted into the tribe.

In June he learned that a large war party was gathering to march against his own village and he determined to escape for the purpose of warning his friends. He succeeded in outwitting his

GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

GEN. JOSIAH HARMAR.

Indian companions. One morning before sunrise he made straight for home, making the journey of one hundred and sixty miles in four days, during which time he was able to obtain but one meal. His escape so disconcerted the war party that no immediate attack was made, and Boone anxious to learn the course of events again crossed the Ohio with a party of 19 men. He defeated a small party of Indians in a skirmish on the Scioto, and learned that the main body had marched against Boonsborough, to which point he hurriedly retraced his steps, reaching the village before the enemy got there. In the siege which followed, the Indians were unsuccessful.

During Boone's captivity he had gained considerable knowledge about the valleys of the Miamis, which naturally was communicated to other pioneering spirits among the Kentuckians. Another party that added to this knowledge was that with Colonel Bowman, in 1779. Bowman was county lieutenant, and he took with him one hundred and sixty Kentuckians, including such famous Indian fighters as Logan and Harrod The town of Chillicothe was surprised and a number of cabins burned, and horses captured, but the Indians in the end collected themselves in a central blockhouse, and the cabins surrounding them, and achieved a victory, driving the whites off and following them in retreat. The result of this expedition was very unsatisfactory to the Kentuckians, but much knowledge had been gained concerning the Miami country, the distance and size of the Indian settlements and the number and quality of their warriors.

In May, 1778, another man who was to become very prominent in the history of his country passed up the Miamis, George Rogers Clark. He left the Red Stone settlement taking with him not alone one hundred and fifty troops but a large number of private adventurers and settlers with their families. After touching at Pittsburg and Wheeling for stores, his clumsy flatboats drifted down the Ohio until on the 27th of May he reached the falls. This spot he selected as the proper place for a settlement and a starting point from which he could attack the British posts to the west. Some of the families settled on an island near the falls and in the autumn moved to the mainland. The site of this settlement became afterwards known as Louisville, named in honor of the French King, who was then the ally of the Colonies in their struggle for independence. It was from this settlement that Clark started on his celebrated expedition against the French villages of Illinois then in possession of the British,—Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes.

During this same summer was fought the first serious battle with the Indians in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. Colonel Rogers with a party of almost one hundred men had been sent by the Governor of Virginia to New Orleans for arms for his colony and upon his return up the Ohio in pirogues, as he rounded the bar opposite the present site of Fulton near where Dayton is now located, he saw a party of Indians, who were in fact under the command of Girty and Elliott, coming out of the Little Miami in rafts and canoes and crossing the Ohio to land upon the bar. Colonel Rogers in view of the fact that he had 79 well armed soldiers with him determined to attempt the capture of these Indians whom he saw striking for the deep forests. He had no conception of the size of the party but upon landing and marching into the woods he was astonished by an attack of over five hundred Indians, as the result of which he and 70 of his men were killed and his boats and stores were captured and plundered.

In this party was one Maj. Robert Benham, afterwards a well known citizen of Cincinnati. He was badly wounded through the hips and was unable to walk but he succeeded in dragging himself under a large fallen tree where he remained concealed until the Indians had departed. Here he lay suffering from his wounds without food or water for two days before he made any effort to move; in spite of the proximity of the river in clear view he was unable to reach any of the water for the lack of which he was almost perishing. Seeing a raccoon coming along the tree under which he lay hidden, he shot at it and killed it. The noise of the shot evidently attracted the attention of some other unfortunate and he heard a voice calling to him. In accordance with the custom of the pioneers he loaded his gun before answering and remained concealed in his hiding place. The second time a voice was heard calling "Where and who are you? Are you a white man or an Indian? I am a wounded white soldier starving and helpless." Benham answered giving his name and stating that he was unable to move and asked him to come to him. The other man was found to be one of his comrades who had been shot through both arms but was able to walk but could not use his hands and for this reason was suffering for the lack of food and water. Benham with his hands put the rim of his coonskin cap in the soldier's mouth who took it to the river

and bending over the water's edge filled it with water and brought it back to him. In this way each supplied the other with water. The game was very plentiful and Benham who loaded his rifle shot the game which when it had fallen would be kicked to him by his comrade; then Benham dressed and cooked it. If game did not come near enough, the man with the use of his legs would walk long distances and chase the game toward Benham for him to shoot. In the same way he kicked fuel towards him. They lived this way for more than six weeks until their wounds were sufficiently healed to allow them to go down to the mouth of the Licking. Here they built a little shanty of bark and remained until a passing boat filled with emigrants took them off and carried them to the falls.

In 1780, Gen. William Lytle, afterwards so many years a resident of Cincinnati, where he lived until March, 1831, emigrated with his father from Pennsylvania.

"They descended the Ohio, with doubtless the largest fleet of boats and the greatest number of immigrants that ever left the upper country at one time—the boats numbering sixty-three, and the fighting men alone with the party exceeding one thousand. At Maysville, two or three boats with a few families landed and remained. The residue started off early on the morning of the 11th of April, and at 10 o'clock, the next day, two boats which were ahead as pilots signaled that an encampment of Indians had been formed on the northern or Indian side of the river, and opposite the mouth of the Licking, just where Broadway intersects Front street. The shore at that time was a high bluff, rendering the savages clearly visible. Three boats in a concerted order landed half a mile above. It was arranged that half the fighting men should be in readiness to spring to the shore the moment the boats should touch it: they were to form and march down to where the Indians were. The number of these hardly exceeded one hundred and fifty, while their opponents reached five hundred. Discovering a force so greatly superior moving rapidly upon them, they fled in so much haste and disorder, as to leave most of their movables behind. They followed the bank till they reached what now is called Mill creek, up the bottom of which they were pursued beyond the present site of Cumminsville. Several of the Indians were mounted, and they fled faster than their wearied pursuers could follow them on foot. The whites then returned to the boats and floated without interruption to Beargrass creek,—Louisville." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 46.)

In May of this same year, Capt. Henry Bird, with some six hundred Indians and a few Canadians and some small pieces of artillery, came down the Miami River and crossed over to Kentucky, surprising and capturing two small stations on the south fork of the Licking. In this expedition the Indians carried off many horses and much plunder, requiring their prisoners to carry the booty on their backs; the women and children they tomahawked.

This expedition of Bird had been fitted out at a charge of three hundred thousand dollars, and in the number were the Girtys, as well as Logan with a band of celebrated savages. It is probable that Bird's first intention was to attack the settlement at the falls of the Ohio, at which point, Clark with two hundred men fully equipped was at that time located. His Indians, however, disturbed his plans; they killed his cattle, grew insubordinate, and at length refused to advance to the falls. It was at this time that the diversion up the Licking was made. Mr. Winsor suggests that he might have inflicted serious mischief on the river by stopping to waylay the emigrant's boats, for something like three hundred of them averaging fifty feet in length and carrying ten persons each, it is supposed, reached the falls during the season. Clark aroused to immediate action by this outrage took the field. His well known determination was shown in the manner in which he gathered together some of his men.

"In May this adventurous leader had performed one of the feats which made him the darling of the backwoodsmen. Painted and dressed like an Indian, so as to deceive the lurking bands of savages, he and two companions left the fort he had built on the bank of the Mississippi, and came through the wilderness to Harrodsburg. They lived on the buffaloes they shot, and when they came to the Tennessee River, which was then in flood, they crossed the swift torrent on a raft of logs, bound together with grape vines. At Harrodsburg, they found the land court open and thronged with an eager, jostling crowd of settlers and speculators, who were waiting to enter lands in the surveyor's office. Even the dread of the Indians could not overcome in these men's hearts the keen and selfish greed for gain. Clark instantly grasped the situation. Seeing that while the court remained open he could get no volunteers, he of his own responsibility closed it off hand, and proclaimed that it would not be opened until after he came

body of Indians, who had slipped up upon them. A severe skirmish followed, the combatants fighting from behind trees, but the Indians were finally driven back to the town and into a blockhouse. The defense became very vigorous at this time and the loss to the Americans was quite serious until the cannon was brought into the action which soon drove the defenders from under cover. The greater part, however, escaped under the protection of the noisy demonstration of a few of their number and Logan came up just in time to take a few of the stragglers.

A nephew of Clark, Joseph Rogers, who had been a prisoner among the savages during the battle, attempted to escape. He was observed by the whites, but mistaken for an Indian was shot, dying in a few hours. Clark was able to have some conversation with him before his death. Clark retraced his steps to the mouth of the Licking, where he disbanded his force and then returned to the falls.

Another witness to the building by Clark at this time of the blockhouse opposite the Licking is one Thomas Vickroy, an assistant at a later time in the survey of the site of Pittsburg. His statement is as follows:

"In April, 1780, I went to Kentucky, in company with eleven flat-boats with movers. We landed, on the fourth of May, at the mouth of Beargrass creek, above the falls of Ohio. I took my compass and chain along to make a fortune by surveying, but when we got there the Indians would not let us survey. In the same summer Colonel Bird came from Detroit with a few British soldiers and some light artillery, with Simon Girty and a great many Indians, and took the forts on the Licking. Immediately afterward General Clark raised an army of about a thousand men, and marched with one party of them against the Indian towns. When we came to the mouth of the Licking we fell in with Colonel Todd and his party. On the first day of August, 1780, we crossed the Ohio River and built the two blockhouses where Cincinnati now stands. I was at the building of the blockhouses. Then, as General Clark had appointed me commissary of the campaign, he gave the military stores into my hands and gave me orders to maintain that post for fourteen days. He left with me Captain Johnson and about twenty or thirty men, who were sick and lame. On the fourteenth day, the army returned with sixteen scalps, having lost fifteen men, killed. They reported the death of Rogers, Clark's cousin, who fought that day with the Indians." (Western Annals, p. 324.) Abraham Thomas in his reminiscences also speaks of the building of a stockade fort during the expedition of 1780. In the second expedition, in 1782, they crossed the Ohio at the present site of Cincinnati where their stockade had been kept up and a few people lived in log cabins about the foot of Sycamore street. His story corroborates those of McCaddon and Vickroy.

The following year, 1781, Clark once more visited the neighborhood of the Licking. After many appeals to Virginia, for an army for an expedition against Detroit, which for the most part met with little success, he finally succeeded in gathering together a force of about four hundred with three field-pieces, with which in the latter part of July he floated down the river. He was followed by a party of 107 mounted volunteers, from Westmoreland, under their county lieutenant, Archibald Laughery (Loughery or Lochry). This party started down the Ohio in flat-boats but landed on a small island or sandbar, some ten miles below the mouth of the Great Miami, on August 24, 1781, for the purpose of butchering and cooking a buffalo that they had killed.

A letter to Clark which had been intercepted had revealed the situation to George Girty, who with Joseph Brant, the celebrated Indian chief, surprised Laughery's party, who were all huddled together. The whole party were slain or captured at small loss to the Indians and most of the prisoners including the colonel himself, who were unable to march, were afterwards murdered in cold blood. Clark knew nothing of Laughery's situation or of his fate until after he reached the falls. The party under Brant and Girty were part of the body of several hundred gathered to resist Clark, and after their victory they moved up the Great Miami and joined with another party of rangers and Indians under McKee, who was coming down from Detroit. They then started on a march to attack Clark, but when within thirty miles of the falls they found that he was well established behind his stockade and gave up the idea of an assault. (Western Annals.)

Clark again passed through the Miami region in 1782. He had been holding his post at the falls endeavoring to make it a rallying place for boats on the Ohio and had already been the means of establishing quite a vigorous trade along the river. One of the river merchants, Jacob Yoder, in the spring of the year, brought

some merchandise clear from the seaboard to the Monongahela and old Red Stone. On that stream he floated down the river to the falls, and in search of an ultimate market, still further down to New Orleans.

This had been a year of many a bloody calamity suffered at the hands of the Indians and late in the fall Clark once more called together the able-bodied men to make ready for another blow. The response to his call was quick and thorough. Pioneers gathered from all sides with supplies of every character. The force consisted of two divisions, one under Colonel Logan, which met at Bryan's Station, the other under Colonel Floyd, which met at the falls. These two forces united at the Licking, from which point Clark with one thousand and fifty men, marched rapidly up the Miami one hundred and thirty miles, before the Indians discovered his approach. The attack was almost a complete surprise.

"We surprised," says Clark, "the principal Shawanese town on the evening of the 10th of November. Immediately detaching strong parties to different quarters, in a few hours two-thirds of the town was laid in ashes, and everything they were possessed of destroyed, except such articles as might be useful to the troops. The enemy had no time to secrete any part of their property which was in the town. The British trading post (Loramie's Store), at the head of the Miami, and carrying place to the waters of the lake, shared the same fate, at the hands of a party of one hundred and fifty horse, commanded by Col. Benjamin Logan. The property destroyed was of great amount, and the quantity of provisions burned surpassed all idea we had of the Indian stores. The loss of the enemy was ten scalps, seven prisoners, and two whites retaken; ours was one killed and one wounded. After lying part of four days at their towns, and finding all attempts to bring the enemy to a general engagement fruitless, we retired, as the season was advancing, and the weather threatening. We might probably have got many more scalps and prisoners, could we have known in time whether we were discovered or not. We took for granted that we were not, until, getting within three miles, some circumstances happened which caused me to think otherwise. Col. John Floyd was then ordered to advance with three hundred men, to bring on an action or attack the town, while Major Wells, with a party of horse, had previously been detached by a different route, as a party of observation. Although Col. Floyd's motions were so quick as to get to the town but a few minutes later than those who discovered his approach, the inhabitants had sufficient notice to effect their escape to the woods, by the alarm cry which was given on the first discovery. This was heard at a great distance, and repeated by all that heard it, consequently our parties only fell in with the rear of the enemy."

This expedition, though attended with little loss, practically closed the Indian wars in the West. The principal resources of the savages were cut off. Their towns were destroyed, and they were convinced that the white settlements could not be broken up. No formidable invasion of Kentucky was afterward attempted.

On the return of this expedition, Colonel McCracken of the light horse suggested that as many as should survive the day fifty years should meet and exchange greeting and farewells to each other, opposite the mouth of the Licking River, that being the point where they first struck the Indian territory.

McCracken, who proposed the arrangement, was the first one disabled from ever carrying it out. He had received a wound in the arm, from a rifle bullet, which being neglected produced mortification and terminated his life on the litter which bore him, as the party descended Key's Hill, at the head of Main street, now known as Mount Auburn, just as the troops were entering upon the site of the future Cincinnati proper. It is supposed that McCracken had some presentiment of his fate in a dream which he had the night before he left the spot on his way northward with the command. This was the occasion for his request, that all his associates who survived fifty years should meet at the place and celebrate the earlier gathering and mark the spot which he felt convinced would be the site of his grave.

In 1832, an attempt was made on the part of the survivors, Gen. Simon Kenton, Maj. James Galloway, John McCaddon and a few others who were still living to comply with the arrangements made fifty years before. They were to meet on the 3rd or 5th of November, as the 4th came on Sunday this year, for the purpose of laying a corner-stone for the monument, which should mark the intersection of several streets on the site of old Fort Washington.

In an address issued by Kenton and Galloway, at this time, occurred the following words:

"We will no doubt all recollect Captain McCracken. He commanded the company of light

horse, and Green Clay was his lieutenant. The captain was slightly wounded in the arm at Piqua town, when within a few feet of one of the subscribers, from which place he was carried on a horse litter for several days; his wound produced mortification, and he died in going down the hill where the city of Cincinnati now stands. He was buried near the blockhouse we had erected opposite the mouth of Licking, and the breastworks were thrown over his grave to prevent the savages from scalping him."

Major Galloway, in answer to his invitation to attend the 45th anniversary of the settlement of Cincinnati, in 1833, says:

"In October, 1782, I accompanied General Clark on an expedition against Pickaway and Loramie's town, and was within a few feet of the lamented William McCracken when he received the wound of which he died on his return, while descending the hill near which Cincinnati now stands, and was buried near a blockhouse opposite the mouth of the Licking."

The party which gathered on the occasion of the celebration in 1832 was a very small one by reason of the fact that this was the cholera year in Cincinnati. But a few old men, survivors of most exciting days and events met under conditions of great depression and sorrow to keep the promise made to one of their brothers a half century before. The city gave them a dinner at one of the hotels, but the other part of the program had to be omitted.

In the face of statements of these men,—Vickroy, McCaddon, Thomas, Kenton, and Galloway, —there certainly can remain no doubt as to the existence of a blockhouse on the site of Cincinnati as early as 1780. What became of this structure it is impossible of course to do more than surmise. There seems no reason to suppose that the blockhouse referred to in 1782, was other than one of those erected by Clark's party in 1780. The suggestion that they were destroyed by the Indians immediately after they were abandoned by their builders seems without foundation. There was no trace of them, however, so far as can be judged from the fact that they are not mentioned at the time of the later settlement of the city. They with the breastworks erected to guard the scalp of Captain McCracken, from spoliation by the savages, in all probability had entirely disappeared at the time of the landing of the Ludlow and Patterson party.

Other visitors to the Miami region, of whom there is no record, came in 1785, almost four years prior to the time of the landing of the Symmes party. They explored the whole Miami bottoms as far up as Hamilton, and selected spots for the purpose of establishing preemption rights. One of the company, who came from Washington County, Pennsylvania, John Hindman, is said by Mr. Cist to have been living as late as 1845, within a few miles of Hillsboro, Ohio, and his narrative is given in the "Cincinnati Miscellany," published under date of June, 1845:

"My father, John Hindman, was a native and resident of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where I was born in 1760, and at the age of 20 left that neighborhood for Washington County, where I remained four years. In the month of March, 1785, I left the State of Pennsylvania, taking water at the mouth of Buffalo creek with a party, consisting of William West, John Simons, John Seft, and old Mr. Carlin and their families. We reached Limestone point, now Maysville, in safety, where we laid by two weeks. The next landing we made was at the mouth of the Big Miami. We were the first company that had landed at that place. The Indians had left two or three days before we landed. We found two Indians buried as they were laid on the ground, a pen of poles built around them, and a new blanket spread over each one. The first we found was near the bank of the Ohio, and the second near the mouth of White Water. Soon after we landed, the Ohio raised so as to overflow all the bottoms at the mouth of the Big Miami. We went over therefore to the Kentucky side, and cleared thirty or forty acres on a claim of a man by the name of Tanner, whose son was killed by the Indians some time afterwards on a creek which now bears his name. Some time in May or June we started to go up the Big Miami, to make what we called improvements, so as to secure a portion of the lands which we selected out of the best and broadest bottoms between the mouth of the river and where Hamilton now stands.—We started a north course and came to White Water, supposing it to be the Miami; we proceeded up the creek, but Joseph Robinson, who started from the mouth of the Miami with our party, and who knew something of the country from having been taken prisoner with Col. Laughery and carried through it, giving it as his opinion, that we were not at the main river, we made a raft and crossed the stream, having the misfortune to lose all our guns in the passage. We proceeded up to where Hamilton

now is, and made improvements wherever we found bottoms finer than the rest, all the way down to the mouth of the Miami. I then went up the Ohio again to Buffalo, but returned the same fall, and found Gens. Clark, Butler and Parsons at the mouth of the Big Miami, as commissioners to treat with the Indians. Major Finney was there also. I was in company with Symmes when he was engaged in taking the meanders of the Miami River at the time John Filson was killed by the Indians."

It is interesting to note the fact that the young man named Tanner, referred to in this item, was not slain at the time, but survived to pass through more adventures.

The publication of Hindman's narrative brought forth a letter on July 12, 1845, from a writer who gave further information in regard to this boy Tanner, who it seems was captured by the Indians, and lived with them for a period of almost thirty years. He married an Indian wife and had six children by her.

The conference of Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons with the Indians is described at length at a subsequent point.

In March, 1788, three boats containing Samuel Purviance, from the prominent city of Baltimore, with four or five gentlemen from Maryland, Mons. Ragant and two other Frenchmen and eight or ten other persons engaged on a scientific exploring expedition were captured near the Big Miami, and a large part of the party killed. The fate of Mr. Purviance was never determined although a long and unsuccessful search was made for him by General Harmar.

Probably the latest visitors to the city of Cincinnati, prior to its final settlement, were a party of hunters, five men in all from the station near Georgetown, Kentucky, who landed in September, 1788, at the edge of Deer creek in two canoes. They hid their canoes among the willows and weeds that grew thick and rank upon that little stream and then proceeded to ascend the creek along the left bank. "At the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the mouth, in the shade of a branching elm, they halted for refreshment, and sat down to partake of the rude repast of the wilderness. The month was September, the day clear and warm, and the hour almost sunset. Having partaken of their evening meal, the party, at the suggestion of a man named Hall—one of their number—proposed, as a matter of safety and comfort, that they should go among the northern hills, and there encamp until the morning's dawn. His proposition was acceded to, and the party started on their journey. Emerging from a thicket of iron weed, through which a deer-path was open, and into which the party walked single file, they entered one after another upon a grassy, weedless knob, which, being elevated some distance above the tops of the blossomed weeds around, had the appearance of a green island in the midst of a purple sea. The hunters did not pause for a moment, but entered the narrow avenue one after another.

"As the last man was about to enter the path, he fell simultaneously with the crack of a rifle, discharged from among the weeds on the western slope. The whole party dashed into the thicket on either side and 'squatted,' with rifles cocked, ready for any emergency. Quietly in this position they waited until nightfall, but everything around being still, and no further hostile demonstrations being made, one after another, they again ventured out into the path and started toward the opening, observing, however, the utmost caution.

"Hall, a bold fellow, and connected by ties of kindred with the man who had been shot, whose name was Baxter, crawled quietly upon his hands and knees to the spot where his comrade had fallen, and found him dead, lying with his face downward, a bullet having entered his skull forward of the left temple. Baxter had fallen some ten feet from the thicket's entrance, and Hall, after getting out of the thicket, rolled slowly to the side of the dead man, lest he should be observed by the skulking enemy, as, in an upright position, notwithstanding the gloom of nightfall, he would have been. He lay for several minutes by the side of the corpse analyzing, as it were, the sounds of the night, as if to detect in them the decoying tricks so common to the Indian. There was nothing, however, that, even to his practiced ear, indicated the presence of an enemy; and he ventured at length to stand erect. With rifle ready, and eye-ball strained to penetrate the gloom that hung like a marsh-mist upon the purple fields around, he stood for several seconds, and then gave a signal for the approach of his companions. The party cautiously approached the spot where Hall stood, and after a moment's consultation in whispers agreed to bury the unfortunate man, and then pursue their journey. Poor Baxter was carried to the bank of the river and silently interred under a beach, a few feet from the bluff, the grave being dug by the tomahawks of his late companions.

"Having performed the last sad duties to the

departed, the party prepared to leave, and had advanced, silently, a step or two, when they were startled by a sound upon the water. 'A canoe!' whispered Hall. A suspicion flashed upon his mind, and he crawled to the spot where the canoes had been hidden, and found one of them gone.

"Quick to decide, and fired with a spirit of vengeance, he proposed to his comrades that immediate pursuit be made. The proposition was agreed to, and, in less than five minutes, three of the hunters, armed and determined for their mission, were darting silently through the quiet waters in the direction of the sound which they had recently heard. About one hundred yards below the mouth of Licking, on the Kentucky side, they came within rifle-shot of the canoe, fired at the person who was paddling it, scarcely visible in the dim starlight, and a short exclamation of agony evidenced the certainty of the shot.

"Paddling up alongside, the canoe was found to contain but a single person, and that an old Indian, writhing in death's agony, the blood gushing from his shaven brow. In the bottom of the canoe lay a rifle, and near it a pouch of parched corn, and a gourd about half filled with whisky. It was this Indian, evidently, who shot Baxter, and it seemed equally evident that he was alone upon the war-path. The savage was scalped, and his body thrown into the river.

"Hall and his party returned to the mouth of the creek, again hid the canoes, encamped near Baxter's grave for the night, and with the morning's dawn started upon their journey home.

"Forty years afterward, some boys, digging for worms at the mouth of Deer creek, just below the bridge, discovered a skeleton with a bullet-hole in the skull, and the ball itself inside. It is supposed this was the remains of the unfortunate Baxter." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 50.)

CHAPTER IX.

FORT FINNEY.

BUTLER'S TRIP DOWN THE OHIO—THE FORT ON THE POINT—CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS—CLARK'S PRESENCE OF MIND—THE TREATY.

The occasion referred to by Hindman in his narrative, where he speaks of finding Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons at the mouth of the Big Miami, as commissioners to treat with the Indians, was the celebrated conference which took place at Fort Finney. This, with the exception of the transient blockhouses built by the war parties of Kentucky on the site of Cincinnati, which have already been referred to, was the first work for human habitation built by whites between the Miamis, of which we have a record. It stood in the peninsula formed by the junction of the Great Miami with the Ohio, about three-fourths of a mile from the mouth and near the southeast corner of the farm of the late John Scott Harrison.

Henry Howe says that as late as the winter of 1866, some remains of this fort were still to be seen. It is this fortification which is later referred to by Symmes, under the name of the "Old Fort" and it was built in the fall and winter of 1785, at the time of the conference referred to in Hindman's narrative.

It so happens that we have a complete report of this conference from two eye witnesses and participants and also that these two reports have been supposed to present certain features of disagreement. Judge Hall, too, in his book "The Romance of Western History" gives an account of the conference, which has been assailed as inaccurate in details.

The participants were people of such importance and the proceedings were so characteristic of negotiations with the Indians, and the narratives of the parties reflect so much light upon the first settlement between the Miamis that a somewhat extended account of the matter may not seem uninteresting.

BUTLER'S TRIP DOWN THE OHIO.

Gen. John Richard Butler, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had been appointed in the early fall of 1785, as one of the three commissioners, to act with two others, Gen. George Rogers Clark and Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons, in an attempt to make a treaty with the Northwestern Indians. His journal with reference to the matter is very complete and full of interest. On September 9, 1785, he records his parting from his family. He proceeded in company with "the Hon. Col. James Monroe, a member of Congress from the State of Virginia, a gentleman very young for a place in that honorable body; but a man well read, very sensible, highly impressed with the consequence and dignity of the Federal Union, and a determined supporter of it in its fullest latitude."

At Fort McIntosh, which was thirty miles below Fort Pitt and near the mouth of Beaver creek, a very short distance from the Old Logs Town of Christopher Gist, the party was joined by Lieutenant, afterwards called Major Denny, and a number of troops. Here he heard reports of General Clark, who was a little distance below Scioto on his way to the falls of the Ohio, and also the account of the murder of one of the settlers on Fish creek, a few days since. The conduct of the Indians was reported as very extraordinary.

"They came to the door and knocked very

early in the morning, the man rose out of bed and was shot through the door which broke his thigh: on his falling, the door was broke in by the Indians, who tomahawked him and two children; the woman in fright lay still. They told her not to be uneasy, that they would not leave the house, as they would soon be back again, but did not intend to injure her: that they were Cherokees and would never make peace. She asked why they troubled her, that the Indains had made peace with Gen. Clark last fall; they said not they, that if they could meet Gen. Clark they would kill him also."

At the Mingotowns, Butler met Joseph Ross and his settlers whom he warned to leave the place. Ross insisted that he intended to vindicate himself and neighbors before Congress. This was one of the squatter settlements on the north side of the Ohio which gave the authorities so much trouble.

This journal contains almost daily mention of parties passing to and fro on the river, who were met by Butler and also of squatters who had settled on the north side of the Ohio, contrary to the proclamation of Congress. General Butler in each case warned the settlers that they were violators of the law, but with what result we are not informed.

On passing the mouth of the Muskingum, he examined it with reference to establishing a post there and concluded that the most eligible point was on the Ohio side. He therefore wrote from there to Major Doughty, recommending the place, with his opinion of the kind of work most proper; this was the site of Fort Harmar, across the Muskingum from the present city of Marietta. This letter which contained other remarks on the fort he left fixed to a locust tree.

Colonel Monroe, owing to the low stage of the river which made the voyage more tedious than expected, "finds himself much straightened for time in this tour, being one of the Judges of the Federal Court, which is to sit at Williamsburgh on a trial between the States of New York and Massachusetts-bay on the 15th of November, for which reason he proposes to take a boat and push night and day for Limestone, and from thence to Lexington, through the wilderness into Virginia. His company is of the most desirable kind, being polite, friendly and sensible, generally cheerful, and always edifying."

Monroe, who of course it is not necessary to state is best known as President Monroe, took with him the lightest boat, a sergeant and four soldiers and Lieutenant Denny, "a good young gentleman, as far as Limestone, where the Colonel will leave him and the party, who with Lieut. Denny will wait to join us."

As the journey progressed, General Butler became more impressed, and on October 12th speaks as follows:

"The lands here are really beautiful, and very rich; the majestic Ohio rolling gently along within the most delightful banks that ever enclosed a river; and in a few years must be the happy abode of thousands who with moderate industry may obtain the greatest profusion of the necessaries of life; the soil being so abundantly rich and fertile, and the climate inferior to none on the globe."

On the next day he bursts into the following rhapsody:

"The nearer we approach the Kanhawa, the more magnificent is the appearance of the river. Here might the Poet exercise his genius in the descriptive song of future times, and the joy of his soul, with rapture hand down to nations yet unborn to the present fathers, whose joyous hearts will bound with pleasure to see so ample, delightful, and healthy a country for their rising generations, who, far from the tyrannic hand of kingly power, governed by the mild and wholesome laws created by their fathers, and fashioned to their own liking by future legislators, may enjoy the blessings of peace, plenty, and domestic ease; secure in their persons and property, may cultivate the arts and sciences to such perfection as to become rivals not only of Athens and Rome, but be the patterns of mankind throughout the globe for learning, piety and virtue. Here may the industrious and broken hearted farmer, tired with the slavery of the unfortunate situation in which he was born, lay down his burthen and find rest on these peaceful and plenteous plains: here may Iberia, Britain and Scotia, pour out their superabundant sons and daughters, who with cheerful hearts, and industrious hands, will wipe away the tear of tyrannic toil, and join the children of America in the easy labors of comfort and plenty, and bless the providence of that power who hath directed them to such a land: yes, they will be good, respectful, and grateful citizens, the greatest enemies of kingly power, and will support with you, ye heroic sons of Independence, and your children's children, those honors, those blessings earned by your toils, blood, and treasure; and sing the praises of God in temples yet

to form, who led you to the battles, and conquest of the unwise and tyrannic George the Third. They will also in the anniversary song transmit your virtues and heroism to the children of future time, whose hearts shall beat high in emulating their progenitors, and keeping sacred the scroll of Independence. Passed two Islands about nine o'clock."

Who that has had knowledge of Ohio's sons, can doubt the prophetic power of General Butler. These islands were sixteen miles above the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

On the same day he writes:

"This delightful country involuntarily draws from my pen praises; it is fine, it is rich, and only wants the cultivating hand of man to render it the joyous seat of happy thousands. Here are the wild animals provided for the assistance of the first settlers. Here are the finest and most excellent sites for farms, cities, and towns. This seems provided as a reward for the adventurous and industrious, by the Divine hand, whose good providence appears in all his works. Here we have nothing to do but spring from our boats among flocks of turkeys, kill as we please, for sport or gust; the bear growls in your hearing, and the deer, timid by nature, bounds along before your eye; in short, there is no end to the beauty and plenty. I have just stepped from my boat and killed at one shot two fine turkeys, and our whole party feasts on fine venison, bear meat, turkeys and catfish, procured by themselves at pleasure."

On the following day he was nearly bitten by a copper snake, as he was engaged in a turkey hunt.

At the mouth of the Big Sandy creek, a hunter, the celebrated Mr. Zane, killed a buffalo and just about fifteen miles below three more buffalo, "one of which seems to be a real curiosity for size.

"The head weighed one hundred and twenty-nine pounds, and the tongue six, total, one hundred and thirty-five pounds. The head was cut off as close as possible, being cut off at the large joint, so that the neck was but a small addition to its weight. The leg and shoulder when set upright was as high as my head, which is five feet eight and a half inches, this when on the body, including that extraordinary protuberance called the hump, Mr. Zane assured me, is higher than his head, which is six feet (eighteen hands); and it was agreed by all who saw this amazing wild animal that it weighed at least fifteen hundred pounds. Part of the beef of these fine animals was delivered to the troops and part salted for future use.

"I cannot help here describing the amazing plenty and variety of this night's supper. We had fine roast buffalo beef, soup of buffalo and turkeys, fried turkeys, fried catfish, fresh caught, roast ducks, good punch, madeira, claret, grog and toddy, and the troops supplied in the most abundant manner. They are all cheerful, and generally in perfect health, and enjoying the bounties of heaven, the land and the water. The industry and judgment of one man could certainly supply many families. Mr. Zane killed this day, on the lowest computation, three thousand weight of as fine beef as need be used, all in about four hours' hunting. What a plenty for two large families for one whole year."

This paragraph may be well recommended to the attention of the Cuvier Club.

General Butler's enthusiasm is not even disturbed by the site of Portsmouth, and the "sweet and delightful little river Sciota, whose charming banks are not only beautiful to a wonder, but the richest and most luxuriant soil in my knowledge."

Buffaloes were very plenty here and the indefatigable Mr. Zane was in his element. At Limestone, Lieutenant Denny, who had preceded them with Colonel Monroe, rejoined the party. The party left Limestone early in the morning of October 19th, and between that point and the Little Miami seemed to have had considerable trouble with sand bars. On the 20th Mr. Zane killed a small bear.

On Friday, October 21st, appears the following:

"Sailed at half past two o'clock; passed the mouth of Little Miami at three o'clock. It is so low there was no water running: above the sand bank, which is off its mouth, the sand is quick, and the little water which issues from it passes through the sand.

"The bottoms, both above and below, is very flat and low, and I think inundated with small floods. About two miles below is a piece of high ground, which I think will be the site of a town, as will be the case at the mouths of all the principal rivers and creeks of this great country. I find Capt. Hutchins' map very defective in his delineations of creeks. I think his courses and distances good, and may say really perfect, but he has certainly missed several large creeks, both above Limestone and be-

tween that place and little Miamis. Below the mouth of this little river about two miles, is a very large bank of sand at which Mr. Zane came in for people to bring in two deer.

"Pushed on to the mouth of Licking Creek, which is a pretty stream; at the mouth, both above and below, is very fine bottoms. The bottom below the mouth seems highest and most fit to build a town on; it is extensive, and whoever owns the bottoms should own the hill also. Passed this at five o'clock, and encamped two miles below on the north side.

"There is great plenty of limestone and coal appears on every strand. Here is a very fine body of bottom land to a small creek four miles below Licking creek.

"I am informed that a Capt. Bird of the British came in the year 1780 from Detroit, down the big Miamis, thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Licking Creek, thence up it about fifty miles with their boats; at this place they took their artillery and cut a road fifty miles into the country, when they attacked several small stations and took them; they then carried off the poor distressed people with their little ones to Detroit in triumph."

Mr. Ford calls attention to the fact that this was the most distinguished party of people that had yet visited the neighborhood. The creek four miles below must have been Bold Face creek, which enters the river at Sedamsville.

The country some miles below the Licking is described as follows:

"One mile below this is a bar of sand in the middle of the river; the channel is on the north shore. Here are the dreadful effects of a tornado, on the hill, on the north side, from the top down, every tree and the surface of the earth has been washed or blown off. On the south shore there is about four acres of land, the timber of which is totally blown down and destroyed. One mile below this is a small creek which I think will be sufficient for mills part of the season, as it comes out of a hilly country; it has thrown out a great body of gravel, &c., which forms a kind of Presque Isle, on the south side of the river. * * * Two miles below this comes in a small creek, just above which is most excellent land on the face of a beautiful hill. The river is beyond description, deer and turkey sporting before and on each side in great abundance—saw above twenty deers before twelve o'clock. Put in to dine about eleven o'clock about twelve miles below Licking creek."

"Sailed at half past one o'clock, the wind ahead. Here is some very fine land covered with pine, ash, and other rich timber. Pushed on to the Great Miami, above the mouth of which I ordered the whole to camp about five o'clock in the evening. I went out with Major Finney to examine the ground for a post."

This was on Saturday, October 22, 1785.

On the following day General Butler with some of his officers went down to call upon General Clark "who lodged at a place called a station, which is a few families collected for mutual safety to one place, and a little fort erected." Clark was below the Great Miami, and favored locating there although it did not come within the resolution of Congress, which authorized the commanding officer of the troops to take post at any proper situation between the Miami and the Muskingum rivers. This little disagreement is significant, as there seems to have been a little feeling at all times between Butler and Clark, which may account for some of the variations in the narrations about the later events of the conference.

The biographer of Major Denny says in his memoir, prefixed to the "Military Journal" of Major Denny:

"When the United States Commissioners were at Fort Finney, waiting for the Shawanees to come into the treaty, General Clark kept aloof from his colleagues. There appeared to be some jealousy and coolness between them. But to the young commandant, Lieutenant Denny, he was like a father. He invited him to pass his evenings at his tent; threw off his reserve, and talked about his own adventures. He told him that frequently, at night, when his soldiers lay upon their arms, he has crept, on all fours, to the neighboring lick, with only his tomahawk, for fear of alarming the Indians, watched for the deer to pass and selecting a young one, killed it, and carried it back to the bivouac for the supper of his men. He was a stout, rather short, square man, with a high, broad forehead, sandy hair, blue eyes, and heavy, shaggy eyebrows. With his personal prowess, hardihood and capacity for detail, there was always comprehensive wisdom in his plan and purpose. He raised his force and supplies promptly. He knew exactly, and therefore never overrated the dangers in the way. He marched quietly to his distant object and took it by surprise. There was no martial pageant, no ostentatious and pompous parade. He threaded the forest silently —or on his Chickasaw ponies galloped across

the prairies, and gave the first notice of his presence to the savages by his flag supplanting that of their great allies. Hence that prestige, that renown amongst them which was of such value to carry on hostilities or dictate a peace. When he was present, the great warriors never noticed any other General."

THE FORT ON THE POINT.

Butler, after examining the situation suggested by Clark, determined to locate above the Great Miami; and on the 25th of October, after Mr. Zane had been sent with a boat and four men to Licking creek to hunt buffalo, work was begun on the permanent stopping place.

"Major Finney began to lay out and clear the ground for four blockhouses and quadrangular work, which was pushed on with great alacrity by himself and officers."

Within three days Butler is able to record that "the commanding officer, Major Finney, his officers and troops are really indefatigable. They have got two blockhouses in a tolerable state of defense, and a third well forward. This night Lieutenant Doyle with a party takes post in one of them, and we hope in a few days to be secure even against enemies."

Maj. Ebenezer Denny is a little more specific in his description. His "Military Journal" is not so flowery as that of General Butler but quite accurate in details. His entry of October 22nd reads:

"Arrive at the Great Miami. Best ground for our station about a mile above the mouth, where the boats were brought and everything unloaded. All hands set to work chopping, clearing, &c., and preparing timber for blockhouses and pickets; and on the 8th instant had ourselves inclosed. Hoisted the United States flag, and christened the place Fort Finney, in compliment to Captain Finney, the commanding officer. Our work is a square stockade fort; substantial blockhouses, two stories, twenty-four by eighteen feet in each angle; curtains one hundred feet of stout pickets, four feet in the ground, and nine feet above; situated one hundred and fifty yards from the river, on a rising second bank. A building, eighteen by twenty feet, within the east and west curtains, for the accommodation and reception of contractors' stores and Indian goods; and one small, but strong building, centre of north curtain, for magazine. A council house, twenty by sixty, detached, but within gun-shot. Commissioners and their followers pitch their tents within the fort, and erect wooden chimneys. Season very favorable, but growing cool. Men employed finishing the blockhouses, and clearing off the timber and brush to some distance outside."

General Butler, in his diary, notes from day to day the presence of Indians in the neighborhood, who were naturally much disturbed by the settlements, and reports many conversations with representatives of the various tribes in the neighborhood. Mr. Zane in the meantime continued his slaughter of buffaloes, deer and turkeys, and the troops seemed well provided and quite contented.

On Monday, the 7th, sailing on the river was tried with success, as the effect of the wind was found to be more than the common drift of the current. In the various excursions from the fort many bones of large animals were found, which are discussed at considerable length and the conclusion is reached that they were granivorous.

General Parsons, another commissioner, arrived on the 13th and brought with him reports of Indian attacks at various points up the river.

On the 17th, the place for the encampment of the Indians who were expected was selected on the bank of the Miamis, about three miles north of the post.

"I observe the Miama is a very fine, and will be a useful, river, as it has a great deal of good water, at almost all seasons; but the bed being broad it is generally shallow, but this may be helped as the bottom is not very, or generally, rocky, but gravelly, and by throwing a curtain of rocks, starting down the river on one or both sides of a shoal, so as to collect the water to a focus, whereby a channel fit to take up boats may be made, this will continue always good with a small annual repair after the spring freshes, and will render the boat navigation of this and all other streams of a similar kind useful at all seasons—as in low water it will be practicable, and in high water easy and certain."

Later after examining the bottom between the Miami and Ohio, he says:

"I find a great body of the low land which overflows, will make good corn and pasture fields, and is not injured by the floods, which may be still improved by preserving the timber on the rivers and banking, and that there is an excellent piece of ground for a town near the hills, which never is flooded. The hills will

not only afford timber and stone for building, but is in most places fit for fields, orchards and gardens; most delightfully situated, the town may be sufficiently near the two rivers, to add beauty to them, and be delighted with the majesty and elegance of their meandering currents. I also find that the land is very fine along the Ohio for about one mile, to the first narrows and to the foot, and many places to the top of the ridges, which are all covered with fine ash, walnut, oak, hickory, vines, and other rich timbers."

These descriptions, as well as those of Judge Symmes, written a little over three years later, are the most interesting, as showing how little the founders of the city, in determining as to the future site, were affected by what impressed both General Butler and Judge Symmes.

The peninsula in the southwestern part of the county seemed the natural place for the great city of the Miamis, and it was not until the practiced eye of Major Doughty saw the advantages of the present site of Cincinnati as a location for Fort Washington that the first plan had to be abandoned.

CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS.

For some days the journals of both General Butler and Major Denny were filled with incidents connected with the camp life, which served to while away the time, while awaiting the arrival of the Indians. The commissioners from time to time took trips through the neighborhood, sometimes to Big Bone Lick and at other times to the falls of the Ohio. The Indians that were in the encampment were ever ready to accept the hospitality of the whites in the shape of liquor and returned it with entertainments of their own devising.

On November 24th, General Butler refers to the efforts made by certain disaffected parties to prevent any considerable gathering. "The messengers and Indians both agree that Girty and others are in the Shawnee towns using every persuasion in their power to stop the Indians from coming, but from present appearances I expect a great number of them."

The following day he records the conference between the Delaware and Wyandot chiefs, in the presence of two young Shawanees, which resulted in the promise of the latter to endeavor to bring their people to the council.

On the 30th the friction between Butler and Clark is indicated by the following entry:

"During our conversation, General Clark sent in to us a private letter from Mr. Croghan of Louisville, which arrived by Captain Howell, on Saturday, the 26th inst., of which I took a copy. What he meant by detaining this letter so long and shewing it at this time, I am at a loss to say. * * * In truth, though, he has always been consulted on every public measure, and none adopted without his concurrence, there has appeared a mysterious something in his conduct which I cannot comprehend, nor am I certain he can comprehend it himself, as I cannot remember a single proposition of his, which has not been either agreed to, or himself convinced of its being improper, but he is very modest and makes but few."

On the 5th, the three commissioners left on a visit for the falls of the Ohio, while Captain Finney and Major Denny, with a party of soldiers, took a trip to Big Bone Lick, thirty miles down, where they collected some very large bones.

On the following day, Major Denny gives an account of a trip to the Indian camp:

"Spent this day in the Indian camp by invitation; treated with attention. It was a high day among them, a frolic and feast; several games played—exceedingly active at the game our boys call shinny or common. About forty young men were paraded for this game, equally divided; the ground had been cleared for the purpose. At the centre was a painted post, decorated with pieces of cloth suitable for leggings and breech clouts; the winning side got these. Their ball, the size of a man's head, made of deer's hair, covered with skin; their sticks, four or five feet long, resembling a racket. The ball was thrown in the air—all endeavored to catch it upon his racket; a fellow would take it in this way and keep it until another more smart overtook him or knocked it abroad, when another scramble took place. They insisted on my joining in one of these games. Several other games were played; some with beans and dishes or bowls, in imitation of backgammon. Our dinner was served upon skins spread on the ground. Had walked to the camp, but must ride back; girl and horse got for me."

Two of the commissioners, General Butler and General Parsons, returned in a little over a week, General Butler very much disgusted with the lack of consideration with which they had been treated at Louisville. General Clark did not return with them, although he expected to

follow in a few days. At this time about one hundred Indians, principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at Fort McIntosh had been made, had gathered; the Shawanees, for whom the present treaty was particularly intended, seemed to hang back, although several messages were received as to their intentions of coming in a few days.

General Parsons, in a letter to Captain Heart, at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, dated Fort Finney, at the mouth of the Great Miami, December 20, 1785, says:

"Since we have been here every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These at last sent two of their tribe to examine our situation, and satisty themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming; that we were fully satisfied with it; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came for; that we were desirous of living in peace with them, and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them, and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c.

"These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good; that they had been deceived; that they would return home, and use their influence to bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of wampum, and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information, we are led to believe these people will very generally come in, and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

"The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country."

Major Denny speaks much to the same effect:

"Those with us, about one hundred, are principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at McIntosh was held. The Shawanees are the fellows the present treaty was intended for; they seem to hang back. Indians treated very kindly—dancing parties in our council house almost every afternoon; the men jump, stamp and exert themselves much, but all keep good time; females glide round and have a gait or step peculiar to themselves. An old fellow has a keg, with skin drawn over each head—sort of drum, on which he beats time—considerable regularity—dance in a circle round the fire—can't dance without something to make their hearts warm, and generally break up pretty merry. Very few went home sober, but those who did were sure to get drunk at night. They would come next day and peremptorily demand a quantity of rum; on being refused they set homeward very much offended, declaring that the next day should move them off, never to be seen as friends again. This day our clothing came."

General Butler records something of the same character in his journal of the 21st. The half-king, and the Crane, and several young fellows came into the fort drunk, and wanted more rum, and upon being refused they became very ill-natured and threatened to leave. General Parsons and General Butler retired to their tent, but the drunkard followed them, insisting upon more rum, and after a time the half-king again returned, when he spoke as follows:

"Brothers, I am a little drunk, and I feel sorry that you left me in your dinner tent, it hurt me more than the not getting rum. I intend to set off to-morrow with all my people, and I thought it best to tell you before I go." After some discussion and a glass of wine, the half-king felt better and concluded to remain. This difficulty about the supply of rum seemed to be almost of daily occurrence.

Major Denny on the 21st, in a letter to Colonel Harmar, seems to be in doubt as to whether General Clark would return:

"Our reason for thinking he will scarcely return is, that while here he had received almost daily complaints from the people on the frontiers of Kentucky, against the Indians, and reflecting on him for trifling, as they think, with some of the savages, while others are plundering them.

The people are very ripe for a campaign into the towns."

The precautions that were taken is indicated by the following remark: "Major Finney is determined they shan't act Pontiac with him, for every precaution is taken at that time."

On the 23rd, Major Denny records the arrival of Clark, "as a very agreeable surprise, as few of us expected him."

At a later day a deputation, including a delegate from the Delaware Indians, was sent at the suggestion of the celebrated Captain Pipe, to carry a speech to the delinquent Western nations.

On New Year's Day open house was kept by the Indians, to whom was sent a kettle of toddy, some cooked meat and bread, as well as wishes for a good new year. "This they took very kind, and set to, heart and hand, men and women, to get drunk. In order to get them soon away, we told them when they were ready to go home, they should have a small keg of milk (brandy) home with them, which hurried their departure. The cavalcade was curious—men and women, two on a horse, all rode in the same manner, without the least attention to the delicacy of the female sex."

The officers treated themselves to six bottles of claret, so that one can believe that the day was a success all around.

On this day a passing boat brought to shore a party, including an old man and his two sons, named Hindman, who told a most marvelous story of the capture of the older man by the Shawanee Indians. Neither General Butler nor Major Denny, both of whom record the incident, seem impressed with the truth of the story, and Butler states:

"Hindman, we find on examination, to be an ill-disposed man, and one of the party who murdered the Moravian Indians. This he confesses himself, and has declared he thinks robbing the Indians of their horses justifiable."

This Hindman, possibly, was the man whose narrative was recorded by Mr. Cist, as heretofore referred to.

The Shawanees finally gave indications of their approach, and on Saturday, January 14th, they were received. Major Denny was not impressed with the manner of their reception:

"Our commissioners knowing them to be a very proud nation, thought it best to pay them the same honors, and ordered preparations in a style rather degrading to the United States, which was, that a party of soldiers should cook and serve out provisions to them in the council house. Now with them, the most decrepit old women are made choice of for that business; and nothing could have occasioned greater laughter than the appearance of soldiers carrying kettles of provisions to them. When the Indians saw them they cried out, 'There come the old women with warriors' coats on,' etc. And who knows but they conceived us all old women clad in uniform."

General Butler's account is more cheerful in tone:

"Shortly after these arrangements they appeared, in number about 150 men and 80 women, in very regular order: the chiefs in front, beating a drum, with young warriors dancing a peculiar dance for such occasions. This is so particular that I shall here describe it: the oldest chief leads, and carries a small drum, on which he beats time and sings; two young warriors, who dance well, carrying each the stem of a pipe painted, and decorated with feathers of the bald eagle, and wampum, these are joined in the dance by several other young men, who dance and keep time to the drum; the whole of the party painted and dressed in the most elegant manner, in their way, which is truly fantastic, but elegant, though savage. The chief who headed this party is called Melonthe. These were followed by the chief warrior Aweecanny, and last the warriors armed; then come the head woman, called Ca-we-chile, in front of all the women and children. When they came near the council-house, Aweecanny got on a stump, and ordered the whole to halt. They then sung for some time, when he gave a signal, and the song ceased. He then ordered the armed men to make ready, which they did, then to fire, which was performed in the Indian style, which is a running fire; this was repeated three times, on which our troops returned the salute, with three vollies from a platoon, well performed, the drum beating an American march. We then entered and took our seats; they then arrived, and after dancing a short time at the door, by way of salute, they entered at the west door, the chief on our left, the warriors on our right and round on the east end till they joined the chiefs; the old chief beating the drum, and the young men dancing and waving the feathers over us, whilst the others were seated; this done, the women entered at the east door, and took their seats on the east end, with great form. This over, the chief enquired who were the commissioners, which the young warrior, John Harris, told them, and pointed us out. After a short song, the

chiefs called on Kekewepellethe, a Wagatommochie man, who immediately rose to address us. His speech was short, but pathetic and sensible. * * *

"I find at the commencement of a treaty of peace the chiefs or kings shake the hands of those who have to treat with them, but the warriors and women not till the business is concluded; the reason they give is that the heads of the people should be on an easy and familiar footing, but that the warriors and women, who are the strength of the nation, more distant till peace is certain."

The attachment of the young Shawanees to the British is remarked by General Butler. On the 20th, a party of twenty Delawares, headed by their chieftain, called by Major Denny, Bohengechalus, and by Butler, Pacanchichiles, arrived. The impression that General Clark had made on the Indians was shown by the conduct of this chieftain.

Major Denny says: "Bohengechalus is esteemed one of the greatest warriors now among all the Indians. After he had seated himself he discovered General Clark, and knowing him to be a great warrior, rose and saluted him very significantly—instead of taking hold of each other's hands, they gripped nearly at the shoulder, and shook the left hand underneath the right arms."

General Butler, in reporting the speech of this chieftain, says:

"His first address was to the Great Spirit, returning thanks for the preservation of his own and Gen. Clark's life through the war, and for putting it once more in their power to see each other, adding that he felt very happy at the prospect which now opened to his view, and thanked God for giving us this great day to meet and declare the pleasure he felt."

The Shawanees naturally had to show their expertness at dancing, but the most pleasant one, according to Major Denny, was the social dance:

"As many young men as please, form a ring round the fire, move, dance and sing love songs; the girls looking on for some time—at length they rise one after the other, as the spirit moves them, and seize a partner. The couple stick to each other, dancing and performing every possible gesture, but still keep in the ring, singing and beating time to their music. Now, while busily engaged, the parties exchange some articles of dress, or other things, as a token of their regard. The girls were very fond of getting a few of us engaged in this dance."

They also entertained the whites with their war dance, which was a much more exciting performance.

The Shawanees occupied the long house in dancing for ten days, but the serious business of the conference began on January 26th, at which time a speech for the Board of Commissioners, prepared by General Butler, was read and explained to the chiefs of the Shawanees.

Major Denny records: "Business opened this day by an excellent speech from our commissioners to all the Indians—about four hundred present. The boundary lines, designating the lands alloted the several nations, were particularly described and pointed out on the map. They were told that as they had joined the English and taken up the hatchet against the United States, and the war having terminated in favor of the latter, and that the English, also, to obtain peace, had ceded the whole of the country on this side of the lakes to the Americans; that they, the Indians, must now look up to the Americans, and ought to be thankful if allowed to occupy any part of the country, which by the war they had forfeited; nevertheless, more perhaps than they expected would be done for them, but they must leave hostages for their good behavior, etc."

The Indians, after this, retired, as was their custom, for a private conference, and on the 27th met the commissioners again:

"Their head warrior, Kickwaypalathey, replied to the speech of yesterday; denied the power and right which the United States assumed; asked if the Great Spirit had given it to them to cut up and portion the country in the manner proposed. The Ohio River they would agree to, nothing short; and offered a mixed belt, indicating peace or war. None touched the belt—it was laid on the table; General Clark with his cane pushed it off and set his foot on it. Indians very sullen. Commissioners told them it was well, that the United States did not wish war, that two days yet would be allowed to consider of the terms proposed, and six days more with provisions to return home: but after that to take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council broke up hastily. Some commotion among the Shawanees. Returned same afternoon and begged another meeting, when their old king, Molunthy, rose and made a short speech, presented a white

string, doing away all that their chief warrior had said, prayed that we would have pity on women and children, etc."

General Butler, in describing the same occurrences of the same day, omits this dramatic episode, but there is nothing whatsoever in his account to contradict the statement, which is so circumstantially made in Major Denny's journal. It is clear that this episode, which occurred at the private conference, was not regarded by him as the proper thing for record. This same scene is described in the "Encyclopædia Americana," which is supposed to be based on the notes of an old officer, who was present at the time. This account was as follows:

"The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington in the most friendly manner, except the Shawahanees, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors set off in all their paint and feathers, and filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States stockade mustered seventy men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary general, Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders; General Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story.

"On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting on the table. He raised his little cane and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony.

"Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiarly savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten.

"At this juncture Clark arose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night, debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace."

It is plain, however, that what happened on that day was regarded by Denny as the influence which practically concluded the whole matter, for his journal contains but one more entry relating to the conference, that of February 1st, reciting the conclusions and signing of the treaty.

In writing to Colonel Harmar, his intimate friend, on January 8th, he reiterates the general line of speeches as recorded by him:

"Twenty-sixth, our commissioners delivered a speech to the Shawanees, setting forth their business, etc., and acquainting them of the country which would be allowed them. Next day a reply was made, in which they burlesqued the dividing of lands, and asked if the Great Spirit directed the Americans to cut and divide the land as was proposed; no, they did not understand that part. The Ohio, they thought, was the fittest line, and if we were satisfied they would agree to let it remain the boundary. At hearing this we began to entertain different notions of matters, but the affair was soon cleared up. The commissioners did not attempt to touch the string which was given, and without rising, determined on an answer, which was, that if they did not agree with the terms proposed, in two days, they should then be furnished with six days' provisions to carry them home, and no harm should be done them during that time; but after that take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council was not broke up more than fifteen minutes when a messenger came for the commissioners. After they had assembled, the chief took a white string and destroyed the whole of his former speech."

General Butler in his account is obviously describing the speech made after the resumption of the conference:

"Having met them, they recapitulated the speech, in order to be fully satisfied that they understood it, which we found they did. On our informing them so, they replied they were fully convinced our observations were just—that they had been led into folly by the British—that they were sensible they had done wrong, but they hoped for pity from the thirteen fires, and that they hoped these things would be forgotten."

The rest of the speech making was made up of an explanation of the charge made by a Delaware chieftain, a few days before, that the Shawanees had attempted to turn back the deputation of Twightwees and other Wabash and Miami Indians who were on their way to the treaty.

On the two following days, General Butler describes at length the speeches which resulted in the treaty. It was apparent that in each case it was necessary first to deal privately with the Shawanees, and afterwards in full council with the other Indians. General Butler does not report the proceedings of any of the private conferences, but gives at length the proceedings of the general councils. He was more diplomatic than Clark, who was a man of action rather than of words, and in the lengthy speech-making which was so essential a part of the conference, Butler naturally took the prominent part.

That something had passed to raise the feelings of all to a high pitch, is clear from the statement of Sunday, January 29th, that one of the Shawanee captains, responding to the address, "that he hoped we would forget all that was passed;" and that they would return the prisoners and bury the hatchet.

There is nothing in Butler's account to which this could possibly refer, and this circumstance is still stronger evidence that at a private conference, to which Denny's account obviously refers, something had happened to excite much feeling.

THE TREATY.

A treaty was drawn up by General Parsons. It provided for hostages to insure the return of prisoners; the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the United States; the giving up of Indians, who might commit murders or robbery, to the punishment by the United States with a reciprocal provision as to citizens of United States violating the law; mutual agreements as to information in case of any war; the defining of the limits of the United States at the west of the main branch of the Miami, with the proviso that any Indian settling on the Miami lands should be without the protection of the United States.

The presentation of this treaty on January 30th gave rise to another scene. The captain of the Shawanees objected to the terms in regard to hostages:

"Brothers, you seem to grow proud, because you have thrown down the King of England; and as we feel sorry for our past faults, you rise in your demands on us. This we think hard, you need not doubt our words; what we have promised we will perform. We told you we had appointed three good men of our nation to go to the towns and collect your flesh and blood; they shall be brought in. We have never given hostages, and we will not comply with this demand. *A black string.*"

The commissioners, however, refused to recede, and General Butler delivered the address indicating their decision. He called attention to the fact that on previous occasions, the Shawanees had given hostages to Colonel Bouquet and Lord Dunmore, and that even then they had broken the faith. They had joined the British King against us, in spite of which Congress offered them country and peace. He notified them that their terms would not be altered and that the United States would protect its citizens.

"We plainly tell you that this country belongs to the United States—their blood hath defended it, and will forever protect it. Their proposals are liberal and just; and you, instead of acting as you have done, and instead of persisting in your folly, should be thankful for the forgiveness and offers of kindness of the United States instead of the sentiments which this string imparts, and the manner in which you have delivered it. We shall not receive it or any other from you in any such way. (I then took it up and dashed it on the table.) We therefore leave you to consider of what hath been said, and to determine as you please.

"We then left them and threw down a black and white string. In the afternoon the Shawanees sent a message requesting we would attend in the council-house; on which we went in. Kekewepeelethe then arose and spoke as follows:

"'Brothers, the 13 Fires—We feel sorry that a mistake has caused you to be displeased at us this morning. You must have misunderstood us. * * * Brothers, everything shall be as you wish; we came here to do that which is good, and we agree to all you have proposed, and hope, in future, we shall both enjoy peace, and be secure. (A white string.)'"

This was followed by mutual delivery of white strings and on the following day, after agreeing to hostages, the whole party took hold of the belt of peace and the treaty was finally concluded on Wednesday, February 1st. General Butler enumerates as present at these conferences, 448

Indians, of whom 83 were Wyandots, 47 Delawares, and 318 Shawanees.

On February 8th the commissioners left Fort Finney, with the exception of General Clark, who returned to the falls on the following day. Majors Finney and Denny with the troops remained behind.

Major Denny's journal describes the life of Fort Finney, until his final departure to a new fort, at the mouth of the Muskingum, called Fort Harmar, on July 23rd.

The editor of "The Olden Time," in which General Butler's journal was printed in 1847, and Mr. Ford, in his "History of Cincinnati," seem convinced of the inaccuracy of the statement concerning General's Clark's part in the episode of the 27th. It is probable Neville Craig was evidently not informed of the statement made by Major Denny, and he criticises the article in the "Encyclopædia Americana" for various inaccuracies which were apparent on the face of the article. Mr. Craig seems to feel that there is an issue raised between General Butler and General Clark, and states that the calling the correctness of General Butler's narrative into question is to charge him with deliberate falsehood. Mr. Ford, who was familiar with Major Denny's journal, which was not published until 1860, seems to adopt the reasoning of Mr. Craig and states that no such affair appears to have occurred. This statement is undoubtedly made by reason of what seems to him an inconsistency between the statement of Butler and the statement of Denny. There can be no question as to the reliable chaaracter of Butler's statement, and the same is if anything more true of Major Denny. The suggestion that General Butler did not report what took place at the private conferences, because of his regard for the confidential character of the conference, and perhaps because of his slight tendency to underestimate the services of Gen. George Rogers Clark, seems to clear up the whole matter. In fact the subsequent speeches as recorded by him presuppose some scene which is not recorded in Butler's journal. There is nothing inconsistent in this with the statement of the subsequent dramatic incident in which General Butler took a leading part. The times were ripe for trouble and that two episodes of this character should have occurred is not at all extraordinary.

The respect in which Clark was held by the Indians who knew him from many a bitter experience, is clearly shown by both journals, and had much influence in bringing the rebellious Shawanees to terms. Clark's own obvious willingness to take up arms and the knowledge that he was a mighty man in war, and that he was being urged to drop diplomacy for the field of battle undoubtedly did much to prevent a disastrous conclusion of the conference.

Judge Hall, in his book, "The Romance of Western History," describes as a legend of North Bend the scenes of this meeting, giving as his authority an anonymous writer in a Pittsburg newspaper. This anonymous writer gave the name of Major Denny as his informant, and Judge Hall says that the story was confirmed by General Harrison.

There is no improbability that Major Denny, in his latter years, in telling the story, gave it in much more detail than in his "Military Journal." By reason of its excellent presentation of the character of Clark, and because of the fact that the whole episode has always been a part of the familiar history of the Miami country, and that Judge Hall's eloquent narration is one of our pioneer classics, it is worth repetition here.

The location described is as follows:

"In the year 1786 there stood upon the margin of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Miami, a small fortress over which waved the flag of the United States. The banner was that of a confederacy, which had just emerged from a successful struggle with one of the most powerful nations of the world, and over which the illustrious Washington ruled as Chief Magistrate. In the eye of a military engineer the fort would hardly have deserved that name, as it was a temporary structure, intended only to protect its small garrison against a sudden attack by an Indian force. It was composed of a series of log houses opening upon an interior area or quadrangle, with a blockhouse or citadel in the centre, while the outer sides, closely connected, formed a square inclosure or rampart, without apertures except a single entrance and a few loop-holes from which to discharge firearms. The whole presented the appearance of a single edifice, receiving light from the centre and forming barracks for the garrison, as well as breastworks against a foe. The forest was cleared away for some hundred of yards around, leaving an open vista extending to the water's edge, while a few acres enclosed in a rude fence and planted with corn and garden vegetables, for the use of the soldiers, exhibited the first rude attempt at agriculture in that wild and beautiful region.

"The little fortress alluded to was established at the outlet of the fertile valley of the Miami, and near the track by which the war parties approached the Ohio, in their incursions into Kentucky. The position was also that selected by Judge Symmes and others, the purchasers from Congress of a large tract of country, as the site of a future city; though a trivial accident afterward changed the locality, and placed the Queen City of the West at a point twenty miles farther up the Ohio. It was near the head of that great bend of the Ohio, now widely known as North Bend,—a spot which has become classic ground to the American, as the residence of that excellent man and distinguished statesman and soldier, the venerated and lamented Harrison. The fort was garrisoned by a small party of soldiers, commanded by a captain, who was almost as much insulated from the rest of the world as Alexander Selkirk in the island of Juan Fernandez.

* * * "For several days previous to that appointed for holding the council, parties of Indian warriors were seen arriving and erecting their temporary lodges at a short distance from the fort. An unwonted bustle disturbed the silence which usually reigned at this retired spot. Groups of savages, surrounding their campfires, passed the hours in conversation and in feasting; the tramp of horses and the barking of dogs were heard in every direction. The number of Indians assembled was much greater than was necessary, or was expected; and their disposition seemed to be anything but pacific. Irritated by recent events, and puffed up by delusive promises of support, they wore an offended and insolent air. Their glances were vindictive, and their thirst for vengeance scarcely concealed. No one acquainted with the savage character could doubt their intentions, or hesitate for a moment to believe they only waited to ripen their plan of treachery, and at a moment which should be most favorable to their purposes, to butcher every white man in their power.

"The situation of the garrison was very precarious. The fort was a slight work, which might be readily set on fire, and the number of Americans was too small to afford the slightest chance of success in open fight against the numerous force of the Shawanoes. The only hope for safety was in keeping them at a distance; but this was inconsistent with the purpose of meeting them in council, to treat for peace.

"Both parties held separate councils on the day previous to that appointed for the treaty. That of the Indians was declamatory and boisterous. The caution with which they usually feel their way, and the secrecy that attends all their measures, seems to have been abandoned. They had probably decided on their course, and deeming their enemy too weak to oppose any serious opposition, were declaiming upon their wrongs, for the purpose of lashing each other into that state of fury which would give relish for the horrid banquet at hand, by whetting the appetite for blood. The American commissioners saw with gloomy forebodings these inauspicious movements, and hesitated as to the proper course to be pursued. To treat with savages thus numerically superior, bent on treachery, and intoxicated with an expected triumph, seemed to be madness. To meet them in council would be to place themselves at the mercy of ruthless barbarians, whose system of warfare justified and inculcated every species of stratagem, however disingenuous. To close the gate of the fortress, and break up the negotiation, would be at the same time a declaration of war, and an acknowledgment of weakness, which would produce immediate hostilities. * * *

"An apartment in the fort was prepared as a council-room, and at the appointed hour the doors were thrown open. At the head of the table sat Clark, a soldier-like and majestic man, whose complexion, eyes and hair all indicated a sanguine and mercurial temperament. The brow was high and capacious, the features were prominent and manly, and the expression, which was keen, reflective and ordinarily cheerful and agreeable, was now grave almost to sternness.

"The Indians, being a military people, have a deep respect for martial virtue. To other estimable or shining qualities they turn a careless eye or pay at best but a passing tribute, while they bow in profound veneration before a successful warrior. * * *

"Such was the remarkable man who now presided at the council-table. On his right hand sat Colonel Richard Butler, a brave officer of the Revolution, who soon after fell, with the rank of brigadier general, in the disastrous campaign of St. Clair. On the other side was Samuel H. Parsons, a lawyer from New England, who afterwards became a judge in the Northwestern Territory. At the same table sat the secretaries, while the interpreters, several officers and a few soldiers, stood around.

"An Indian council is one of the most impos-

ing spectacles in savage life. It is one of the few occasions in which the warrior exercises his right of suffrage, his influence and his talents, in a civil capacity; and the meeting is conducted with all the gravity and all the ceremonious ostentation with which it is possible to invest it. The matter to be considered, as well as all the details, are well digested beforehand, so that the utmost decorum shall prevail and the decision be unanimous. The chiefs and sages, the leaders and orators, occupy the most conspicuous seats; behind them are arranged the younger braves, and still further in the rear appear the women and youth, as spectators. All are equally attentive. A dead silence reigns throughout the assemblage. The great pipe, gaudily adorned with paint and feathers, is lighted and passed from mouth to mouth, commencing with the chief highest in rank and proceeding, by regular gradation, to the inferior order of braves. If two or three nations be represented, the pipe is passed from one party to the other, and salutations are courteously exchanged before the business of the council is opened by the respective speakers. Whatever jealousy or party spirit may exist in the tribe, it is carefully excluded from this dignified assemblage, whose orderly conduct and close attention to the proper subject before them might be imitated with profit by some of the most enlightened bodies in Christendom.

"It was an alarming evidence of the temper now prevailing among them and of the brooding storm that filled their minds, that no propriety of demeanor marked the entrance of the savages into the council-room. The usual formalities were forgotten or purposely dispensed with, and an insulting levity substituted in their place. The chiefs and braves stalked in with an appearance of light regard, and seated themselves promiscuously on the floor, in front of the commissioners. An air of insolence marked all their movements, and showed an intention to dictate terms or to fix a quarrel upon the Americans.

"A dead silence rested over the group; it was the silence of dread, distrust, and watchfulness, not of respect. The eyes of the savage band gloated upon the banquet of blood that seemed already spread out before them; the pillage of the fort and the bleeding scalps of the Americans were almost within their grasp; while that gallant little band saw the portentous nature of the crisis and stood ready to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

"The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace pipe, and, after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Colonel Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and the easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanoes; that the President had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and that, if the red men desired peace, they could have it on liberal terms. 'If such be the will of the Shawanoes,' he concluded, 'let some of their wise men speak.'

"A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking up to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum of different colors—the war and the peace belt. * * *

"The chiefs drew themselves up, in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he would dare to resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside, and those fierce, wild men gazed intently on Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it; and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed, and apparently careless, until the chief who had thrown the belts on the table had taken his seat; then, with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached as if playfully towards the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it towards him, and then, with a twitch of the cane, threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party, sprang to his feet; the savages with a loud exclamation of astonishment, 'Hugh!' the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

"Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed; but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was slightly perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay, thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him and sway them at his will. Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm, and waving his hand towards the door, he exclaimed: 'Dogs! you may go!' The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council-room.

"The decision of Clark on that occasion saved himself and his companions from massacre. The plan of the savages had been artfully laid; he had read it in their features and conduct, as plainly as if it had been written upon a scroll before him. He met it in a manner which was unexpected; the crisis was brought on sooner than was intended; and upon a principle similar to that by which, when a line of battle is broken, the dismayed troops fly before order can be restored, the new and sudden turn given to these proceedings by the energy of Clark confounded the Indians, and before the broken thread of their scheme of treachery could be reunited, they were panic-struck. They had come prepared to browbeat, to humble, and then to destroy; they looked for remonstrance and altercation; for the luxury of drawing the toils gradually around their victims; of beholding their agony and degradation, and of bringing on the final catastrophe by an appointed signal, when the scheme should be ripe. They expected to see, on our part, great caution, a skillful playing-off, and an unwillingness to take offence, which were to be gradually goaded into alarm, irritation and submission. The cool contempt with which their first insult was thrown back in their teeth, surprised them, and they were foiled by the self-possession of one man. They had no Tecumthe among them, no master-spirit to change the plan, so as to adapt it to a new exigency; and those braves who, in many a battle, had shown themselves to be men of true valor, quailed before the moral superiority which assumed the vantage-ground of a position they could not comprehend, and therefore feared to assail.

"The Indians met immediately around their own council fire, and engaged in an animated discussion. Accustomed to a cautious warfare, they did not suppose a man of Colonel Clark's known sagacity would venture upon a display of mere gasconade, or assume any ground that he was not able to maintain; and they therefore attributed his conduct to a consciousness of strength. They knew him to be a consummate warrior; gave him the credit of having measured his own power with that of his adversary; and suspected that a powerful reinforcement was at hand."

John Scott Harrison in his address at Cleves, September 8, 1866, referred to elsewhere in this volume, seems to have accepted this story as correct for he speaks of the fort as being "rendered somewhat famous in the early settlement of the country, as the place where the distinguished and gallant General George Rogers Clark held a treaty with several tribes of Indians in 1786, and on which occasion he displayed, in a remarkable manner, that cool intrepidity of character and recklessness of danger for which he was so distinguished."

He continues from this point and gives the story according to Judge Hall's own account. Harrison must have heard the episode discussed by his father and grandfather and would hardly have accepted it, even upon Judge Hall's version, unless it was generally believed to be a true one. The statement made by Mr. Ford that General Butler was really the chief personage in these transactions is a mistake on its face. Butler was undoubtedly a very brave man but at that time he was of small importance in the estimation of the country as compared with George Rogers Clark, who was regarded by many as the man who saved the Northwestern territory to the American people. Mr. Ford undoubtedly bases his criticism on that of Mr. Craig who had never seen Major Denny's journal, and who probably would have given a different version had he been familiar with that impartial account.

CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CONGRESS AND WITH SETTLERS.

BENJAMIN STITES—JOHN CLEVES SYMMES—THE TRENTON PROSPECTUS—SYMMES STARTS WESTWARD—MATTHIAS DENMAN—THE DENMAN PURCHASE—COL. ROBERT PATTERSON—JOHN FILSON.

BENJAMIN STITES.

The immediate occasion of the settlement of Cincinnati or at least the circumstance that attracted attention to this special locality, was a marauding trip of the Indians. In the year 1786 one Maj. Benjamin Stites, of Red Stone, Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, undertook a trading expedition down the Ohio. Major Stites was a native of New Jersey, born at Scotch Plains, in Essex County, but while still a young man he emigrated to Western Pennsylvania and settled on the Ten Mile creek, in Greene County. He became a captain of militia and took a very active part in the struggles with the Indians. His venture down the Ohio was one of the numerous expeditions so common at that time. For the demands of the growing settlements in Kentucky, he carried with him in his flat-boat, flour and whiskey and other wares such as were salable at the river towns. He floated down to Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky, which though still a small place was one of considerable activity. Here was a blockhouse and the settlement was on the line of the old buffalo trail to Maysville. The boats used by the traders are thus described by a historian of the river: "A typical flat-boat of these early years was 55 feet long, 16 feet broad, with a draught of three feet; a capacious hull, accommodating under its roof horses, cattle and wagons, as well as their owners. With a good stage of water, the voyage from Pittsburg, or Red Stone, Old Fort, twenty miles above on the Monongahela, to the falls of the river, now becoming a lively centre, occupied a week or ten days; with low water, when sand bars might obstruct, a month might be required. The sides required to be built high, to be loop-holed, and made bullet-proof either by heavy timbering or the disposition of the cargo, for at many points there was danger of Indian attack. Of course, for these 'broad-horns,' there was no return against the current; they were broken up when the down stream voyage was ended, the material doing service in a thousand ways." (Hosmer's Mississippi Valley, p. 95.)

Not long before this time, General Butler, the commissioner to negotiate treaties with the Indians, recorded his impressions of this town in his diary, as follows:

"This I think to be a settlement of fine land, and believe the people will do very well, provided they have peace. There are about fifteen good cabins for families, kitchens, etc., included, and twenty-five houses. Here is a small creek, and from here a good wagon road to Lexington and other places. The people seem to be determined to defend this. Every man walks with his rifle in his hand, so inured are they to alarms. They are very civil, but possess that roughness of manner so universally attendant on seclusion from general society, where, and where only the graces are, or will be wooed, or the rough covering of the human disposition be rubbed off. This misfortune of the early settlers of new countries seems, as all other things, wisely disposed by

Providence; it fits them for the state they are in, and enables them to bear the hardships which refined men will not submit to in the first settling a country, and answers the grand purposes of extending a frontier, and introducing the rudiments of law in the wilds of America, and are fully entitled to their share of merit on a certain line; and in the first instance are the most useful people in the land and merit great encouragement for their hardship, dangers, and adventures." (The Olden Time, Vol. II, p. 45.)

Stites did not meet with great success at Limestone on this trip, and therefore he carried his goods a few miles back into the interior to a little village called Washington, where he had friends from his native town. The community was very much excited at this time, by reason of the numerous forays of the Indians, who came down the valley of the Miamis, crossed the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Licking and carried off the property, particularly the horses, of the Kentuckians. A specially wanton case of this character had occurred just prior to the arrival of Stites.

Stites was a man of great strength and courage and full of energy and also was possessed of considerable experience in Indian warfare. His enthusiasm was aroused and he volunteered to go with a party, which he was duly instrumental in raising, in pursuit of the thieves. He was selected as the leader of the party and he hastened across the country, following the trail of the Indians until the river was reached, just below where the town of Augusta now stands. From this point they kept the Kentucky side of the river down as far as a point almost opposite the mouth of the Little Miami, where it was learned that the savages had constructed a raft and crossed with their plunder, making for their towns, about the head waters of the Miamis. Stites and his party made a raft and crossed over to the Ohio or Indian side of the Ohio River, in all probabilities at a point not far from where Stites subsequently located his colony. Here was the trail of the Indians to the north through the so-called "Miami slaughter house, a name justified by the drenching of blood its soil had received before that time and was to receive in the future." The old war-path from the British garrison at Detroit crossed the Ohio at this point and this was the usual avenue of approach for the savages from the head waters of the Wabash, the Miamis and the country bordering upon the lakes, where were their towns and villages, while the southern section was now reserved for the hunting grounds. (This was but a few months after the conclusion of the treaty at Fort Finney.)

Stites followed the trail up the Little Miami to Old Town, or Old Chillicothe, an Indian village north of where Xenia now stands (not the site of the present city of Chillicothe). From this point the trail went to the head waters of the Little Miami, which it was thought prudent not to approach too closely. They went westward to the Big Miami, and in a more leisurely manner retraced their steps southward by way of Mill creek valley to the Ohio. This excursion, which was fruitless in immediate results, happening in summer, brought to the mind of the old Indian fighter the ambition to own and possess this beautiful land with its rich soil, magnificent forest and clear streams. It is asserted that before recrossing the river, he had made up his mind to go back to this valley with a colony and make there a permanent settlement. He realized that the time would not be long before a country so rich in promise would be eagerly sought by many others and that the race was for the quick. He closed out his business in Kentucky and started for New York where Congress was then in session. The story is told that his enthusiasm was so great that he walked the entire distance from Ohio. As walking was as speedy a means of locomotion in those days as anything within reach, the story does not seem improbable.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

It seems likely that Stites at first made some efforts to negotiate in person, with those of influence and authority, but he soon found that he achieved no success; it was necessary for him to join with him some one of prominence. It was his good fortune to find a man suitable for his purpose, in the person of Judge John Cleves Symmes, whose name for all time thereafter was to be identified with the undertaking, and more than any other to be credited with the movement which resulted in the settlements that now constitute one of the richest and most important communities of the land.

Judge Symmes was at this time a member of Congress from Trenton, New Jersey. He had been born July 21, 1742, at River Head on Long Island, the oldest son of Rev. Timothy and Mary (Cleves) Symmes. In early life he was a teacher and surveyor, but some time before the Revolutionary War he removed to New Jersey. He was chairman of the Sussex County Commit-

tee of Safety, and entered the army as colonel of the third battalion of militia. He served through a large part of the war, and was at the battle of Saratoga. He was elected a delegate to the New Jersey State Convention, and was one of those who drafted the State constitution. Subsequently he became Lieutenant-Governor and member of the Council, and for two years was a member of the Continental Congress (1785-86). He served twelve years as a judge of the Supreme Court of his State, during part of which time he also attended to his duties in Congress. While on the bench he presided at the famous trial of James Morgan, the murderer of the patriot James Caldwell. Symmes had married a daughter of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, was connected politically and socially with the most influential people of his time, and was the man of all men to aid Stites in his cherished plan.

Either at Trenton, as is asserted in one account, or in New York, during the session of Congress, Stites described to Symmes the beauties of the Miami country, and unfolded his plan. He proposed a purchase of a large body of land in the Miami country to be selected at the first eligible point west of the purchase of the Ohio Company and the Virginia Military Reservation: this naturally included the land lying on the Ohio River between the two Miamis. Symmes became intensely interested and with five companions he took a trip to the Miami country, in the summer of 1787, crossing the mountains and descending the Ohio River to the falls.

Colonel Harmar, who was at that time in command at the camp at the rapids of the Ohio, transmitted to the Secretary of War on June 15, 1787, what is probably the first official notice received of Symmes' plans. He states "Judge Symmes formerly a member of Congress is here and has it in contemplation to establish a settlement on the Wabash. I think it my duty to transmit you the enclosed proposals of his in order that you may be acquainted with his intentions." It will be remembered that this was prior to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and at a time when all prospective settlers seem to have been held in suspicion by the authorities.

Symmes returned to the East fully as determined as Stites had been to secure his share of this fair land. Whatever may be the fact with regard to his thought of establishing a settlement on the Wabash, his final determination pointed to the lands between the Miamis. The time was ripe for such a settlement. Congress had passed on May 20, 1785, the act declaratory of the mode in which these possessions in the territory northwest of the Ohio would be disposed of by the government. This act was followed by the famous Ordinance of July 17, 1787, dedicating forever the land northwest of the Ohio to freedom. The reports of travelers, notably of Rev. William Wood of Kentucky and others, confirmed the accounts given by Stites of the Western country.

Wood had some few years before emigrated from some part of the Atlantic States to Washington in Mason County, Kentucky, just back of Limestone and had afterwards paid visits to the East. Dr. Drake mentions his visit at Scotch Plains, three miles from Plainfield, New Jersey, where Drake's father lived. Scotch Plains was the birth place of Stites and in the same county, Union, in which was located Springfield, where Matthias Denman lived. Wood was a Baptist minister, to which persuasion the Stites family and many of the early settlers, particularly those of Columbia, belonged.

Brownsville which was Stites' ostensible home at this time was simply the head of navigation down the Monongahela and Ohio and had been for some years the usual starting point for boats carrying emigrants down the Ohio to Kentucky. Around this landing place there had grown up a settlement of boat builders and traders in supplies. Stites was one of these and in his frequent trips to Washington he had met Wood who was well acquainted with the people of his own town. Wood gave such glowing accounts of Kentucky and the Western country that all in that section of New Jersey became interested, as is indicated by the personality of the settlers who finally left that neighborhood.

Another Baptist minister, Rev. Stephen Gano, had also visited Kentucky and the West and to quote Dr. Drake "his breath of praise still further fanned the flame; till at length the iron ties of affection for home and friends were melted, and a departure was determined upon." Gano it will be seen was one of those who took his family to the West. His son, John S. Gano, and his brother-in-law, Dr. William Goforth, after halting first at Washington, finally came to Cincinnati of which both became very prominent citizens. John S. Gano was in the first landing party at Columbia. (Drake, Pioneer Life in Kentucky.)

The interest aroused by the reports of these travelers was added to by the fact that before

the expiration of the year 1787, the terms offered by Congress had been accepted by the association of New Englanders calling themselves the Ohio Company, who under the leadership of Rufus Putnam shortly afterwards effected the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum.

Symmes upon his return to the East organized a company of 24 men, among whom were Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Witherspoon and Benjamin Stites, and in his own name on August 29, 1787, presented the following memorial to Congress:

"To His Excellency, the President of Congress—The petition of John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey showeth: That your petitioner, encouraged by the resolutions of Congress of the 23rd and 27th of July last, stipulating the condition of a transfer of Federal lands on the Scioto and Muskingum rivers unto Winthrop Sargent and Manasseh Cutler, Esqrs., and their associates, of New England, is induced on behalf of the citizens of the United States, westward of Connecticut, who also wish to become purchasers of Federal lands to pray that the honorable, the Congress, will be pleased to direct that a contract be made by the honorable, the Commissioners of the Treasury Board, with your petitioner, for himself and his associates, in all respects similar in form and matter to the said grant made to Messrs. Sargent and Cutler, differing only in quantity, and place where, and instead of two townships for the use of a university, that one only be assigned for the benefit of an academy; that by such transfer to your petitioner and his associates, on their complying with the terms of sale, the fee may pass of all the lands lying within the following limits, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, thence running up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami River, thence up the main stream of the Little Miami River to the place where a due west line, to be continued from the western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant to Messrs. Sargent, Cutler & Company, shall intersect the said Little Miami River, thence due west, continuing the said western line, to the place where the said line shall intersect the main branch or stream of the Great Miami River, thence down the Great Miami to the place of beginning.

"John C. Symmes."

"New York, August 29, 1787."

There was endorsed thereon on October 2, 1787, the following:

"Ordered, that the above petition be referred to the Board of Treasury to take order."

On the day that this letter was written, Congress passed another act with relation to the contracts for public lands, and on October 23rd, an act authorizing the Board of Treasury to contract with any one for tracts of not less than one million acres of Western lands in a single purchase; the front of each on the Ohio, the Wabash or other river, should not exceed one-third the depth.

Symmes was much aided in his negotiations by Capt. Jonathan Dayton, at that time a delegate in Congress from New Jersey, and subsequently Speaker of the House of Representatives. The city of Dayton, Ohio, receives its name from this prominent Revolutionary character. Dayton carried on a correspondence throughout the negotiations with Symmes, and on many occasions was able to ward off unfavorable action. For some reason that has never become entirely clear, Symmes' proposals were viewed with considerable jealousy and there was a great deal of annoying delay and numerous objections which required the utmost tact to overcome. The original scheme contemplated the purchase of two millions of acres and this extent of territory was supposed to be included within the designated limits, although as a matter of fact the survey ultimately showed that the tract did not exceed six hundred thousand acres. The Board of Treasury, to whom the endorsement states that the petition was referred to take order, were the representatives of the Treasury Department, who were entrusted with the regulation of sales of public lands. This power was afterwards vested in the Secretary of the Treasury, and eventually in the General Land Office. The reference to the board "to take order," giving them discretionary power, was soon followed by negotiations with Symmes.

THE TRENTON PROSPECTUS.

Symmes at this time did not seem to be conscious of any serious objections to his plans and he began immediately to advertise the lands and to make grants conditioned upon a satisfactory conclusion of his negotiations with Congress. On November 26, 1787, he issued at Trenton his celebrated circular in pamphlet form, addressed "To The Respectable Public." This was

entitled "Terms of Sale and Settlement of Miami Lands."

The circular recites the negotiations with Congress and the conditions of the accepted grant. The tract was to be surveyed and the purchaser or purchasers within seven years of the completion of the survey "unless the frequencies of Indian interruptions may render the same in a measure impracticable" shall lay off the whole tract at their own expense into townships and frational parts of townships, and divide the same into lots. The lot No. 16 in each township or fractional township was to be given perpetually for the purposes mentioned in the land ordinance of May 20, 1785. "Lot No. 29 to be perpetually given for purposes of religion." Lots 8, 11, and 26 were to be reserved for the future disposition of Congress. "One complete township to be given perpetually for the purposes of an Academy or College, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as nearly opposite to the mouth of Licking River as an entire township may be found eligible in point of soil and situation, to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the State." The price of the lands was fixed for the time at one dollar an acre, subject to a reduction for bad lands and incidental charges of one-third of a dollar per acre. Bounty rights in an amount not to exceed one-seventh of the entire purchase price were to be accepted in lieu of cash. For the purpose of raising money for the first payment, Symmes offered to issue land warrants for any number of acres not less than 100, permitting the purchaser to select his location from a map in Symmes' possession. The terms of payment were at the rate of 66 2-3 cents an acre but "after the first day of May next, the price of the land will be one dollar per acre, and after the first day of November next, the price will rise still higher if the country is settled as fast as is expected." This increased purchase price was to be applied to the making of roads and bridges. The purchasers were given two years in which to settle upon their location. In default of compliance with the conditions of settlement, forfeitures under certain conditions were provided for. The following is the comment upon this provision: "Perhaps some may think that two years is too short a time for making the settlement required; but if gentlemen will reflect on the danger from the Indians attending the first settlers, the great difficulties which those meet, who first occupied the desert, the extent of the Federal territory open in every quarter to emigrants, and that the value of land depends almost entirely on the number of its inhabitants, the subscriber believes that two years will be thought time sufficient for the purpose. The subscriber having been in the Western country is so fully persuaded of the great benefit that will result from this regulation, that he must cheerfully submit to it himself, and perhaps few will be more affected thereby." Ministers of the Gospel were cordially invited into the country to enjoy the use of lot No. 29 in each township. Schoolmasters "capable of discharging with propriety the duties of such instructors" were promised the free use and benefit of lot No. 16. "The subscriber hopes that the respectable public will not think it unreasonable in him, when he informs them that the only privilege which he reserves for himself, as a small reward for his trouble in this business, is the exclusive right of selecting or locating that entire township, which will be lowest down in the point of land formed by the Ohio and Great Miami Rivers, and those three fractional parts of townships which may lie north, west, and south, between such entire township and the waters of the Ohio and Great Miami. This point of land, the subscriber intends paying for himself, and thereon to lay out a handsome town-plat, with eligible streets, and lots of sixty feet wide in front and rear, and one hundred and twenty feet deep, every other lot of which shall be given freely to any person who shall first apply for the same, lot No. 1 being retained, lot No. 2 given away, and thus alternately throughout the town —upon conditions always, that the person so applying for, and accepting of, a given lot or lots, without evasion, build a house or cabin on each lot so given, within two years after the date of the first payment made to the Treasury Board, and occupy the same by keeping some family therein for the first three years after building. Every person who would accept of a town lot first, as aforesaid, shall have the privilege of cutting, on the subscriber's adjacent land, as much timber for building as donee shall need during the term of three years from the time when he first begins to build on his lot." Such was the scheme which was to build the great city that Symmes had in mind, as the emporium of the Miami Valley.

His prospectus, not unlike those of later date, continues with encouraging comments upon the land offered for settlement. "The subscriber

begs leave to add for the information of those who are unacquainted with the country that from his own view of this land, bordering on the River Ohio, and the unanimous report of all those who have traveled over the tract in almost every direction, it is supposed to be equal to any part of the Federal territory in point of quality of soil and excellence of climate, it lying in the latitude of about 38° north, where the winters are moderate and no extreme heats in summer. Its situation is such as to command the navigation of several fine rivers, as may be seen on the maps of that country; boats are frequently passing by this land as they ply up and down the Ohio." Other attractions offered are the absence of mountains, the level character of the country, stone quarries, the springs and rivulets and fine mill streams, the fact that the two Miamis were supposed to be navigable beyond the northern extent of the purchase, the accessibility of salt on the banks of the Licking River, and the easy means of transportation for provisions from the Pittsburg, Red Stone and Wheeling settlements or from Kentucky. Another alluring incident is the certainty of a clear title, which is supposed to be an advantage over the purchase of Kentucky lands. As title without the ability to defend one's occupancy is not of the greatest value, the circular continues: "The Honorable, the Secretary at War, General Knox, having assured the subscriber of his friendly disposition to support the settlers against the Indians, by replacing a garrison of Federal troops in the fort, which is still remaining on the land at the mouth of the Great Miami, must greatly facilitate the settlement and in some measure render safety to the first adventurers." The promise of good government and wholesome laws and the wisest regulations for promoting emigration, protecting and rendering happy those who become peaceable settlers therein, and the assurances that the subscriber will give his personal superintendence to the settlement, conclude this interesting document.

It is not strange that so promising an invitation to share in the location of the future metropolis of the West should find acceptors. It was most fitting, too, that the first warrant should have been issued to the man to whose far-seeing enterprise the credit of the undertaking is due. Without awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations with Congress, Symmes proceeded to issue certificates, the first of which reads as follows:

No. 1 MIAMI LAND-WARRANT.

This entitles Benjamin Stites
his Heirs or Assigns, to locate one
Section, in which the Fee of 640 Acres
shall pass, subject to the Terms of settlement.

Dated the sevent teenth Day of December A. D. 1787.
Signed by JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.
Countersigned by
BENJAMIN STITES
Speshel At the point betwixt the mouth
of the little miame and the ohio in the pint.

Stites obtained this warrant by virtue of his contract with Symmes, of November 9, 1787, which appears upon the records of Hamilton County (Book A, p. 3), as follows:

"WHEREAS, Congress, by their resolution of the 22d day of October, 1787, directed the Commissioners of the Treasury Board to contract with John Cleves Symmes for all the lands lying between the two Miami Rivers to a certain line which forms the northern boundary thereof, These may certify that if Captain Benjamin Stites shall raise certificates to pay for twenty thousand acres of the same, or any larger quantity, he shall have it at the price agreed with the Treasury board, which is five shillings in liquidated certificates per acre, making payment therefor, and in all things conforming to the conditions of the contract, with the Treasury Board and also with the articles or conditions of the sale and settlement of the land, which will be published by John C. Symmes. On Captain Stites purchasing 20,000 acres, of the land or any larger quantity, he shall have the privilege of appointing one Surveyor to assist in runing [sic] out the Country, so far as the proportion he purchases shall be to the whole Tract, which Surveyor shall be intitled to receive the same fees for his service as the other surveyor as the other Surveyor [sic] employed on that service shall receive. As soon as Credit or time of payment can be given, agreeable to the Contract, Capt Stites shall have the benefit thereof as all other purchasers shall have, but this is not till after the two first payments.

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES."

"NEW YORK, 9th November, 1787."

This contract was followed by another contract, made at Brunswick, New Jersey, on December 17, 1787:

"Captain Benjamin Stites enters ten thousand acres and the fractions on the Ohio and little miami and is to take in Mr. John Carpenter as

one of his Company, to be on lines or sections on the Ohio and little Miami from the point. And ten thousand acres on equal lines or Sections at the Mill Stream falling in to the Ohio between the little and great Miami, which, when the Certificates therefor are paid and the record book opened shall be recorded to him and to such of his Company as join therefor.

JOHN C. SYMMES."

"NEW BRUNSWICK the 17th December, 1787."

After this there was added, without date of record, the following:

"The last ten thousand acres is to be taken in the following manner two Sections at the mouth of Mill Creek & the residue to begin four miles from the Ohio up mill creek. Captain Stites takes four Sections on the little Miami with the fractions next adjoining the ten thousand acres where it comes to the little Miami. And four Sections with the fractions next above the range of Townships taken by Daniel ———— Esqr. on the little Miami." (Book A, p. 3. Hamilton County Recorder's Office.)

By the 8th of February, 1793, Captain Stites had paid in full for his land, as will appear from the following receipt:

"CINCINNATI, February the 8th, 1793.

"Received of Benjamin Stites, Esqr. at different payments Certificates of debts due by the United States to the amount of ten thousand six hundred and fifty-two dollars and twenty-three ninetieths of a dollar in payment for different parts of the Miami purchase lying, as may appear by location of Mr. Stites, ten thousand acres round Columbi, Seven Sections on the waters of Mill Creek for different people as will appear by the Miami records, and about three or four sections in the neighborhood of Coovlts Station, and in cash, orders and other articles to the amount of one hundred and fifty-eight pounds eight shillings and eight pence, for which lands, accommodate to the several locations I promise to make a Deed in fee simple as soon as I am inabled by receiving my deed from the United States.

"JOHN C. SYMMES."

"JOHN GANNO."

(Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Deed Book A, p. 3.)

The moneys and certificates received from Stites were used of course by Symmes in making his first payment. It was this fact which made the effort to compel Symmes to fix his eastern boundary upon a line twenty miles east of the mouth of the Great Miami, so embarrassing, as of course Stites' location was entirely outside this tract.

Symmes had supposed that the amount of land included in his first purchase would reach two millions of acres, and he soon became conscious of the fact that this was a larger undertaking than he had expected to engage in. For this reason, on the 11th of June, 1788, he addressed to the Treasury Board, the following communication:

"Gentlemen—Meeting with some difficulties which attend obtaining the general pleasure of the late Jersey line with regard to their bounty lands, so as to procure that credit therefor, in the discharge of my first payment in my late contract, which I had premised to myself, I beg leave to relinquish my former purchase, upon condition, however, that your honors be pleased to enter into a new contract with me for a part of the same lands, of 1,000,000 of acres fronting on the Ohio and extending inland from the Ohio between the Great Miami River and the Little Miami River, the whole breadth of the country from river to river, so far as to include on an east and west rear line, 1,000,000 acres, exclusive of the five reserved sections in every township, as directed in the ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785, and that the present grant be made on the principles laid down by the resolution of Congress of the 23d of October last."

Upon delivery of the foregoing by him to the commissioners, he received from them a statement showing how his account stood. He was charged with a million acres of land at two-thirds of a dollar an acre, and a calculation was then made showing the amount of cash and the amount of army rights that he would be obliged to turn in. His first payment was calculated to amount to $83,333 1/3. A few days later the board replied to his new proposition in the following letter:

"BOARD OF TREASURY, June 16, 1788.

"Sir—We are favored with your letter of the 11th instant relinquishing your pretensions to a contract for 2,000,000 acres of land, agreeably to the act of Congress of 20th of August, 1787, and proposing one for a million of acres to be

entered into on the principles laid down by the act of Congress of the 23d of October last. We can not agree to the boundaries as you have proposed, but are willing to contract with you for a million of acres within a tract bounded as follows: Beginning at a certain point on the north side of the river Ohio, that shall be found to be twenty miles distant along the courses thereof, from the mouth of the Great Miami River, thence extending down the said river Ohio, along the several courses thereof to the Great Miami River, thence up the Miami along the different courses of the same to such distance that a certain point shall be fixed due east from the same, from whence a direct line running nearly parallel with the general direction of the Miami, terminating in the aforesaid point on the Ohio at the place of beginning, shall include 1,000,000 of acres. We request an early answer to this letter, and are, sir, your most obedient humble servants,

"WALTER LIVINGSTON,
"ARTHUR LEE."

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES, ESQ."

This boundary would leave Stites and a number of other purchasers entirely outside the Miami purchase. The controversy started at this time threatened for years to involve the Miami purchase in continual litigation. Three years later, July 19, 1791, Governor Arthur St. Clair issued a proclamation warning against purchases outside this land and defining the boundaries of the purchases very much as in this letter. The complications growing out of this matter were endless, and for many years Judge Symmes' life was embittered by them. At this time, however, he felt it wise to let the matter drift, although many conferences were had with the commissioners. He endeavored to convince them of the unreasonable character of their demand, especially in view of the lack of knowledge of the geography of the country which would make the settlement on an imaginary point of the river. There seemed to be no yielding, however, at that time on the part of the representatives of the government. Without any definite acceptance, he continued to temporize, by making payments as per vouchers, as follows:

"NEW YORK, July 12, 1788.

"This is to certify that the several payments paid into my hands by John Cleves Symmes, Esq., in public securities, up to this date, amount to upwards of seventy-two thousand dollars on account of the lands in the Western Territory which he purchased of the Honorable the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury.

"M. HILLEGAS, Treas."

"The Honorable Jonathan Dayton, Esq., has lodged in this office applications of individuals, who formerly belonged to the New York and New Jersey lines of the late army, amounting to 29,600 acres, to be received in the purchase of John Cleves Symmes, Esq., but that the said applications have not been critically examined, either as to the validity of the assignments or the rights of the claimants, although it is probable from a cursory examination that most of the claims are well founded. A particular examination will be made into this subject in a few days.

Signed "J. KNOX."

"WAR OFFICE, this 12th of July, 1788."

"This is to certify that the foregoing is a copy of the original lodged in the Treasurer's Office.

"M. HILLEGAS, Treas."

"NEW YORK, July 14, 1788."

Armed with these assurances of good faith, Symmes on July 14, 1788, presented to the board his answer to their letter of June 16th, as follows:

"Having been honored by the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, beg leave in answer thereto to observe that my ardent wish is to adhere to the banks of both the Miamis in the boundaries of the one million of acres, as great inconveniences will arise to many of my associates if we are excluded the banks of the Little Miami, but if this shall be deemed by you inadmissible, the geography of the country between the two Miamis is too little known to afford sufficient information on the subject to enable me to say at this time what line could, with propriety, be drawn from the river Ohio to an imaginary point, to be fixed somewhere between the two Miamis so as to include one million of acres adjoining the Great Miami. I am, however, willing to be governed by reasonable principles, and, in order to treat with your honors on the question of boundary with that understanding which is so necessary, I beg the permission of your honorable Board to enter the premises with a number of settlers, and survey the land, which I will attempt to effect in the course of this season, that an accurate map of the country may be spread on your table on which you may delineate your pleasure. In the first instance I will defray

the expense of such survey, but shall expect a reimbursement of my expeditures from the United States, as the exterior lines of all their grants are to be run by them. In this I shall be much obliged if the geographer general may be instructed to appoint the surveyor to do this business. I am content that, for the present, any further progress on my second application be suspended. I have paid what I consider a sufficiency, both in money and army rights, to fulfill the first payment, and until we have better knowledge, I conceive any further stipulations of boundaries would be rather premature."

This obvious attempt at aggressive expansion did not meet the views of the commissioners. It was realized fully by them that the possession would probably be nine points of the law, and if Judge Symmes should enter upon the land for the ostensible purpose of surveying the same, he would be in a much better position to enforce his claims for the grant as he desired it. There was endorsed thereafter upon his letter, the following minute:

"On a conference on the subject of this letter, delivered by Mr. Symmes in person, the Board informed him that they could not recede from their proposition of the 16th of June, nor authorize him to enter on the premises previous to a payment on those conditions.

"WM. DUER."

Of course Symmes could not accede to the conditions referred to, by reason of his proceedings in selling warrants for locations to Stites and others whose payments he had used in payment of his obligations to the Treasury. He was further moved by the fact that these people had already begun preparations to take charge of the land and commence their settlements, and that his own force was assembling. One-half of it in fact had already crossed the Delaware, and the rest were ready to start, and looking to him for supplies. He discusses the situation in a letter to Elias Boudinot, one of his associates, under date of July 18, 1788, as follows:

"Last Tuesday I left New York despairing of settling my business to my mind with the Commissioners of the Treasury Board. I cannot comprehend the grounds of their extreme hesitation to close on my terms, as I conceive no possible detriment could accrue to the United States. Four thousand dollars and upwards are paid more than the cash part of the first payment, and the Hon. Capt. Dayton has lodged almost double the army rights that was required. On doing this and producing the Treasurer's receipt for the certificates and General Knox's certificate for the bounty rights paid in, I applied to the Board for leave to enter and survey the exterior lines and take the traverse of the Ohio and the two Miamis and lay before the Board a map of the country, that we might the better govern ourselves with regard to the line between the first million and the residue of my first purchase. This seemed to be agreed the first day when the three commisioners only were present, but the secretary to the Board raised so many objections the second day that nothing was done. The gentlemen insisted that I should be explicit in my answer to their letter on the subject of boundary to the one million, which I was for that time obliged to decline. If I was confident that the East Jersey Company would succeed, I should be quite indifferent where the line was drawn between the first and second million, so that Capt. Benjamin Stites and others who have located on that side towards the Little Miami were indemnified and saved in their locations. But I fear the success of the East Jersey Company is not quite certain. I suspect others have their views upon the residue as well as your Company. I fear also a failure of raising the certificates necessary for the first payment before accounts are transmitted by the first emigrants of the quality and geography of the country. These reasons induced me to aim at making a lodgment before any express boundary was stipulated. I still mean to attempt this. I have General Knox's letter to General Harmar, to furnish me with a small detachment of troops. If my progress is not arrested by the Board, I shall soon make a lodgment on the land. In the meantime I shall confide in you and the other gentlemen composing the East Jersey Company, to ward off from me every measure that may tend to impede my establishing a settlement. I rely most confidently on the kind interposition of Capt. Dayton and our other Jersey Delegates, and I am much deceived if there be not many other gentlemen in Congress who wish to see a settlement established at Miami."

SYMMES STARTS WESTWARD.

In accordance with the statement in the letter to Boudinot, Symmes concluded to start westward. Stites had already preceded him and had

VIEW FROM MOUNT ADAMS.

THE SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

(From a Photograph. Copyright 1902, by Rombach & Groene, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

arrived at Limestone in July, some time before Judge Symmes, where he had joined the party of Rev. Stephen Gano, there since June 5th. The Judge left New Jersey in July, with a train of 14 four-horse wagons and accompanying the wagons were a number of persons on horseback. The party included sixty people, among whom were his own family. He traveled in a very leisurely manner across the country to Pittsburg, and thence to Wheeling, to which point he had sent his horses by land from Devon's Ferry, thirty-five miles up the Monongahela River; he himself with his people traveled down the Monongahela and Ohio on boats. He regretted afterwards that he had not used oxen in his teams instead of horses, as he would have saved much money by it, and recommended to his Eastern friends, who thought of coming to his country, that they should use oxen. "They are cheaper by one-half in the first purchase, not so much exposed to accidents, the Indians have never disturbed them in any instance (except in the attack on Colerain, when the enemy took all the cattle for the supply of their small army) and after long service they are still of their original value." The road lay through a region which was not regarded in any sense as hostile, and his principal obstacles were rain and bad roads. Seven broken axletrees represent his damage, by the time he had reached Pittsburg, which was August 20th. The members of his party were received with great hospitality by the people of this Western settlement, and the ladies of his party found the ladies of Pittsburg exceedingly polite and agreeable and felt much regret that they must leave them so soon.

Judge Burnet says that Congress upon learning of his departure had become alarmed and feared that his object was to get possession and then set that body at defiance. "Under that impression a resolution was offered, ordering Colonel Harmar, who was stationed with his regiment below Pittsburg, to dispossess him, and directing the expense to be paid out of the money deposited and the residue to be returned. Fortunately Dr. Boudinot and General Dayton, two of his associates, were in Congress at the time, and were able to make such explanations, as induced a withdrawal of the resolution, on their assurance that the contract should be executed, in due form without unnecessary delay. To comply with that engagement, they despatched Daniel Marsh, one of the associates, to go in pursuit of the Judge and induce him to return, or to execute a power of attorney, authorizing some of his friends to complete the contract for him. Mr. Marsh overtook him at Pittsburg, preparing to descend the river. Without any hesitation he gave a letter of attorney, authorizing his associates, Jonathan Dayton and Daniel Marsh, to execute the contract in such form as they might see proper. Mr. Marsh then returned, and the Judge proceeded to the Miami country.

"As soon as the power of attorney was received, the agents consulted with their associates, and on their advice executed a contract of three parts on the 15th of October, 1788, between the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury, of the first part, Jonathan Dayton and Daniel Marsh, of the second part, and John C. Symmes and his associates of the third part. By that contract the quantity of land named in his proposition to the Board of Treasury, was reduced to one million of acres; and the south boundary instead of running from one Miami to the other, according to the first proposition, terminated at a point on the Ohio River, twenty miles above the mouth of the Big Miami, which on survey was found to be within the limits of Cincinnati; thence northwardly, parallel with the general course of the Big Miami for quantity." (Burnet's Notes on Northwestern Territory, p. 414.)

Symmes undoubtedly was much annoyed at the reports he received at Pittsburg. In writing back from this point, he says:

"I shall now, sir, attempt a brief answer to your letters, but can do it much better after I have been on the Miami lands, as I shall then be master of the subject, which, at present, I do not pretend to be, so far as relates to the boundary line to be drawn. It gives me pain that any of my good friends should be *uneasy and discontented* that I should venture on the lands before every minutia of the business was settled with the honorable commissioners of the Treasury Board. I have their express terms and proposed boundary, and while I keep myself within their proposed limits no exception can possibly be taken by them. It is I, sir, that will have cause of complaint, if I confine myself to the twenty miles front, and not the honorable commissioners. Surely, therefore, they will never think of dislodging me from the ground which themselves have proposed for our settlement.

"I shall always have the caution not to exceed what I have their concurrence to. The land they grant, I accept. I think I ought to have

more, but still I confine myself till that question is settled. I thank you, sir, for your kind interposition with the two honorable gentlemen of the Board. I am sure, however, that those two gentlemen could not justly charge me with *impropriety of conduct*, when I told them expressly that I could not give a full and definite answer to their letter to me on the subject of boundary, but that I would answer it, conclusively, as soon as I was able to inform myself and them of the meanders and courses of the Ohio and Great Miami. This, I expect, a very short time will do."

The party staid at Pittsburg for two days and then started on their voyage down the Ohio with a fine stream of water as a result of heavy rain. They reached Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, August 24th, at which point Lieut. Ebenezer Denny met them. He comments upon them in his "Military Journal" as follows. "Judge Symmes with several boats and families arrived on their way to his new purchase on the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman, an amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind about to be buried in the wilderness." The young woman who impressed Major Denny, who was thoroughly familiar with the wilderness to which she was bound, as he had spent the winter two years before at Fort Finney, at the lower end of Symmes' lands, subsequently became the wife of Peyton Short, and is said to have justified all that Major Denny said of her. The party left Marietta, August 27th, and proceeded to Limestone.

Stites was already at Limestone, having arrived there in July, after descending the waters of the Monongahela and Ohio, on a broadhorn boat. He and his party had been for some time engaged in cutting out clapboards to roof their new homes.

MATTHIAS DENMAN

In the meantime another party was collecting to join with Symmes and Stites in their venture. The man who gave his name to this company was Matthias Denman, a Jersey man, residing at Springfield, Essex County, where he practically made his home until the time of his death. Denman is called by many the founder of Cincinnati, because of the fact that he it was that made the purchase upon which subsequently was located the city. This title, however, does not seem to be entirely justified as he was in no sense a pioneer, but simply a speculator in lands in the new country, and a member of the Jersey Company. He never lived on his purchase and contributed little if anything to the life of this community. After his early visits to this neighborhood, he returned to New Jersey, and so far as is known remained there until the day of his death. He sold his interests in Cincinnati in 1795. Francis W. Miller, the author of "Cincinnati's Beginnings," is said to have visited him in 1830, and Mr. Ford, in his history, says:

"That he was a man of some intelligence, enterprise and energy, may be inferred from the incidents of his connection with this enterprise in the then wilderness west; but we do not learn that he attained to any special distinction in his own State, or even where he was born or when he died."

D. F. Denman of Coshocton, Ohio, a grandson of Matthias Denman, has furnished for this work a sketch of the life of Matthias Denman which has been placed in the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. From this sketch it is learned that Denman came of an old English family, one of whom landed in Boston in 1635.

Matthias Denman was born at Springfield, New Jersey, February 13, 1751. The greater part of his early life was spent upon his father's farm. He learned the trade of making buckskin breeches, a very important one in those days, but he never followed this vocation but gave the greater part of his life to agricultural pursuits. He was a noted horseman and until the year of his death he was devoted to horseback riding. In September, 1770, he married Phoebe Baldwin, the daughter of Capt. Ennis Baldwin, who afterwards was a Revolutionary officer. Matthias Denman was one of the "Minute Men" during the Revolution. At the close of the war he bought a number of land warrants which were issued by Congress to soldiers and foreseeing to some extent the future of the Western country he determined to locate his warrants in what is now the State of Ohio. He thus became the owner of many thousands of acres in Coshocton, Licking and other counties in Ohio and in the northern part of Kentucky.

In the winters of 1787 and 1788 he became interested in the Symmes contemplated purchase and located the tract opposite the mouth of the Licking. He first associated with him in this

undertaking Robert Patterson and afterwards John Filson who selected the name Losantiville.

Mr. Denman in the sketch of his grandfather, says: "Judge Burnet in his 'Notes' disputes this and asserts the name of Losantiville was proposed but was not adopted. I think Judge Burnet mistaken as I know positively that Matthias Denman said that the town was so called until the coming of Governor St. Clair in 1790." This matter has been discussed at length in another chapter.

After the settlement Denman returned to his home in New Jersey. He never became a resident of Ohio although he naturally watched its development and growth with great interest until the infirmities of age prevented him. He made at least biennial and often annual trips to the West. These trips were made on horseback his favorite mode of travel. He visited Cincinnati in 1798, 1801, 1811 and 1824.

He died January 24, 1841, lacking but a few days of having completed his 90th year. During the last ten years of his life he became blind. He was buried in the Springfield Cemetery near the old Presbyterian Church which stands on the site of the one built before the Revolution and burned by the British soldiers in revenge for the part taken in the war by its minister, Caldwell, who had supplied the lack of wadding with the church hymn books and the statement "Now give them Watts, boys."

The portrait of Matthias Denman given in this work is from an old family painting owned by D. F. Denman.

THE DENMAN PURCHASE.

In January, 1788, Matthias Denman purchased of Symmes, the entire section 18 and fractional section 17, lying between the former section and the river, on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking.

The purpose of Denman in making this purchase was not only to form a station and lay out a town but to establish a ferry opposite the mouth of the Licking River. The last named object in fact was probably the most important of the three, strange as this may seem to the present inhabitants of the city. As has already been said, the old Indian war-path from the British garrison at Detroit crossed at this point. This too was the usual route which the savages at the head waters of the Miamis and the Wabash took in their attacks on the Kentucky stations. It was along this line too that Gen. George Rogers Clark with his troops crossed the Ohio on his raids against the Indians and this would naturally be on the line of communication between settlements to be made on the Miamis and those established in Kentucky as there was at that time no other crossing nearer than the one at Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky.

The boundaries of this purchase in a general way are as follows: Beginning at a point on the Ohio River almost due south of the junction of Broadway with Front street which would be almost at the point where the west line of Broadway continued would strike the river, thence north on the section line to a point a little west of the intersection of Hunt and Liberty streets at the point where Burnet avenue continued south would intersect Liberty street (this was about the northeast corner of the property known for so long a time as the homestead of Hon. George H. Pendleton); thence due west a mile along Liberty street to a point two hundred feet west of Central avenue, thence south to the river to a point south of the gas works and a little east of the point where Park street continued would strike the river, thence east along the river to the place of beginning. The eastern line cuts Third street a trifle west of the intersection with Ludlow, and Fourth street at the intersection with Lawrence, and Fifth street just west of Pike, Sixth at the Eggleston avenue intersection and Court a little east of its intersection with Gilbert avenue. The western line crosses John street between Clark and Hopkins, Court street a little east of Mound and runs a little east of Mound until at its junction with Fifth street the line passes through Hughes High School. The section line between section 18 and fractional section 17 begins at a point a little north of the intersection of Front and Broadway and runs due west cutting Sycamore south of Second street and Main at Second street, Walnut above Second, Pearl at Race, Central avenue below McFarland, Fourth at Smith, and striking the western line a little north of Fourth just south of Hughes High School.

This territory contains all of section 18 which would be a square mile or 640 acres and the number of acres in the fractional section 17 which in the warrant presented on behalf of Denman was estimated as 107.8 acres, while in fact it is claimed it contained nearer 160 or even more.

The records of Hamilton County show the entries relating to this location, as follows:

"May 22, 1790 Israel Ludlow in behalf of

Matthias Denman of New Jersey, Assignee of Joseph Halsey Junr presents for entry and location a warrant for one section of 640 acres of land by virtue of which he locates the eighteenth section in the fourth township East of the Great Miami in the first fractional range, being the first mile north from the Ohio River. No. of the warrant 538." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Mortgage Book 20, p. 36.)

"1791, April 4th. Captain Israel Ludlow, in behalf of Mr. Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, presents for entry and location a warrant for one fraction of a section or one hundred and seven & 8 10 of an acre of land, by virtue of which he locates the seventeenth fractional section in the fourth township east of the Great Miami River, in the first fractional range of townships on the Ohio River. No. of the warrant 192." (Mortgage Book 20, p. 40.)

There is appended to this record the following entry:

"Cincinnati stands partly on this fraction. There is a great deal more in this fraction than 107 8 10 acres, & nearer 100 acres, which has not been paid for all over 107 8 10 acres." (Mortgage Book 20, p. 40.)

Warrants, numbers 192 and 538, referred to are recorded in Book H, page 203, in the Hamilton County Recorder's Office.

Dr. A. E. Jones comments on these entries as follows:

"If these warrants represent the correct number of acres in fractional No. 17 and section No. 18, there were in the purchase and original town plat 747 8 10 acres, instead of 740 acres as has been stated, making the aggregate cost, at five shillings, or sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre, New Jersey currency, $498.53⅓. But as the payment was made in Continental certificates, worth at that time only five shillings to the pound, the actual cost in specie was $124.63, or sixteen and two-thirds cents per acre; but the cost to Denman may have been, and probably was, much less, as he no doubt purchased these certificates at a heavy discount." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 22.)

Judge Burnet in speaking on this subject in his "Notes" says: "A misapprehension has prevailed as appears from some recent publications in regard to the price paid by the proprietors for the land on which the city stands. The original purchase by Mr. Denman, included a section and a fractional section, containing eight hundred acres, for which he paid five shillings per acre, in Continental Certificates which were then worth, in specie, five shillings on the pound—so that the specie price per acre was fifteen pence. That sum multiplied by the number of acres, will give the original cost of the plat of Cincinnati." (Notes on the Northwestern Territory, p. 49.)

Mr. Cist states that:

"It has been repeatedly asserted in print that the purchase cost $40,000 only, but the sum actually paid for it was almost $50,000; the price being five shillings—66 2/3 cts. per acre." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 10.)

Mr. Cist's statement is undoubtedly correct, but when viewed in the light of the suggestions made by Dr. Jones and Judge Burnet it is not hard to understand the grounds of the assertion often made that the original site of Cincinnati cost less than fifty dollars, or a little over sixteen cents an acre. Jonathan Dayton, one of the Jersey Company, writing to Symmes, March 20, 1790, seems to have been inclined to believe that Denman was making too much out of his bargain. He says:

"It seems that Denman has never yet covered with any warrant the section on which they are building Losantiville. I hear that he has been buying from Halsey and others two or three of your warrants on cheaper terms than he can get them from you or me, intending to lay one of them on that section. As he, neither by this nor any other means, has aided our second payment in the least, I think you would do rightly to prevent his covering the Losantiville section with any warrant but what he shall now buy from you, or me as your agent, and pay your price of £6 3 or £7 6 for, in certificates to be applied toward the next payment. You had better inform both him and me by letter of your determination in this matter, but not to mention from whom you gained your information."

Denman, as we have seen by the entries quoted above, presented warrants for the location of the sections mentioned covering the ground in the original plat of the town. These warrants were not both originally issued to him, but he obtained one of them at least by an assignment from Halsey, at a discount of course.

Symmes and Denman seem to have been in a continuous controversy with regard to the purchase of these sections. In his letter of August 15, 1789, Dayton writes Symmes: "It is proper to acquaint you that neither Steile, Witham, Downer, Halsey, nor Denman has complied with the contracts entered into with you.

Denman refused to pay a single certificate, because as he informs me, you have been selling to others all the lands he located. If this be untrue, and any of Denman's locations are reserved for him, I wish you to acquaint me. Thus circumstanced as we are, you will readily perceive that we have made but little progress and derived little or no benefit from your different contracts towards making the next payment."

Symmes answers this charge in his letter of January 6, 1790: "The insidious reports which have been spread abroad of my selling the same lands several times over, while no failure appeared on the part of the first purchasers, are really vexatious to me. Mr. Denman, it seems, affects to avail himself of this pretext in order to excuse himself from the payment of those certificates which he assured me he would immediately pay to you on his return from this country. I shall not now say how true or false his allegations are of my selling to others the lands which he had located, but instead thereof I enclose to you the original locations, as he calls them, which in plain speaking are only applications, for indeed no man had a right to locate one foot after my arrival in this country, unless he produced a warrant to cover the same."

He states in this letter that the locations entered by Denman and Ludlow were about two hundred and forty thousand acres and that Denman had paid for two or three sections at most from which the two sections, 17 and 18, were to be taken out.

"Mr. Denman had paid me to the amount of about fifteen hundred dollars in certificates, but even part of these he had again drawn out of my hands by orders on me in favor of other people, and his section opposite Licking is to be paid for, out of these. By Mr. Denman's letters it does not appear that he ever wished to take any steps toward making payment for the vast tracts which he had applied for—suppose it could have been reduced to certainty in what quarter of the purchase they lay—but no mortal knew, or yet knows, where more than one acre in twenty lay of what he had pointed out in his applications."

Symmes' difficulties with prospective settlers are told in the same letter. He complains that many people applied to him for land and that the alternative was left to him either to consider the locations made by Denman for which he had not paid and for which there was no certainty that he would pay as void or to reject indiscriminately all applications until it should suit Mr. Denman to tell him whether he intended to make any further payments for the land or not. This latter course would have stopped all sales in the purchase until it suited the convenience of Mr. Denman to make payments for his own locations.

It was but shortly after this that Dayton sent Symmes the warning of March 20th, already referred to; however, in May, Denman, as has already been seen, presented a warrant which had been assigned to him by Halsey and which under the privilege claimed by him as one of the company he used to cover the Losantiville section.

Denman in the summer of 1788 made a visit to the West and probably to the site of his purchase, and on his way back he stopped at Limestone where he met Col. Robert Patterson, and afterwards, at Lexington, the schoolmaster, John Filson. He succeeded in interesting them in his project and finally entered into a partnership with them, the purpose of which was to obtain the services of Filson in surveying and staking off the tract and superintending the sale of the lots. Patterson was to obtain purchasers and settlers, and Denman was the capitalist of the partnership, who was to be responsible for all matters relating to the purchase from the company.

Filson was probably as well acquainted with the neighborhood as any other man, and Patterson was a man of very great influence. The agreement of partnership upon which so much of future wealth depended, was signed probably at Lexington, Kentucky, and as acknowledged by Patterson, was entered upon the records of Hamilton County, Ohio, October 6, 1803. It reads as follows:

"A covenant and agreement made and concluded this twenty fifth day of August, 1788, Between Matthias Denman of Essex County, New Jersey State, of the one part, and Robert Patterson and John Filson of Lexington Fayette

County Kentucky of the other part, Witnesseth, That the aforesaid Matthias Denman having made entry of a tract of land on the northwest side of Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking river in that district which Judge Symmes has purchased from Congress, and being seized thereof by right of entry to contain six hundred and forty acres and the fractional parts that may pertain. Do grant bargain and sell the full two-thirds thereof by an equal undivided right in partnership unto the af. said Robert Patterson and John Filson their heirs or assigns and upon producing indisputable testimony of his the said Denmans indisputable right and title to the said premises they the said Patterson & Filson shall pay the sum of twenty pounds Virginia currency to the said Denman or to his heirs or assigns, as a full remittance for monies by him advanced in pay of sd land. every other institution, determination and regulation respecting the laying off a town and establishing a Ferry at and upon the premises to be the result of the united advice & consent of the parties in covenant as aforesaid and by these presents the parties bind themselves for the true performance of these covenants to each other in the penal sum of one thousand pounds Specie, hereunto affixing their hands and seals the day and year above written.

"Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Henry Owen, Abn. McConnall

"MATTHIAS DENMAN, [SEAL.]
"R. PATTERSON, [SEAL.]
"JOHN FILSON" [SEAL.]

Recorded October 6, 1803 in Book D-1, page 65.

Immediately after the execution of this agreement, it was arranged for Filson to proceed as soon as possible with the planning of the premises and arranging generally for the donation of lots to first settlers and for religious and public uses. The first thing entered upon was the construction of a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking and the establishment of the ferry across the river. The interest of the public was sought in the following advertisement published in the *Kentucky Gazette*, at Lexington, on September 6, 1788.

"Notice.—The subscribers, being proprietors of a tract of land opposite the mouth of the Licking river, on the northwest side of the Ohio, have determined to lay off a town upon that excellent situation. The local and natural advantages speak its future prosperity, being equal, if not superior, to any on the bank of the Ohio between the Miamis. The in-lots to be each, half an acre, the out-lots, four acres, thirty of each to be given to settlers upon payment of one dollar and fifty cents for the survey and deed of each lot. The 15th day of September is appointed for a large company to meet in Lexington and mark a road from there to the mouth of the Licking, provided Judge Symmes arrives, being daily expected. When the town is laid off lots will be given to such as may become residents before the first day of April next.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN,
"ROBERT PATTERSON,
"JOHN FILSON."

COL. ROBERT PATTERSON.

To Denman's partners and particularly to Patterson belongs, more than to Denman himself, the title of pioneer in the Cincinnati enterprise. Col. Robert Patterson had been a gallant soldier of the Indian wars. He was born March 23, 1753, and was in the service of his State, defending it against the savages before he was 21 years of age. In 1774 he with six other young men settled at Royal Spring, near Georgetown, Kentucky, from which point, in April, 1776, they removed to a city where afterwards was the city of Lexington. Patterson was wounded shortly afterwards in a fight with the Indians, while on his way to Pittsburg to procure supplies, and was under the care of a surgeon for about a year. He joined the expedition of George Rogers Clark against the Illinois country in April, 1778, and returned to Kentucky in September. He settled for a time at Harrodsburg. During the next year, being then an ensign in the Kentucky militia, he proceeded to his former residence, and built and garrisoned a fort, and in April laid off the town of Lexington. The next month he was with Bowman, in his expedition against the Shawanee towns on the Little Miami. It is suggested that while on this expedition he passed over, for the first time, the country which he subsequently settled. In August, 1780, he took part in Colonel Clark's expedition against the Indian towns on the Little Miami and Mad rivers, and again two years later he marched with Clark in his expedition of vengeance after the defeat at Lower Blue Licks. On both these expeditions he must have passed over the ground where now stands the city of Cincinnati. In the latter expedition he served as a colonel. He

was second in command to Boone and narrowly escaped capture. In 1780 he was in another expedition under General Logan, against the Shawanees, and again passed over the same ground. By reason of these numerous visits, he probably was as well acquainted with the Miami country as any man then living, and in addition was known far and wide for his courage, intelligence, and affability.

He never lived at Losantiville, but returned to Lexington after a month's stay, from which point, in 1804, he removed to a farm in Dayton, Ohio, where he died at the age of 74, on August 5, 1827. He was described as being tall and handsome in person, and gifted with a fine mind, but he "like Boone, Kenton, and many others of his simple hunter and pioneer companions, was indulgent and negligent in business matters, and, like them, lost most of his extensive landed property by shrewder rascals." The description seems a little misleading, as there is no evidence of any rascality on the part of Colonel Patterson at any time in his life.

JOHN FILSON.

The other member of the trio has long been celebrated in legend as well as in history. The mystery which has always surrounded his disappearance, almost at the moment of his landing on the site of his proposed settlement, has never been cleared up and this fact together with his well known abilities has always contributed much towards keeping alive his name in the annals of Losantiville.

His life written by Col. R. T. Durrett, and published in a small volume put forth by the Filson Club of Louisville, which takes its name from the first historian of Kentucky.

John Filson was born near the Brandywine in Pennsylvania, about the year 1747, and came to Kentucky, probably in 1783, at the age of 36. He became acquainted with Daniel Boone and many other pioneers and obtained from them much information.

"The adventures of Boone were related by that hero directly to the enterprising schoolmaster, speculator, and verse-maker, Filson, who published them, and who is therefore not only the first historian of Kentucky, but the original biographer of the typical backwoodsman of literature. The narrative of Filson furnished the basis of Bryan's 'Mountain Muse,' one of the early attempts to put Western scenery and pioneer romance into verse."

In 1784, at Wilmington, he published his book on Kentucky, very few copies of which are now in existence. The complete title of this book was as follows:

"The Discovery, Settlement, and Present state of Kentucky; and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country; by John Filson. To which is added an Appendix containing: I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the First Settlers, comprehending every important Occurence in the Political History of that Province. II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council, held at Post St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784. III. An account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States; their Manners and Customs; and Reflections on their Origin. IV. The Stages and Distances between Philadelphia and the Falls of Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola, and several other Places. The whole illustrated by a new and accurate Map of Kentucky, and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys. Wilmington, printed by John Adams, 1784."

These articles were afterwards published in London as an appendix to Imlay's book about North America.

Filson's "Adventures of Boone" are supposed to have been written at the dictation of Boone himself, and the following document was printed as an advertisement in Filson's book on Kentucky:

"ADVERTISEMENT.—We, the subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement, at the request of the author of this book have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given, much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the public. Witness our hands this twelfth of May, Anno Domini 1784.

"DANIEL BOONE,
"LEVI TODD,
"JAMES HARROD."

Part of Filson's preface reads as follows:

"When I visited Kentucky, I found it so far to exceed my expectations, though great, that I concluded it was a pity that the world has not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper description of it was an object highly in-

teresting to the United States; and, therefore, incredible as it may appear to some, I must declare that this performance is not published from lucrative motives, but solely to inform the world of the happy climate and plentiful soil of this favored region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more easily when I inform him that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucky, but having been there some time, by my acquaintance in it am sufficiently able to publish the truth, and from principle have cautiously endeavored to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found."

In 1785, Filson proceeded from his home to Pittsburg, whence, after he had prepared his manuscript and map, he returned to the East and had them published there. In the next year he proceeded to Pittsburg in a Jersey wagon, and thence in a flat-boat down the Ohio to the mouth of Beargrass creek, where Louisville now is; occupying some two months in the journey. Later in the same year, he went in a canoe to Vincennes, on the Wabash, and walked back through the woods to Beargrass. He repeated this journey of four hundred and fifty miles in the autumn. These excursions were undertaken for the purpose of collecting materials for a history of the Illinois country.

"On the first day of June, 1786, he set out from Vincennes for the Falls of the Ohio in a 'perogue,' accompanied by three men. The party was attacked by Indians, and compelled to land and take to the woods for safety. Filson, after many perils and sufferings, found his way back to Vincennes, exhausted by famine and sore with wounds. After this adventure, he returned safe to Kentucky, and again traveled over the long road to Philadelphia on horseback. In 1787 he once more appeared in the land of Boone, and advertised proposals in the Kentucky Gazette to start a classical academy in Lexington, the sylvan Athens of the West. The project seems not to have been realized, but Filson was fertile in expedients, and soon he engaged in the important enterprise which fixed his name in history. In August, 1788, he went into partnership with Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson in the purchase of a tract of land on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking, on which it was proposed to lay out the town of Losantiville, now Cincinnati. Filson invented the name Losantiville, which has been much ridiculed, but it is doubtful whether the word Cincinnati, which is either a genitive singular or a nominative plural, is not as absurd as the euphonious name compounded by the Lexington schoolmaster. Filson, who was a surveyor, marked out a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking, and, with his partners, arrived at the site of their town in September, and began to lay out streets, at least on paper. One of these was to be called Filson Avenue, but the name was changed to Plum street after Filson's tragic disappearance from the stage of affairs. The circumstances of his exit are shrouded in mystery. The supposition is that he fell a victim to the tomahawk and scalping-knife of some prowling savage. All that we know is he set out alone to explore the solitudes of the Big Miami woods, and was seen no more by his white comrades. Nor was any trace of his body ever found." (Venable's Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley.)

Professor Venable, from whose invaluable work the foregoing paragraph is quoted, himself one of the most charming writers, both of prose and verse, of the Miami country, has perpetuated the name of Filson in a poem, in which he incorporates the names and homes of the pioneers, as follows:

John Filson was a pedagogue
A pioneer was he:
I know not what his nation was
Nor what his pedigree.

* * * * * * *

John Filson and companions bold
A frontier village planned
In forest wide, on sloping hills,
By fair Ohio's strand.

John Filson from three languages
With pedant skilled frame
He novel word Losantiville,
To be the new town's name.

* * * * * * *

Deep in the wild and solemn woods
Unknown to white man's track,
John Filson went one autumn day,
But never more came back.

He struggled through the solitude
The prairie to explore
And with romantic pleasure traced
Miami's winding shore.

Across his path the startled deer
Bounds to his shelter green,
He meets every one wild race
And [illegible]

Too soon the murky twilight comes,
  The night-wind 'gins to moan;
Bewildered wanders Filson, lost,
  Exhausted and alone.

By lurking foes his steps are dogged.
  A yell his ear appalls!
A ghastly corpse upon the ground,
  A murdered man he falls.

The Indian, with instinctive hate,
  In him a herald saw
Of coming hosts of pioneers,
  The friends of light and law;

In him beheld the champion
  Of industries and arts,
The founder of encroaching roads
  And great commercial marts;

The spoiler of the hunting-ground,
  The plower of the soil,
The builder of the Christian school
  And of the house of God.

And so the vengeful tomahawk
  John Filson's blood did spill,
The spirit of the pedagogue
  No tomahawk could kill.

John Filson had no sepulchre,
  Except the wildwood dim;
The mournful voices of the air
  Made requiem for him.

The druid trees their waving arms
  Uplifted o'er his head;
The moon a pallid veil of light
  Upon his visage spread.

The rain and sun of many years
  Have worn his bones away,
And what he vaguely prophesied
  We realize to-day.

Losantiville, the prophet's work,
  The poet's hope fulfills.
She sits a stately Queen to-day
  Amid her royal hills!

* * * * * * *

The matter of the name Losantiville will be discussed at a later point, but in connection with Filson it may not be amiss to quote the comment of Judge Collins in his history of Kentucky.

"His fanciful name for the intended town was adopted—Losantiville, which he designed to mean 'the village opposite the mouth,' *Le-os-ante-ville*, but which more really signifies, 'the mouth opposite the village;'—who, or what induced the change from such a pedagogical and nonsensical a name to the euphonious one of Cincinnati is unknown; but in the name of millions of people who live in or within reach of it, or visit it or do business with it, we now thank the man and the opportunity. The invention of such a name was positively cruel in Mr. Filson; we hope it had no connection with his early death. Perhaps that is reason enough why no street in Cincinnati is named after him."

It may not be improper to comment on this quotation, that Professor Venable, as well as many others, evidently differs from Judge Collins as to the matter of taste concerning the name Cincinnati, that it is well known that on the first map of Cincinnati, Plum street was called Filson street, and that among the streets of the city to-day there is one—a very short one, it is true—to which the name of Filson is attached (Filson place on Mount Adams). In all *other* respects no exception can be taken to Judge Collins' comment.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LANDING BETWEEN THE MIAMIS.

THE LANDING OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1788—THE DEATH OF FILSON—ISRAEL LUDLOW—THE CONTRACT OF OCTOBER 15, 1788—SYMMES' TROUBLES WITH CONGRESS—THE CONTROVERSY WITH ST. CLAIR—THE PATENT OF 1794—THE "COLLEGE TOWNSHIP."

After the execution of the agreement with Patterson and Filson, Denman went back to Limestone to meet Symmes, intending to go down the river with him to join Filson and Patterson with their party, as announced in the advertisement, at the mouth of the Licking. As Judge Symmes did not arrive at the expected time, Colonel Patterson made a further announcement in the paper, postponing the date of the departure of the company to September 18th, in order to meet Judge Symmes at this place on Monday 22nd. "The business will then go on as proposed."

THE LANDING OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1788.

On September 22, 1788, a large company of Kentuckians with Colonel Patterson and Filson at their head arrived on the ground and were there met by Judge Symmes, who with Israel Ludlow (who had been selected as chief surveyor for the Jersey Company) Denman and Stites, came down from Limestone. The exact date is stated by Judge Symmes himself, in his letter to Dayton, written from Limestone, Kentucky, October 12, 1788, in which he says: "On the 22d ult. I landed at Miami and explored the country as high as the upper side of the 5th range of townships."

The spot on which the two parties, now numbering some sixty people, are supposed to have met, is reported to have been where now is the Public Landing of Cincinnati. There took place the public dedication of the lands in accordance with Filson's plat. The 22nd day of September, 1788, therefore, can be accepted as the first definitely fixed historic date in the history of Cincinnati.

The immediate platting of the lots could not be proceeded with and the survey and the donation of lots was postponed until the first of the next year. The survey could not be commenced, nor Denman's section fixed, until the twenty-mile point of the river referred to in the agreement with Congress was ascertained.

Ludlow immediately entered upon the determination of this point and in a few days he and Denman "took the meanders of the Ohio from the mouth of the Little to the mouth of the Great Miami and also up the Great Miami about ten miles from the Ohio," showing by his measurement that Denman was within the line. He with Denman and a number of the party returned on the third day and camped on the ground, where possibly the old blockhouse erected by Col. George Rogers Clark, in 1780, was still standing. (Denman's Deposition of August, 1833.)

Filson is said to have spent a day or two in running the lines of the streets, marking the courses with notches in the trees. After this, Judge Symmes, accompanied by Patterson and Filson, and a large number of Kentuckians, rode up the country for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the topography and appearance of the lands, which he was endeavoring so hard to obtain from Congress. His purpose was,

starting from the front on the Ohio, opposite the Licking, to go north through the central portions pretty well back towards what by calculation was supposed to be the limit at the north of the area of the grant, and then go over to the Great Miami and take its meanders to the mouth. Others were to go down to the same point, taking the courses of the Ohio. He reached a point variously stated at from twenty to forty miles inland. On the banks of the Great Miami, they came upon an encampment of Shawanees, and the Kentuckians without any hesitation proposed to attack. Symmes was most anxious to preserve peace with the Indians, and had sent out every possible assurance to that effect, and therefore he restrained the disorderly company with him; as a result many of them in disgust deserted the party and went off homeward to the camp. Symmes relates the incident in his letter to Dayton, of May 18, 1789:

"After this, the greater part of them deserted me when about forty miles up the Miami, where I had ventured on their promises to escort me down that river, meandering its courses; which so disobliged me that I have been very indifferent ever since whether one of them came into the purchase or not, as I found them very ungovernable and seditious; and not to be awed or persuaded. To the disobedience of these men, I impute the death of poor Filson, who had no rest afterwards while with me, for fear of the Indians, and at length attempting to escape to the body of men I had left on the Ohio, he was destroyed by the savages."

The Death of Filson.

As a matter of fact nothing definite is known with relation to the actual fate of Filson, except that on the reassembling of the parties, he could not be found. To this day no man knows where or how he met his death.

Mr. Miller, in a somewhat fanciful sketch of an encounter between Filson and a solitary redskin, locates the probable place of Filson's death at a point not far from the northern boundary line of Hamilton County at the northeast corner of Colerain township, but there seems to be little authority for more than a guess on the subject.

Dr. Jones speaks of his fate as follows:

"Whether killed by savages immediately or carried far away into the interior to suffer all the tortures of savage barbarity, or bewildered and lost, and perished in the wilderness, can now never be known. It is, however, a singular, indeed, a remarkable fact, that although the settlers had intercourse with all the tribes of Ohio and the Northwest, from the time of the first settlement until their final removal from the State, no tidings could ever be gained of the fate of Filson; and from this fact it might be conjectured that he was not murdered by the Indians, but lost in the wilderness, and perished from hunger and exposure, and his body devoured by wild beasts, or, perhaps, may have been drowned in the Great Miami. Filson was a surveyor, and was to lay off the projected town, as well as act as a general agent for Denman and Patterson. His loss, therefore, was a serious impediment to the enterprise, and necessitated the employment of another surveyor." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 24.)

There is an especially sad feature about Filson's fate that has not been generally noticed. In the Clarke collection, now in the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, there is an original letter written by Filson from Lexington, May 27, 1788, to his brother Robert in which after discussing his affairs at some length and the advisability of his brother's coming to Kentucky he says: "I have supported a good credit here, and have enough to support me. I renewed my studies last winter and greatly advanced my latin and this spring have begun to study Physic with Doctr Slater in this place, an eminent Physician who came here from London last year. two years I study, as soon as my Study is finished, I am to be married which will be greatly to our advantage. Stand it out 2 years my dear brother. You shall have negroes to wait of you."

This letter may serve to explain Filson's enthusiasm about land speculations. The practice of medicine involving as it did at least two years' delay may have seemed not sufficiently promising for the fruition of his hopes. History does not record the name of the young woman who was to bring so much happiness to Filson and his brother, including negroes to "wait of" them. The same letter throws a side light on the conditions in Kentucky at that time:

"The Indians are very troublesome, a few days ago Col' Joseph Mitchell who lived at the fouling (?) Springs on Potowmack & his eldest son fell a prey to the savages near the falls of Ohio. We are all warriors here, when I troubles will end I know not. four boats are taken this spring by the Indians."

The same brother wrote on the last page of a book owned by him the following words: "This

Book was given to me by my Brother John Filson who was killed by an Indian on the North Side of the Ohio October The first 1788 about five miles from the Great Miami River and 20 or 25 from the Ohio." This was a copy of Dilworth's "Arithmetic," owned by the late Robert Clarke, an enthusiastic collector and a leader among the historical workers of the West.

Colonel Patterson, in the case between Joel Williams and the city of Cincinnati, in 1807, testified that

"When it became certain that John Filson would never return, they found it necessary to secure the services of another surveyor, and as Filson's brother and heir had said to him that he was satisfied his brother had been killed, and had paid nothing on his interest, he the brother would relinquish all claims to any interest in the land as Filson's heir, they, therefore, took Colonel Israel Ludlow as a partner, on the same conditions they had Filson, as a surveyor and general agent, and in this way Colonel Ludlow, who had come out as a surveyor for Judge Symmes, became a joint and equal owner with himself and Denman in the land purchased by Denman."

Previous to this time an testimony given December 27, 1803, Patterson was even more specific with regard to this matter. He says: "I was acquainted with the Brother of the said Filson who was heir at law to the said Filson and he informed me that as the said John Filson had paid nothing for the said land he did not set up any claim to the said town or consider himself as having any interest or concern therein." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Book D-1, page 74.)

Denman in August, 1833, testified that "the party then returned to Limestone where this deponent entered into an agreement with Robert Patterson and Israel Ludlow * * * which agreement was substantially the same as that to which Filson was a party substituting Ludlow for Filson, and empowering Ludlow to act for deponent and said Patterson in all things relating to the said town. That this agreement was made in writing and signed by the parties, and was left with the said Ludlow at the time it was executed which was in the month of October A. D. 1788, at which time a plat of the proposed town was made by the said Ludlow and agreed upon by the said Patterson, Ludlow, and deponent at Limestone aforesaid." Denman received a copy of this plat from Ludlow which he handed over to Williams when years afterwards he sold his interest to him. (Deposition taken in Denman's residence in Springfield, N. J., for use in the ejectment case of City of Cincinnati *versus* The First Presbyterian Society of Cincinnati.)

Colonel Durrett in his life of Filson takes issue with the inference usually drawn from Colonel Patterson's testimony that Filson's brother was present and consented to the transfer of his interest to Ludlow. He states that Filson's brother at this time was not in the country and that not only did he never give a written consent (and in this the records of Hamilton County bear him out) to the transfer of Filson's interest but that he always regarded the transaction as an unjust one. Colonel Durrett quotes a report of a conversation with him in which he is made to say that "no matter how it might be regarded in the Northwest Territory it would be 'counted dinged nigh robbing in Pennsylvany.'" At any rate there was much dissatisfaction and much controversy growing out of this affair which resulted in the chancery case already referred to.

Strangely enough, the sale bond covering the transfer of Patterson's one-third to Samuel Freeman, executed November 26, 1794, with Israel Ludlow as a witness, recites that "Mathias Denman, Robert Patterson and John Filson are partners in common tenentry." (Recorded Dec. 20, 1811.)

However the legal merits of the case may have been determined, the historic facts remain clear. Of the three original owners who dedicated the land opposite the Licking to posterity as a city, Patterson alone was with the landing party in December and he staid but a short time. He was, however, regarded as the leader of the party.

The real founders of Cincinnati, those who settled the town afterwards known by that name, and by their industry and perseverance made the settlement a reality, were Colonel Ludlow and William McMillan (who were in the surveying party that laid out the town as it finally was established) and Joel Williams, who assisted in the Ludlow survey, in building the surveyors' cabin and built the first private house. He was the actual agent of the proprietors on the ground, as Colonel Ludlow was away much of the time engaged in his surveys, and kept the seat of the town. Williams was here within ten days of the landing as he drew a lot on January 7, 1789.

Israel Ludlow.

Israel Ludlow was the only one of the original proprietors who remained in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. He was originally from New Jersey, as were so many of the others among the first settlers, and was born at Little Head farm, near Morristown, in 1765. About twenty years later he came to the valley of the Ohio to act as a surveyor and was appointed by the United States Geographer to survey the Miami purchase, and also the purchases of the Ohio Company. He accomplished this task by the spring of 1792, which as finally recorded came to be regarded as the authoritative location of the lots of the early settlers. In 1790 he established Ludlow's Station, upon a spot within the present limits of Cumminsville, building a blockhouse as a defense against the savages. This was at a point now at the intersection of Knowlton street with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway. He afterwards as a proprietor laid out the town of Hamilton in 1794, and in 1795, together with Governor St. Clair, Dayton and William McMillan, he planned the town of Dayton. In 1796, he married Charlotte Chambers, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. He died after a brief illness, in January, 1804, and was buried with Masonic honors in the First Presbyterian Church Graveyard on Fourth street, near Main street, in Cincinnati. An oration upon this occasion was pronounced by Judge Symmes.

Symmes returned to Limestone most disheartened by the death of Filson, but on the other hand very much impressed with the land that he had seen. He wrote to Dayton that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar an acre in its present state." At Limestone he received letters from Dayton, which gave him the news of the negotiation with the Commissioners of the Treasury Board, and informed him of the terms which had finally been agreed upon.

In a letter of September 12, 1788, written at New York, Dayton said to him: "Since my last to you, your whole contract and project for the purchase and settlement of Western lands, has been on the point of being annihilated. On the 18th of August, a motion was made in Congress by Mr. Williamson in the words following, viz.

"'*Resolved*: That the several acts of Congress of October 2, 22 and 23, 1787, whereby the Board of Treasury are authorized to contract with individuals or companies for the sale of Western territory, be and the same are hereby repealed, provided that nothing contained in this act be understood to invalidate any contracts which the Board may have already made. Referred to

"'Mr. Wadsworth,
"'Mr. Williamson,
"'Mr. Tucker,
"'Mr. Irvine,
"'Mr. Hamilton,
"'*A Committee to Report*'

"This Committee called upon the Board of Treasury for their information how far they had proceeded in the execution of the several acts of the 2d, 22d and 23d of October, and for their opinion relative to the repeal of these acts. The following is an extract of so much of the answer of the Commissioners as relates to you, viz.:

"'With respect to the resolve of Congress of the 2d which relates to Mr. Symmes' grant, the Board beg leave to lay before the Committee copies of sundry correspondence which has passed betwixt that gentleman and the Board on that subject. After a conference with him a minute of which is endorsed on Mr. Symmes' letter of the 14th of July last the Board expected that he would have closed the contract agreeably to the conditions proposed to him in their letter of the 16th of June last, so as to entitle him to a right of occupancy. But contrary to our expectation, Mr. Symmes, after depositing with the Treasurer upwards of $72,000, left town without concluding any agreement, and, we since learn, has gone to the Western country. The certificates deposited are, we presume, a sufficient security to the public for any injury which may at present be sustained by any occupancy of any part of the land in question, should the same be attempted; but we submit it to the consideration of the Committee whether means ought not forthwith to be adopted to prevent such an event till Mr. Symmes has derived a right of occupancy on the terms prescribed by Congress.'

"And in the concluding part they say:

"'How far it may be advisable to continue the operation of the foregoing resolves on the principles on which they stand, the Committee, from the above statement, will be best able to determine. Certain it is, that except in the case of the Ohio Company, no regular payment has been made nor any agreement executed.'

"I called upon the committee, with Mr. Marsh and Mr. Boudinot, just as they were meeting to

draft their report, which would have been if approved in Congress, which I very much apprehended, fatal to your purchase. I stated to them that it was not your intention to settle but upon the limits prescribed by the Board for 1,000,000—that instead of barely depositing $72,000, as the Board in their report had loosely expressed it, you had regularly paid in certificates and military rights to the whole amount of the first payment for that quantity, and that the ignorance of both parties with respect to the course of the rivers bounding your purchase, had been the reason of your declining to agree to any precise limits before that necessary information could be obtained. We acquainted them in short, that we considered and held the United States firmly bound by the contract, and, that their receipt of the first payment on account of it was sufficient evidence. The committee, after consulting with the Board, informed us that even if the first payment had been made for a million, your proposed contract was for two—that although in the course of making your payments you had withdrawn your proposals for two, and given in others for one million, yet the Board, disliking the boundaries prescribed for the smaller quantity had not closed with them, but had proposed in their turn what they thought reasonable limits which you had not signified your acceptance of—that, therefore, in strict or legal construction they considered Congress as absolved from every engagement with you, but they would nevertheless agree if we would come forward and subscribe to the limits offered by the Board in their letter to you of the 10th of June, to waive their report to Congress and stay further proceeding until we had concluded it.

"Thus circumstanced, a choice was hardly left us, and we agreed to close with and subscribe to their proposals as soon as the writings could be prepared. Since that time the Board has started another objection, which I believe, neither you nor we had apprehended or foresen. They say that a late letter of the Geographer to them, states, that there are but about three millions of acres in the New England purchase, if so, that the sum deposited by you is but half the amount of the first payment for a million. Although I referred them to the map and pointed out the New England tract thereon as delineated and painted by Hutchins himself, and proved to them by measurement that it was six times as large as the million bounding upon it, which was reserved for the army, they, notwithstanding, refuse to execute the writings until the sense of Congress shall be had. I know not what will be the event of the business, but I trust the objection is too ill-founded and unreasonable to meet with the approbation of that body. Before the departure of the next Pittsburgh post, I trust, it will be decided, when you shall hear from me again. Your letter of agency arrived at a lucky instant to enable us to prevent measures being taken to declare that no contract existed with you on the part of the Union, which would have been followed by orders to the Governor to prohibit any settlement upon any other than the New England lands. It was by no means my wish to have my name inserted in your letter of agency, but, since it is there, I shall endeavor to conduct the business entrusted, to the best possible advantage of yourself and the others concerned. We have already, in the commencement of its prosecution, met with numerous embarrassments. We hope they will not continue; if they should, we will take the best measures to face and overcome them.

"This morning Mr. Marsh came over, agreeably to my appointment to execute and subscribe to the contract we had drawn up. The Board receded from the objection as to quantity mentioned, but raised a new difficulty as to our power of attorney, which, they said, was very imperfect and insufficient. It recites in its beginning that a contract had been entered into between you and the Board, and refers to that written agreement which the Board says never had existence. They say it is true Congress authorized them to contract with you for two millions on certain terms, but that you never came forward and contracted. They say, also, that you proposed to purchase instead thereof, but one million, with certain boundaries to which they disagreed; that they, in their turn, offered to sell you a million with other boundaries, which you, by letter, declined. From all this, they infer that there is not only no written as you express, but not even a verbal contract between you, and also that there never has been either. They add, that all the powers you have vested us with, refer to and are founded upon this supposed contract which, you suggest, actually exists between you and them, and which they know nothing about and consequently cannot acknowledge. They have gone to the expense of employing and consulting counsel on the occasion, by whom our power is declared to be altogether defective.

"They offered to contract with us for the land in our own names and right, which we have

refused; and they have, at length, consented to accept our signatures as agents for you upon our agreeing to annex a proviso that we will procure from you a more ample and sufficient power of attorney, or, failing to do *that*, that we will, individually and in our proper characters, consider and acknowledge ourselves bound to perform the conditions and stipulations. It will be necessary, or, at least, desirable, that you make out this power immediately, acknowledge it before one of the other two judges of the Western territory, and forward it by the first opportunity."

Symmes had been elected by Congress, February 19, 1788, one of the judges of the Northwest Territory. This appointment was in accordance with the provision of the celebrated "Ordinance of 1787." Section 4 of this ordinance provided that there should be "appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction and reside in the district, and have therein a free hold estate in five hundred acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; their commission shall continue in force during good behavior." These judges with the Governor were to select, from the civil and criminal laws of the original States, such laws as they deemed suitable for the Territory, and were given the power to promulgate such laws and to enforce them until they should be amended or repealed by a General Assembly, to be later organized according to the provision of the ordinance. The salary provided by a special act of Congress for the judges was the magnificent sum of $800 per annum.

This appointment to the judgeship had already given offense to some persons, and many of the settlers in the Western country became a little envious of the great fortune which it was thought Symmes was about to make. Some of his associates and also some of those to whom he had sold lots, complained bitterly because they thought he had endangered his contract and their rights.

Mr. King, in his history of Ohio, speaks very slightingly of his business qualifications, as shown by his negotiations with Congress. There does not seem to be any real justification for this feeling, as an examination of the correspondence already printed here shows that Symmes was hampered at every turn by the unwillingness of government officials to make what certainly were not unreasonable concessions and conditions.

The new country was almost entirely unknown to the Treasury Board, and in fact to the people in the East generally. The reluctance to make reasonable concessions arose from ignorance rather than from any real desire to protect the public interest. The Miami purchase in quantity was not an unusually large one, and there was no real reason that possessed any merit why Symmes should not have been given the contract he desired. The very slightest knowledge of the territory makes this apparent. Symmes was making the best of conditions, which he could not control. What might seem unbusinesslike with relation to real estate transactions in a settled country, where the boundaries are exact and well understood, might be well considered very excellent management with relation to transactions involving absolutely unknown territory. The history of the Miami purchase compares very favorably with that of other settlements of like character in Kentucky, and the West. He was careless, we are told by Judge Burnet, in his custody of valuable papers.

However, on October 22, 1788, Dayton was able to write to Symmes from New York, as follows:

"After long altercation and many difficulties and disputes with the Board of Treasury, altogether unforeseen and unexpected by us, we have at length mutually entered into and executed an instrument of writing closing with and binding the contract for your purchase on the Miami. This did not finally take place until the 15th instant."

Symmes' own feelings at this time are indicated by his letter, written in reply to the two just quoted, dated Limestone, November 25, 1788:

"I have had the honor of receiving your favor of the 12th of September, which embarrassed me much for a few days; but yours of the 22d ultimo followed so soon after, that my apprehensions of misfortune raised by the former were dispersed in a great measure by the latter. It is not yet a week since I received the first, and had not prepared an answer thereto when that of the 22d of October appeared and seems to render any remarks on the extraordinary part acted by the Honorable, the Treasury Board, unavailing and unnecessary, not to add that though I wished to dwell ever so long on that disagreeable subject, I have not the time, not having had the least intimation of this opportunity till Captain Beatty called on me this evening on his way up the Ohio, intending for New York. I shall therefore pass the whole in silence till I come

to that paragraph where you intimate that a more full power of attorney is necessary. This I shall certainly do as soon as I meet again with one of the judges you mention, before whom I shall acknowledge it. I thank you for the copy of the one I sent you by General Ogden, and beg leave to observe that I have the highest confidence in your friendship and integrity to serve me, and I am sure it will be with ability. Whatever you do, together with Mr. Marsh, I should confirm and ratify had I any choice left, but in your negotiations with the Treasury Board it seems that I have none."

THE CONTRACT OF OCTOBER 15, 1788.

Was finally entered on the records of Hamilton County, March 17, 1821, and is a contract for a million acres, in which the commissioners adhere to the eastern boundary line of the purchase, dividing the tract between the two Miamis. The grant is described as follows:

"All that certain tract or parcel of land situate, lying and being in the Western Country, adjoining to the river Ohio. Beginning on the bank of the same river at a spot exactly twenty miles distant along the several courses of the same from the place where the Great River Miami empties itself into the said river Ohio. From thence extending down the said river Ohio the several courses thereof, to the said Great Miami river. Thence up the said River Miami along the several courses thereof, to a place from whence a line drawn due east, will intersect a line drawn from the place of beginning aforesaid parallel with the general course of the Miami river, so as to include one million of acres within those lines and the said rivers, and from that place upon the said great river Miami, extending along such lines to the said place of beginning, containing, as aforesaid one million of acres," etc. (Book U-2, page 38.)

The contract provided that the association should have the privilege of selling and locating at the rate of sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre, payable in silver or securities of the United States, in eight installments. The first of these installments had already been advanced, the second was to be paid within a month after the government should have furnished a plat of survey, showing the exterior lines of the entire tract, and the remainder was divided into six semi-annual installments. As fast as payments were made deeds were to be given for proportional parts of the tract. The purchasers, however, naturally depended upon their own sales for the means of making payments to the government, and as the sales were not up to their expectations there was delay in the matter of payments. The making of the plat, too, was deferred by the government, both by reason of the fact that adequate preparation for the survey had not been made and also because of the dissatisfaction with the boundaries insisted upon by the commissioners, and the feeling at any time the Little Miami would necessarily be selected as the eastern boundary of the tract. It was not long until it became apparent that the eastern line carried out, as provided in the contract, would cross the Little Miami and cut into the Virginia Military Reservation. The subject is discussed later.

SYMMES' TROUBLES WITH CONGRESS.

The matter of Symmes' troubles with Congress continued to occupy his attention for some years. The situation may as well be briefly outlined here. This act of course left out altogether the Stites' property. Symmes naturally felt under obligations, "with regard to Mr. Stites, whose influence in the Redstone settlements and connection with Mr. Gano's family, and they with the Baptists, who are the most numerous sect of Christians in this country, is such, that he has been able to embody about sixty men, many with their families, who expect to settle at the mouth of the Little Miami on the sixteen sections which he had located there." (Symmes to Dayton, November 25, 1788.)

He displayed great anxiety that the commissioners "should be prevailed on to give up that mere fragment of land at the mouth of the Little Miami and suffer me to extend to the banks of that stream." He realized too that efforts would be made to supplant him in his appointment under the new government which would be established when the territory northwest of the Ohio was reorganized. The associates set great hopes however on the change in the land system by which the board was to be supplanted by a single individual.

Dayton in his letter to Symmes, August 15, 1789, informs him of this change: "The new system for the administration of the finance will soon be established, and as soon as it takes effect and the principal is appointed, I shall do my utmost to have our line extended to the Little Miami. Everything in my power and within the circle of my interest shall be exerted to have Mr. Stites and his settlement included within the boundaries of our deed, and thereby to con-

plete the title of such as have purchased under him there. The East Jersey Company have done nothing more since my last letter in the contract for the strip of land above alluded to, but did, upon my application to many of them, some time since, individually agree that Mr. Stites ought to be considered and indemnified if the purchase was made by them. I believe it will rest as it is, or be entirely dropped as to the company, unless some new and strange company should become bidders for it. I shall not fail, however, to press this matter with the new financier, but I do not expect to succeed until I am prepared to make the second payment and take out the deed. The sooner you enable me to do that, the more likely I shall be to attain that object in favor of Stites and his associates on the Little Miami. Continental certificates are now at 85% specie in the £ and are rising. If you have recived specie for lands which you mean to convert into public securities, the sooner you do it, the more advantageous it will be for you."

In a letter of August 25, 1789, Dayton informs Symmes of the "appointment of Judges for the Western territory is made—S. H. Parsons, John C. Symmes and Wm. Barton are the three. I enclose the paragraph taken from the newspapers, and the short law which is passed, respecting that country. You will perceive that it is merely a temporary provision. The time assigned for the present session of Congress did not admit of their entering farther into that business, but it is expected that the organization of your government will be resumed and completed at their next sitting. I think it proper to acquaint you that when I went to New York, to canvass for you, I found with pleasure that Governor St. Clair was not unfriendly to you."

In this letter too Dayton informs Symmes of the many injurious and unpleasant reports which had been circulated in the East about his conduct in the Miamis. The reason for these continued attacks is not plain at this late date and that they were not well founded was made clear by the reports of Colonel Spencer. This matter of annoyance was disposed of very soon.

The Controversy with St. Clair.

Dayton also in a letter about this time contradicts the story that had been circulated to the effect that the company was going to endeavor to purchase the land covered by Stites. In the spring of the following year Stites accompanied Dayton to Philadelphia in the hope of attaining some satisfactory settlement. Bills for the sale of Western lands were pending before Congress and it was important that the interests of his settlers should be protected. As little was done, Symmes finally made up his mind to go East himself on this matter. Governor St. Clair had begun to take a hand. In a letter to Israel Ludlow of May 19, 1791, he directed him that as the "line of the Miami purchase has been measured along the Ohio, and the place of beginning known, it will be proper that you should mark that place in a conspicuous manner to prevent trespasses being ignorantly though innocently committed upon the unalienated lands of the United States, which may involve individuals in disagreeable, and to them, perhaps, ruinous consequences." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 209.)

Governor St. Clair seems to have been ignorant of the terms of Symmes' grant until this time. His attention had been attracted to it by Ludlow's request for an escort of fifteen men or more to accompany him while surveying the Ohio and Miami tracts. Ludlow had been suffering from numerous delays although promised by General Knox and afterwards by Major Doughty that he should have proper escorts with packhorses, corn, provision and camp equipage. After the coming of the cold season he found upon his arrival at Fort Harmar that no escort could be obtained. Major Ziegler the commander thought the troops under his command but little more than sufficient to guard the settlement at Marietta. His application fo General Harmar at Fort Washington was answered with the statement that the general did not consider his whole command a sufficient escort for the purpose.

On St. Clair's arrival upon his return from his Western trip in May, Ludlow renewed his application. St. Clair also assured him that he considered the survey a matter of the highest interest and importance to the United States and would make every effort to assist him with sufficient guard but that it was then impracticable. Ludlow finally in October following received a guard of fifteen men with a sergeant, accompanied by whom he executed the Ohio Company's survey. On returning to Fort Washington, he lost six of his horses as he descended the Ohio on a raft of logs. On his arrival at Fort Washington he asked for protection to go on with the Miami survey which was again refused by Major Ziegler. He finally obtained the assist-

ance of three active woodsmen to assist as spies and give notice of any approaching danger. After extending the western boundary more than one hundred miles at the Miami River, the deep snows and cold weather compelled them to abandon the undertaking and return to Fort Washington. After the cold weather abated, Ludlow extended the east boundary as far as the line intersecting the Miami River when they were driven off by signs of the near approach of Indians. They returned to Fort Washington where he again asked for an escort from General Wilkinson and was refused. His report containing these particulars is contained in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 5, 1792. As just stated it was this application from Ludlow to St. Clair which called the latter's attention to the terms of the Symmes' purchase:

"To my astonishment I found that the purchase made by Judge Symmes did not extend further up the Ohio than twenty miles from the mouth of the Great Miami River. He had given out and published indeed to the world that he had contracted for all the lands to a certain distance northerly, which were contained between the Little and the Great Miamis as eastern and western boundaries. On my first arrival in this part of the Territory, I found the Judge here and a number of people settled already, to whom he had sold lands far to the eastward of the twenty miles. It never could have entered into my head that any person, much less one invested with a respectable public character, had published a falsehood, was persisting in it, and availing himself of the pecuniary advantages following from it. The settlement, therefore, met with all the countenance which I could give it, which I conceived to be a duty I then owed to the adventurers and to the United States; but I see I was wrong, and find myself in a very disagreeable predicament, having clothed many persons with civil and military authority whom it was more properly my duty to have removed, and so far sanctioned their intrusions on the lands of the United States." (St. Clair to Hamilton, May 25, 1791; St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 209.)

This unexpected discovery of St. Clair afforded him an excellent opportunity to indulge in a correspondence with Symmes. In view of the fact that the Governor of the Territory could write to the Secretary of the Treasury that "he has been selling the lands of the United States upon the Little Miami, which he had not contracted for, to pay for lands his agents had contracted for in his name upon the Great Miami" (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 210), Symmes was justified in writing to his associates from Cincinnati May 26, 1791: "It is of vast importance to me to have the second contract vacated and the first established. I, therefore, intend doing myself the justice, next winter, of attending at Philadelphia, in order to solicit this business with the United States."

St. Clair took the matter very seriously. His arbitrary temperament which became so apparent at a later date is indicated in Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791, in which he says of the Governor: "He starts the subject as though he had lately made a notable discovery of a conspiracy against the United States, and pursues it with all that fervor and zeal which he might do if the lands had been taken possession of by a colony from Detroit, under the auspices of the British Government."

On August 23, 1791, the Governor issued a proclamation which, dated July 19, 1791, he had first submitted to Judge Symmes. Symmes endeavored with great earnestness to induce him to withhold it, but was unsuccessful. As a result St. Clair obtained for himself the bitter hostility of Symmes which continued until the time of the Governor's overthrow.

This proclamation recited the selling of lands eastward of the twenty-mile line and thereupon gave the boundaries of the Symmes tract in accordance with the act of October 15, 1788. It continued with the statement that the land lying eastward of the parallel line "is as yet the property of the United States, and has not been alienated or sold to any person whosoever; that the settlements which have been made upon the same are entirely unauthorized, and the persons who now occupy them are liable to be dispossessed as intruders, and to have their habitations destroyed; and that they are not treated in that manner immediately is owing only to the circumstances that they were made to believe the said proprietors of the Miami purchase had a right to the land, and to give them an opportunity to represent their case to Congress."

The extension of settlements already made or the formation of new settlements to the eastward of the parallel line were forbidden until the pleasure of Congress should be made known and a certain tract adjacent to Fort Washington was set apart for public use and all persons were strictly forbidden to cut down, carry away or otherwise destroy any timber, trees or wood that might be growing, standing or lying within that

tract. Persons having houses or lots within the reserved tract were allowed to possess the same "until the present crop is taken off and no longer," unless they should obtain permission from the officer commanding the garrison and should submit themselves to the military law as followers of the army. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 211.)

It is not surprising that this proclamation should have aroused the indignation of Symmes and of the public and should have resulted in a conflict. Symmes in a letter quoted elsewhere speaks as follows: "The Governor's proclamations have convulsed these settlements beyond your conception, sir, not only with regard to the limits of the purchase, but also with respect to his putting part of the town of Cincinnati under military government. Nor do the people find their subordination to martial law a very pleasant situation." Then follows the recital of the treatment of Shaw and a complaint generally against the conduct of the officers. The pleasant feeling existing between St. Clair and Symmes can be inferred from this quotation from the same letter:

"We learn nothing yet when the present army is to be put in motion. They are encamped at Mr. Ludlow's station, five miles from Fort Washington, on account of better food for the cattle, of which they have near one thousand head from Kentucky. Many and important are the preparations to be made previous to their general movement. Not long since I made General St. Clair a tender of my services on the expedition. He replied: 'I am very willing you should go, but, by God, you do not go as a Dutch deputy!' I answered that I did not then recollect the anecdote of the Dutch deputation to which he alluded. His Excellency replied: 'The Dutch, in some of their wars, sent forth an army under the command of a general officer, but appointed a deputation of burghers to attend the general to the war, that they might advise him when to fight and when to decline it.' I inferred from this that I should be considered by him rather as a spy upon his conduct than otherwise, and therefore do not intend to go, though I should have been very happy to have seen the country between this and Sandusky."

Among the intruders of the military reservation was Judge Turner, who had been notified by the Governor that Judge Symmes could give no title. He paid no attention to this notice, but continued to make improvements and was told by the Governor that it was the duty of a judge of the United States Court to set an example of obedience to the government. Judge Turner was on very friendly terms with Symmes and in fact carried his correspondence eastward at this time and he took St. Clair's advice and interference in high dudgeon.

On September 15th, the Governor issued a proclamation to the settlers of the forbidden territory informing them that the Secretary of the state had asked from Symmes an explanation of his proceedings and further that as the settlers appeared to have acted in good faith they would not be disturbed for the time being. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 213.)

That the friction between Symmes and St. Clair continued is shown in the former's letter of the 17th of September, 1791, in which, after speaking of having been indelicately treated by St. Clair and of preparing a retort, he says: "The army has advanced twenty-five miles into the purchase, and by the best account of their situation which I have yet got, they are building a fort on Mr. Boudinot's land in the fourth range—if not on that, it is in the third or military range. I begin to despair of anything important being done this campaign—the delays are amazing. Yesterday, a boat, with 120 barrels of flour, attempted to ascend the Miami. This is extraordinary to me—at the best times so large a freight is not judicious, but now the Miami is low, 'tis distraction. In June, this ought to have been done in perogues or large canoes of one ton or one and a half tons burden, it would then have succeeded. The Indians took off twenty horses in one night, this week, from the army. I hope the best, because no man is more interested, but my hopes, I fear, will prove like Noah's raven."

In his subsequent letter after the St. Clair defeat, after commenting on the Governor's treatment of the Dunlap station, he speaks of the Governor's arbitrary conduct towards the settlers as being "more discouraging at the time than even the defeats" and of numbers leaving the purchase because of the Governor's conduct.

In January of the following year he persists in the claim that every person must admit that "the Governor has treated me and the settlers in the most cruel manner" and asks to be heard by the government with relation to the controversy. He insists that the Governor's letters and proclamations were written in a "language of reproach and illiberality" and that "he has charged him with many things that are not true and in a very rude manner" and refers his associates for the fact to Judge Turner. "I do not

mean nor wish, however, to impeach the Governor in form, but certainly his conduct has been very reprehensible." (Symmes to Boudinot and Dayton, January 25, 1792).

The Patent of 1794.

As a result of the continued efforts of Symmes and his associates, Congress, on April 12, 1792, finally granted the proposed change of boundary, making the Little Miami River the eastern boundary of the purchase. This was reported by Dayton to Symmes as "very satisfactory to Mr. Benjamin Stites, who is now here and will doubtless prove extremely agreeable to the settlers at Cincinnata, Columbia, etc." The same letter conveys the information to Symmes of the passage of an act directing the issue of a patent to him for lands already paid for, which was accordingly issued by the President on September 30, 1794. In these two acts and in the patent there was reserved to the United States a tract of fifteen acres (including Fort Washington) for the accommodation of its garrison. This patent included, together with the reservations, 311,682 acres; excluding the territory in the reservations, it reduced the amount covered by it to 248,540 acres. It provided a frontage on the Ohio River between the two Miamis extending back to the northern boundary of the third range of townships, a line which crossed the district a couple miles north of the present town of Lebanon, in Warren County; this left of course the residue of the million acres unprovided for. The third range was subsequently called the "Military Range" and was conveyed in trust to General Dayton for the persons who should desire to turn in military warrants in payments for land. (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Book S, page 203.)

This patent was issued after the trip to Philadelphia taken by the Judge for the purpose of determining upon a settlement of the number of acres paid for. He objected at that time to the form of the patent because it conveyed the lands not to himself individually but to him and his associates, but his objections were overruled by the Secretary of the Treasury. Symmes thereupon returned to the Miami country and commenced the issuing of deeds. Before that time the purchasers of the lots had held no other evidence of right than their warrants received at the time of purchase. In his judgment the action of Congress and of the President was not a definite termination of his rights under his original application. He expected as he was able to make proper payments to be permitted to take up the rest of the million acres proposed for and for this reason he continued selling lots beyond the "Military Range" and beyond the territory covered by his patent. As a result of this many rumors arose in the purchase to the effect that the titles conveyed by him in these sections would not be sustained by the government. The purchasers began to fear for the safety of their property and insisted that Symmes should take some action to protect them, but nothing was done. The farmers threatened to make direct application to Congress for relief. Finding that he could not pacify his vendees any longer he went to Philadelphia in the fall of 1796 to make personal appeal to Congress with regard to the matter. He was accompanied by Judge Burnet, who was interested in the success of the application. The Judge was present at the time of the delivery by President Washington of his last official address to the two Houses of Congress and in his "Notes on the Northwestern Territory" he describes the scene. The President "was dressed in a suit of rich black velvet, with black silk stockings and large shoe-buckles and knee-buckles. According to the fashion of the day, his hair was combed back from his forehead—powdered—curled at his temples, and gathered behind in a square black silk bag suspended between his shoulders. A neat dress-sword hung at his left side." His address was spoken "with great deliberation and with considerable emphasis. The intonation of his voice was solemn, and all his movements and gestures were dignified, but easy and graceful. The expression of his countenance, together with his manner and general deportment, produced on the feelings of the audience the same deep, indescribable effect that had been so often noticed, and spoken of on former occasions.

"After the address was closed, the multitude, evidently unwilling to retire, remained in their places gazing on the object of their veneration and love; and it was with much difficulty that a passage could be made sufficient to enable the President and his suite to reach their carriages."

That Symmes thought that his efforts were to be crowned with success is shown by the following address:

"To the Public."

"It being a matter no longer doubtful that Congress will establish their contract with the subscriber in the fullest extent for the 1,000,000 acres of Miami lands, it is hoped that all

who wish to become early purchasers will no longer suffer themselves to be amused with idle reports against the contract, but purchase immediately from some persons who have a right to sell; and those gentlemen who have already contracted for Miami lands are desired to make payment as soon as possible to Capt. Wm. H. Harrison, at Fort Washington, as the Secretary of War has agreed to receive $20,000 at Fort Washington from the subscriber, if the money be paid immediately for the use of the army.

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

"January, 20, 1797.

"N. B. The subscriber begs leave to inform the public that he is authorized by the Hon. John Cleves Symmes to sell a large quantity of land in the fourth, fifth, sixth and tenth ranges of townships in the Miami Purchase, which, in point of soil, situation, timber and water, is reckoned equal to any in the Western country. Those who purchase before the first day of April shall not only have the land at a reduced price, but the title warranted and the liberty of making the earliest locations of small or large tracts, as may be most convenient. Persons applying to the subscriber at Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami, shall be furnished with a surveyor to show the land.

"JOHN SMITH."

"January 26, 1797."

Symmes had been selling lands on the theory that his original tract was still valid, and as a result many of the tracts were outside of the line covered by this patent, and as late as 1796 Symmes and his agents continued to offer lands in the fourth, fifth, sixth and even the tenth range of townships in the Miami purchase. Congress finally held that the arrangement under the laws of 1792, was a final adjustment of all the claims of Symmes, and that he had no title to convey to any the lands outside of those covered by the patent of 1794. This left his grantees of those lands, which were not covered by the patent, in a most desperate situation. They had paid for their lands in full or in part, and expended considerable sums of money and some years of labor in clearing and improving them. Towns had been laid out and farms made and all the arrangements for permanent settlements made. In spite of these facts these unfortunate persons were simply squatters. As a result, Congress, in 1799, passed an act by which all persons having made contracts with Symmes prior to April 1, 1799, whose lands were not included in his patent, were given a preference over all other purchasers at $2.00 an acre, and in 1801, this right of permission was extended to all persons who had purchased prior to January 1, 1800. From time to time thereafter, Congress made provisions so liberal that it is thought that practically all were able to complete their payments from the produce of their farms and at length their titles were made good.

THE "COLLEGE TOWNSHIP."

Judge Burnet in his "Notes" gives a chapter to the discussion of the Symmes' contract in which he gives in detail the complications that arose from the uncertainty as to the boundaries. Much of the uncertainty was the result of carelessness and the indiscriminate location of lands and also because of the imperfections of the survey. This sale of lands scattered through many sections and the selling of an undivided moiety on March 2, 1788, of Symmes' entire personal reservation to Boudinot had much to do with the controversy about the "College Township." No register was appointed, but Symmes received the moneys and applied them entirely to payments for lands instead of applying a portion to the improvement of roads and the erection of bridges. The provisions concerning the improvements of the lands by the erection of buildings were not complied with which led to a number of attempted forfeitures which however failed by reason of the prejudice of the courts and juries against forfeitures. The Indian wars made it impossible to make the necessary surveys and the plan adopted for surveying the lands which was to be done by the purchasers at their own expense was not successful.

"The principal surveyor was directed to run a line east and west, from one Miami River to the other, sufficiently north to avoid the bends of the Ohio, for a base line, on which he was directed to plant a stake at the termination of each mile. The assistant surveyors were then instructed to run meridian lines by the compass, from each of those stakes, and to plant a stake at the termination of each mile, for a section corner. The purchasers were then left to complete the survey, by running east and west lines, at their own expense, to connect those corners. By that defective plan of survey, scarcely two sections could be found in the Purchase, of the same shape, or of equal contents: some were too wide, others too narrow, and it may be doubted if there be one in

the whole Purchase, the corresponding corners of which, either on the north, or the south side, are on the same east and west line. In some instances, the corner on one meridian was found to be ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty rods, either north or south of the corresponding corner, on the other meridian." (Burnet's Notes, p. 418.)

Symmes afterwards tried to remedy this confusion by ordering a re-survey which would have changed every original corner in the purchase. The Supreme Court of the State, however, confirmed the original survey as having been made under proper authority and therefore as being conclusive.

The burning of Symmes' mansion house about the year 1811, supposed to have been caused by an incendiary, consumed a large number of the papers, the maps and books of entry relating to the surveys and sales of lands. Fortunately others had copies of many of the important documents. The long delay between the taking out of warrants and the issue of deeds resulted in many fraudulent transfers. All these matters served to plague Judge Symmes and render his last years unhappy as is shown by the bitter words of his will.

The matter of the "College Township" can be discussed briefly. The original ordinance for sales of public lands authorized the granting of college lands to the purchasers of two million acres and in Symmes' original pamphlet a "College Township" located as nearly opposite the Licking River as a suitable entire township could be found was provided for and was selected in good faith. When the contract was made reducing the quantity one half Symmes necessarily forfeited his claim to a "College Township" and he thereupon offered for sale the lots in the one which he had reserved for that purpose. When the bill of 1792 was passed and the patent in 1794 issued it contained a provision as follows:

"It is hereby declared, that one complete township or tract of land, of six miles square, to be located, with the approbation of the Governor, for the time being, of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, and in the manner, and within the term of five years aforesaid, as nearly as may be, in the centre of the tract of land herein before granted, hath been, and is granted, and shall be holden, in trust, to and for the sole and exclusive intent and purpose, of erecting and establishing therein, an Academy and other public schools, and seminaries of learning; and endowing and supporting the same, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever."

At that time there was not an entire township in the purchase undisposed of. When the first Territorial Legislature was appointed in 1799, Symmes attempted a settlement of the matter by offering the second township of the second fractional range for this purpose. This is now known as Green township and part of it including the village of Westwood is now in the city of Cincinnati. Upon examination the conveyance to Boudinot of an undivided part of Symmes' reserve townships was discovered as well as the fact that a few other sales had been made. The offer was thereupon rejected upon the advice of Governor St. Clair. It was repeated a number of times and finally in 1802 and 1803 the offer was made to Congress who also were obliged to reject it. Symmes regarded the sale to Boudinot as vague and conditional; he claimed that Boudinot had not lived up to the conditions on his own part and claimed further that if this were not true that Boudinot would have recourse against Symmes personally as his agreement was not sufficient to pass the title to the land. The United States Court of Pennsylvania decided in favor of Boudinot in 1802 and directed Symmes to perform his contract specifically. As to the other purchasers, it is supposed that Symmes expected to refund to them their purchase money but he was not in a position to do so. In 1802 and 1803 Congress passed a law vesting in the Legislature of Ohio a township of land in lieu of the township already granted for the purpose of establishing a college or academy. In April, 1803, Jacob White, Jeremiah Morrow and William Ludlow were selected by the Legislature as commissioners to locate the college lands, 36 sections in number. By reason of the number of sales already made in the Miami purchase, it became necessary to locate these sections west of the Great Miami River without the limits of the purchase where they are now held by the Miami University. The Miami University was created by the Legislature by an act of February, 1809, which provided for the fixing of the permanent seat of the University. The towns of Cincinnati, Dayton and Lebanon were considered and finally Lebanon in Warren County was selected, but at the next session of the Legislature an act was passed establishing the University on the land belonging to it. As a result of these proceedings Miami University was established at Oxford.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SETTLEMENT AT COLUMBIA.

THE LANDING OF STITES—THE BLOCKHOUSE—THE FIRST SETTLERS—FARMING AND HUNTING—THE FIRST CHURCH—THE FIRST SCHOOL—JUDGE GOFORTH'S DIARY—THE VISIT OF BAILY.

After the return of the explorers to Limestone, the various parties made preparations for their final departure to their new homes north of the Ohio. The first to start was the party of Capt. Benjamin Stites. Stites with his son Benjamin spent more than two months in sawing out lumber for cabins and making all the arrangements necessary for erecting immediate proper shelter for his colonists. One cause of the delay had been the lack of sufficient military escort; another was the daily expectation of the conclusion of the treaty of Fort Harmar with the Indians. His nephew, Nehemiah, was shot while at work in the woods. Stites by far the most adventurous of the colonists concluded however that he would delay no longer. Rumors were brought into Limestone by a party of Kentucky hunters, telling of five hundred Indian warriors who were stationed at the mouth of the Little Miami, ready to resist the invading white men, who might attempt to effect a landing there. This rumor has been charged by some writers to the jealousy of the Kentuckians. In fact, however, there were a few Shawanees encamped a little distance up the Miami, when Captain Stites' boats put ashore. They were very friendly, however, and so peaceable in their conduct that Stites sent reassuring word to Symmes and Patterson, who tarried at Limestone.

THE LANDING OF STITES.

On the 16th day of November, Stites' party left Limestone for the unknown land of the Ohio, and for two days their flat-boat floated on the bosom of the river until just before daybreak on the morning of the 18th of November, 1788, they approached the mouth of the Little Miami. Three men were sent forward in a canoe as scouts to see if there were any Indians there encamped. Their instructions were that if they found signs of hostility to signal to those in the flat-boat, to keep near the Kentucky shore and pass on without landing. If no Indians were seen there, they were to land their canoe and this would be a signal to the flat-boats to land also. The canoe cautiously approached the shore in the dusky morning light and after a few moments' reconnaissance its occupants found there was none to oppose them. The prow of the canoe was turned toward the shore and it struck the land about three-quarters of a mile below the Miami. Hezekiah Stites, a brother of Capt. Benjamin Stites, immediately jumped ashore and by so doing established his claim to be the first settler who landed on the site of Columbia, and as Columbia is now a part of the city of Cincinnati, the first settler of the Queen City of the West. The point of their landing was a little below the mouth of the Miami, at a spot nearly in front of where subsequently was the residence of Athan Stites. The party, according to Rev. Ezra Ferris "after making fast the boats, ascended the steep bank and cleared away the underbrush in the midst of a pawpaw thicket, when the women and children sat down. They next * * * placed sentinels at a small distance from the thicket, and having first united in a song of praise to Almighty God, * * * upon their bended knees they offered thanks for the past, and prayer for future protection." This group included Stites,

John S. Gano, Thomas C. Wade, Edmund Buxton and Greenbright Bailey and wife.

As Mr. Venable well says: "This devout and pious scene in the pawpaw thicket near the shore of the Ohio, furnishes a study for some Cincinnati artist to immortalize in a painting."

THE BLOCKHOUSE.

Stites was not only a courageous man, but a provident one, and he at once proceeded to the erection of two or three blockhouses, which known as Fort Miami together with the adjoining cabins formed the nucleus of Columbia, now the oldest part of Cincinnati, and the oldest white settlement in Hamilton County or in the Miami purchase. The first blockhouse is said to have been erected about at the spot of landing. Its location in section 29, township five, has been fully identified by Robert Ralston Jones, in his valuable monograph on Fort Washington.

Mr. Jones says:

"It stood on the bank of the Ohio River, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long, built of large round logs. It survived the ravages of time until April 25, 1838, when it was undermined during a time of flood by the swells from passing steamers."

By permission of Mr. Jones, the statement of Thomas Gregory, with reference to this blockhouse, is here copied:

"Near the edge of the high river bank on the Ohio side of the river, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami River, there stood a blockhouse which in 1832 was occupied by a family named Hart, but owned by Athan Stites, a son of Hezekiah Stites and nephew of Captain Benjamin Stites who were among the first settlers of Columbia in 1788.

"This blockhouse was occupied in 1832 as a dwelling house, by a family consisting of two young women, Catherine and Mary Hart, and their brother, Jacob, a lad of about my own age (nine years). The oldest daughter afterward married Athan Stites. One day in the year 1832 one of the young women alluded to (Catherine) crossed the river in a boat and coming to my father's house requested as a favor that I might be allowed to come and live at their house (the blockhouse) so as to be company for their young brother Jacob.

"My father granted the request and I accordingly went to live with the family in the blockhouse, remaining there about three years.

"During those three years, say 1832-1834 inclusive, I lived in the blockhouse and have a clear idea of its size and location, in part from the fact that a brick house of Athan Stites, which is still standing, was built at some time within the three years I mention, and this brick house was constructed facing the river at a point about 100 feet back of the blockhouse and had its western end at about the center of the blockhouse.

"I am led to remember the relative position of the brick house, and the blockhouse in which I lived, from the circumstance that with the other lad, Jacob Hart, I assisted in carrying brick to the mason who was employed to build the house. We each piled up a few bricks on a short board and thus carried them to where he was at work.

"The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long with the gable end towards the Ohio River and very close to the edge of the bank.

"The building was constructed of round logs about the size of a man's body, unhewed, but notched together at the corners. It contained two rooms divided by a rough partition of split logs, afterwards changed to a board partition, and above the first story was a high garret or attic. The roof was covered with split logs secured by wooden pins, afterwards replaced by clap-boards. There was a puncheon floor, later removed for a more modern substitute. The attic projected over the lower story and was provided with port or loop holes for rifles. A large stone chimney stood in the middle of the gable end farthest from the river. This chimney was built outside of the logwork, but the fireplace opened into the lower room. This fireplace was large enough to take in logs about four feet in length and at night it furnished our light, for lamps of any kind were very scarce.

"The front of the house, facing the Ohio River, had a window and door in the lower story and a small window in the attic. There was a window opening on each side of the house in the back room and another small window in the attic facing away from the river. The door was a heavy one secured by a bar, and the windows were protected by solid plank shutters.

"Early in the spring of 1838 during a high stage of the river, two steamboats were passing the blockhouse at about the same time, and the swells from these boats caused the bank to cave away and the old blockhouse to fall into the river.

"The day on which this accident occurred was the same as that on which the boilers of the Steamer 'Moselle' exploded, at Fulton, April 25, 1838.

"The above is a true statement, as I remember the events of the old blockhouse, which was said to have been built soon after the landing of Benjamin Stites and his brother Hezekiah, with other settlers, just below the Little Miami River, on November 18, 1788."

A part of the men stood guard over the settlement while others worked on the blockhouse. On November 24th, the first blockhouse was completed and the women and children with their goods were moved into it.

THE FIRST SETTLERS.

In the Directory of 1819, the statement is made that the original article of agreement for commencing the undertaking with Stites "was signed by about thirty persons, some of whom retracted their engagement on account of a rumor which was circulated by the Kentuckians, that a large body of Indians had encamped at the place of their destination. Most of them, however, adhered to their resolution; and on the 16th of November, 26 persons descended the river to the mouth of the Little Miami, where they arrived on the 18th. After some precaution taken to avoid a sudden attack from the Indians, the party landed and immediately commenced the erection of a blockhouse at the place now called Columbia. A part of the number stood guard, while the rest worked upon the building, which in a few days was sufficiently prepared for their reception. Three other blockhouses were soon after erected near the first, forming a square stockade fort. This was the second settlement on the Ohio, and the first between the Miamis. In a few weeks several of the party were dispatched to inform Mr. Symmes of the success of their adventure. He immediately sent on six soldiers, under the command of a sergeant, who built a small blockhouse a little below the one erected by the inhabitants."

In a note, the 26 persons referred to are given as follows: "Major Benjamin Stites, Hez. Stites, Elijah Stites, John S. Gano, James H. Bailey, Dan. Shoemaker, Owen Davis, three women, and a number of small children and several other persons, whose names are not known."

In a work published by Robert Clarke, in 1870, the following appear as the names of the early settlers of Columbia: "James H. Baily, Zephu Ball, Jonas Bowman, Edmund Buxton, W. Coleman, Benjamin Davis, David Davis, Owen Davis, Samuel Davis, Francis Dunlevy, Hugh Dunn, Isaac Ferris, John Ferris, James Flinn, Gabriel Foster, Luke Foster, John S. Gano, William Goforth, Daniel Griffin, Joseph Grose, John Hardin, Cornelius Hurley, David Jennings, Henry Jennings, Levi Jennings, Ezekiel Larned, John McCulloch, John Manning, James Matthews, Aaron Mercer, Elijah Mills, Ichabod B. Miller, Patrick Moore, William Moore, John Morris, Newell, John Phillips, Jonathan Pitman, Benjamin F. Randolph, James Seward, Benjamin Stites, Thomas C. Wade, John Webb, Wickersham."

On July 4, 1889, the landing at Columbia was celebrated by the dedication of the monument erected to the memory of the first boat load of pioneers, who landed there a little over a hundred years before. On one side of the freestone pedestal is engraved, "To the Pioneers Landing Near this Spot, November 18, 1788." On the obverse side of this monument is the following inscription: "To the first boat load of pioneers landing near this spot—Major Benjamin Stites, Mrs. Benjamin Stites, Ben Stites, Jr., Rachel Stites, Ann W. Stites, Greenbright Bailey, Mrs. Greenbright Bailey, Jas. F. Bailey, Reasom Bailey, Abel Cook, Jacob Mills, Jonathan Stites, Ephraim Kibby, John S. Gano, Mrs. Mary S. Gano, Thos. C. Wade, Hezekiah Stites, Elijah Stites, Edmund Buxton, Daniel Shoemaker, —— Hempstead, Evan Shelby, Allen Woodruff, Hampton Woodruff, Joseph Cox, Benjamin Cox."

Another list adds the name of Ignatius Ross to the early settlers.

Judge Burnet, commenting upon this settlement, mentions the names of Colonel Spencer, Major Gano, Judge Goforth, Francis Dunlevy, Major Kibby, Rev. John Smith, Judge Foster, Colonel Brown, Mr. Hubbell, Captain Flinn, Jacob White and John Reily, and says:

"They were all men of energy and enterprise, and were more numerous than either of the parties who commenced their settlements below them on the Ohio. Their village was also more flourishing, and for two or three years contained a larger number of inhabitants than any other in the Miami purchase. This superiority, however, did not continue, as will appear from the sequel." (Notes on the Northwestern Territory, p. 46.)

FARMING AND HUNTING.

After a blockhouse had been completed by Stites' party and everything arranged as well as

possible for the protection of the women and children, the settlers proceeded to erect log cabins for their families. The boats in which they had come down from Limestone were broken up and were used for doors and floors in these rough buildings. They were in considerable distress however for supplies. The Indians troubled them but little as they were then gathered at Fort Harmar, negotiating their treaty with the whites. Wild game was to be had for the shooting, and the river was full of fish of fine quality, but their bread stuffs and salt soon gave out and they were obliged to resort to such substitutes during the winter as they could devise from the various roots of the native plants which grew about them particularly the roots of the bear-grass. The women and children were in the habit of visiting Turkey Bottom for these roots, which they boiled, washed and dried on smooth boards and finally pounded into a species of flour, which served as a tolerable substitute for making various baking preparations. Few families, however, had milk and still fewer bacon for a season or two.

As the spring opened up and they were able to do a little planting, the prospects of the settlers grew brighter. The fine bottoms of the Little Miami, particularly Turkey Bottom, were worked by the men, half keeping guard with rifles, while the other half worked.

"Turkey Bottom, one and a half miles above the mouth of the Little Miami, was a clearing of 640 acres made ready to the hands of the whites when they commenced the settlement of the country. The Indians had cultivated it for a length of years up to the period of Major Stites' settlement, although part of this extensive field had been suffered to grow up by neglect in honey and black locust, which became literally, as well as figuratively, 'thorns in the sides,' to the early settlers. This ground was leased by Stites to six of the settlers for five years and with a clearing of Elijah Stites and other settlers of six acres more, furnished the entire supply of corn, for that settlement and Cincinnati, for that season. Nothing could surpass the fertility of the soil, which was as mellow as an ash heap. Benjamin Randolph planted an acre, which he had no time to hoe, being obliged to leave the settlement for New Jersey. When he returned he found an hundred bushels of corn ready for husking.

"Seed corn, and even corn for homony, and in the form of meal was brought out of the Kentucky settlements, down the Licking, and occasionally from a distance as great as Lexington." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 100.)

The valley of the Little Miami, two miles wide at its lower termination, contained but little forest, and the low and level surface of Turkey Bottom and the surrounding meadows were frequented both in winter and summer by numerous flocks of wild poultry. The circular used by Joel Barlow and the agents of the Scioto Company to promote emigration from France, described the Ohio country generally. The advantages offered agriculturists were described as follows:

"In all parts the soil is deep, rich, producing in abundance wheat, rye, corn, buckwheat, barley, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, the tree that furnishes the food for the silk worm, the grape-vine, cotton. The tobacco is of a quality much superior to that of Virginia, and the crops of wheat are much more abundant here than in any other part of America. The ordinary crop of corn is from sixty to eighty English bushels per acre. The bottom lands are especially adapted to the production of all the commodities we have just enumerated. There where the vast plains, which are met with in this territory, are intersected with little brooks, the land is suitable for the culture of rice, and it grows here abundantly. Hops also are produced spontaneously in this territory, and there are also the same peaches, plums, pears, melons, and in general all the fruits which are produced in the temperate zone."

In addition to these advantages for agriculturists the following claim was made:

"There is no country more abounding in game than this. The stag, fallow deer, elk, buffalo and bears fill the woods and are nourished on these great and beautiful plains, which are encountered in all parts of these countries, an unanswerable proof of the fertility of the soil; wild turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, and so forth, are here found in greater abundance than our domestic fowls in all the older settlements of America. The rivers are well stocked with fish of different kinds, and several of these fish are of an exquisite quality. In general they are large, the cat-fish (poisson-chat) has an excellent flavor and weighs from twenty to eighty pounds.

"One will find here provisions for several years, and the borders of each one of these rivers will serve for a long time in place of a market.

When inhabitants shall come here from all parts of the world, nature will have provided for them, at least for one year, all they need, without the necessity of making any purchases." (Ohio Arch & Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol III, p. 90.)

It will be recollected that Christopher Gist, in his journal, recorded that the land "abounds with turkeys, deer, elks, and most sources of game, particularly buffalos, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding on one meadow, in short it wants nothing but cultivation to make it a most delightful country."

Despite these glowing descriptions, it can well be imagined that the early days of the settlement were times of great hardship. As Mr. Cist well says, writing in 1859, "it is hardly possible for those who now reside in Cincinnati, in the enjoyment of the comfort and luxury which money can purchase, and the plenty which pours in by wagons, steamboats, railways and canals, to realize the destitutions and privations of the first settlers before they had got their farms cleared and the cleared land under cultivation and fence.

"At that period the condition of the great thoroughfares of the West—of the route across the Alleghany Mountains especially—was such as to forbid the emigrants taking any articles but those of indispensable necessity; for a six horse road wagon at a slow gait could not carry more than what would now be considered over a Macadamized road a load for two horses. When the pioneer westward had reached Red Stone or Wheeling, the difficulties of transportation were not much lessened. There were no wagon roads through the intermediate country, if the hostilities of the implacable savage had permitted traversing the route by land in safety; and the family boats which carried the settlers down, were so incumbered with wagons, horses, cows, pigs, etc., as to have little room for anything else but a few articles of family housekeeping of the first necessity. On reaching their destination, cabins had to be erected, the land cleared and cultivated and the crop gathered in in the presence as it were of the relentless savage who watched every opportunity of destroying the lives of the settlers, and breaking up the lodgments as fast as made. In the meantime supplies of food not yet raised on the improvement had to be obtained in the woods from hunting which in most cases was a constant exposure of life to Indian enemies." (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 121-122.)

In spite of these discouragements, however, Stites proceeded to lay out "the squares and streets for a great city, which he hoped would eventually become the Queen of the West, but nature and destiny declared against him and the city never advanced beyond the plan. The vast corn fields of the wealthiest estates in the neighborhood are still haunted by the half obsolete name of Turkey Bottom; the East End of the great Cincinnati corporation, which is gradually creeping up the Little Miami wears the familiar name of Captain Stites' rude little hamlet. These are the most substantial memorials of his defeated ambition which survive about the place of his settlement." (Jewett.)

As already stated, a sergeant and 18 men were presently sent down by Symmes to Stites and afterwards a sergeant and 12 men started from Limestone with a party of settlers for the Old Fort, at the mouth of the Great Miami, but these were turned back at Columbia by ice in the river which gorged it completely and damaged their boats. They returned discouraged but in safety to Limestone.

Stites' village was intended to occupy the plain between Crawfish creek and the mouth of the Little Miami, a distance fronting on the Ohio almost three miles. It was expected to go up the Miami about the same distance. It was in fact laid out for over a mile on the Ohio stretching back for over three-fourths of a mile half way up the high hill at the northeast. It was platted in eighty blocks of lots each of half an acre and the rest in lots of four and five acres each. Nine hundred and forty-five in-lots are supposed to have been staked off by the surveyors. These lay on streets intersecting each other at right angles. The village at Columbia as was afterwards built does not conform in any way to the Stites plan. The modern Columbia lies below the original site which, strictly speaking, is not within the limits of Cincinnati.

THE FIRST CHURCH.

Columbia, as has been stated several times, was the largest settlement in the purchase during the early years and much was expected of its future development. Its buildings were better in arrangement and appearance than those of the other settlements and its population was made up of a people of very high character. By the close of 1790, about fifty cabins had been erected here. Wickerham's mill was the principal one in the purchase. Here too was organized the first church in the purchase. The celebrated Baptist minister, Rev. David Jones, while visiting the Ohio country stopped at Columbia as early as December, 1789, and preached in one of the

blockhouses of the fort the first sermon to the settlers. Other ministers who visited the settlement were David Rice, a Presbyterian from Kentucky and Elder John Mason, a Virginia Baptist. Elder Stephen Gano visited his relatives in Columbia in March, 1790, and preached a number of sermons and finally organized the Baptist Church. There seems to be some dispute as to the exact date, authorities being divided between January 20 and March 31, 1790.

The meeting place was at the dwelling of Benjamin Davis and nine persons joined at the time: Benjamin Davis, Mary Davis, Jonah Reynolds, Amy Reynolds, John Ferris, Isaac Ferris, Elizabeth Ferris, Thomas C. Wade and John S. Gano. Isaac Ferris was appointed deacon and Gano, clerk; Elizabeth Stites, Rhoda Stites and Sarah Ferris were "received upon experience," and were baptized in the river on Sunday, April 8th. Others soon joined the church increasing its number to 15. Elder Gano had been chosen pastor but he did not feel that his work in the East would permit him to accept the appointment; he therefore returned to his home. Elder John Smith was thereupon chosen, although he did not take charge until the spring of 1791. Daniel Clark, a licentiate, served during his absence. Clark was ordained as a clergyman in September 1793. This was said to be the first ordination of a Protestant clergyman in the Northwest Territory.

Major Stites gave a lot in the northern part of Columbia and finally a frame structure, 36 by 30 feet, with gallery and a hip-roof was erected for a church. It was occupied in the spring of 1793 and stood until 1835 when it was torn down. At Columbia as well as at Cincinnati, the settlers who attended the meetings carried their firearms. This continued until after the time of Wayne's victory. At the conclusion of the services it was quite common practice for Colonel Spencer, the head of the militia, to address the meeting upon the importance of guarding carefully the settlement. On one occasion two members brought into the church an Indian scalp which they had just taken.

In April, 1790, the Columbia church concluded "that in view of the entire destitution of preaching in Cincinnati, Brother Smith be allowed to spend half his time in that place." Elder Smith was one of the most prominent characters in the early days of the Territory. He was of noble and commanding personal appearance and was possessed of very fine manners and admirable presence. He came originally from Virginia and resided at Columbia until 1795. In that year he took charge of a church known as the Little Miami Island Church which was about eight miles northeast of Columbia. Subsequently Smith became interested in politics. He was a member of the first constitutional convention which organized the State and one of the first members of the United States Senate from 1803 to 1808. He was chosen as a Jeffersonian Democrat and during the early part of his term he enjoyed the friendship of President Jefferson. He was sent in 1804 on a confidential mission to Louisiana and Florida to discover the attitude of the Spanish officers there towards the United States. He became acquainted with Burr and when Burr passed through the neighborhood he entertained him. Subsequently his friendship for Burr was misconstrued and he was finally charged with treason. A motion was made in the Senate to expel him. This failed of passage by one vote. Smith resigned his seat in disgust and finally retired to Louisiana where he died in 1824. (Burnet's Notes, p. 94.)

THE FIRST SCHOOL.

The first school in the county was opened in Columbia, June 21, 1790, by John Reily who was joined the next year by Francis Dunlevy (Dunlavy). Reily came from North Carolina and served under General Greene throughout the Revolutionary War. He was one of the first settlers at Columbia but removed in 1794 to Cincinnati where he became deputy clerk, a clerk of the Territorial Legislature and collector of the town. He moved to Hamilton in 1803 where he became the clerk of the Common Pleas Court and of the Supreme Court and also recorder of the county. He died at the age of eighty-seven in 1850. (Burnet's Notes.)

His associate, Francis Dunlevy, was from Virginia and served in the Indian wars and in the Revolutionary War. He was a member of Crawford's army at the time of his defeat near Sandusky. He lived in Columbia until 1797 when he moved to Lebanon where he died in 1839. He was presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the First Circuit, which was located in Hamilton County, for a period of 16 years, and was a member of the first constitutional convention and the first Legislature.

During the association of Reily and Dunlevy, Reily taught the English studies and Dunlevy taught the classical department. The school was a subscription school and seems to have kept open throughout the year. The teacher was evi-

dently boarded around among his patrons, for in his journal he records: "In the month of August boarded twelve days with Mr. Patrick Moore; in the month of September boarded twelve days with Hugh Dunn; and in the month of December boarded with John McCulloch six days."

JUDGE GOFORTH'S DIARY.

Another very distinguished citizen of Columbia was Judge William Goforth whose name appears frequently throughout this volume. He came early in 1789. Among the most interesting documents concerning the early history of this region is his diary which has been preserved for us by Mr. Cist.

EXTRACTS FROM MEMORANDUMS MADE BY JUDGE GOFORTH, IN HIS DAY-BOOK.

1789

Jan. 2 left our camp and put down the Ohio and on the 8th arrived at Limestone and thence to Washington which is in 38 degrees some minutes North, and had at that time 119 horses.

Jan. 12th left Washington (Mason County, Kentucky) on the 12th and arrived on the 18th at Miami (Columbia).

Jan. 23 the first four horses were stolen—by the Indians—

April 4 two of Mills' men were killed.

April 5 a bark canoe passed the town and five more horses were stolen.

April 16 Baily and party returned from pursuing after the Indians.

May 3 Met in the shade to worship.

May 11 A cat-fish was taken—four feet long, eight inches between the eyes, and weighed 58 pounds.
Judge Symmes arrived on the 2nd of February, 1789, as he informed Major Stites at his own post.

April 21 traded with the first Indian.

April 28 Capt. Samondawat—an Indian, arrived and traded

Aug. 3 Named the Fort "Miami."

Aug. 5 Col. Henry Lee arrived and 53 volunteers.

Aug. 27 Went to North Bend with Col. Lee.

Sep. 3 Captain Flinn retook the horses.

Sep. 25 Major Stites, old Mr. Bealer and myself took the depth of the Ohio River when we found there was 57 feet water in the channel, and that the river was 55 feet lower at that time than it was at that uncommonly high fresh last winter.
The water at the high flood was 112 feet. (*Mr. Cist thinks this an error*).

Oct. 9 Mr. White set out for the Tiber.

Aug. 16 Major Doughty went down the river.

Dec. 28 Genl. Harmar passed this post down the River.

1790.

Jan. 2 The Governor passed this post down the River.

Jan. 3 received a line desiring my attendance with others.

Jan. 4 Attended his excellency when the Civil and Military officers were nominated.

Jan. 6 The officers were sworn in.

Jan. 13 Doctor David Johns preached.

Jan. 18 Doctor Gano and Thomas Sloo came here.

Jan. 20 The church was constituted—Baptist church at Columbia.

Jan. 21 Three persons were baptized.

Jan. 24 called a church meeting and took unanimous vote to call the Rev. Stephen Gano to the pastoral charge of the church at Columbia.

April 15 General Harmar went on the campaign past this post.

April 19 The Governor went up the River.

Aug. 30 Worked at clearing the minister's lot.

Aug. 2 Mr. Sargent left this post to go up the River together with Judge Turner.

Sep. 12 The Mason county militia past this post on their way to headquarters.

Sep. 19 200 Militia from Pennsylvania past this post on their way to Cincinnati.

Sep. 23 The Governor went down to Cincinnati.

Sep. 25 Major Doughty and Judge Turner also.

Sep. 30 The main body of the troops marched.

1791.

Jan. 2 begun to thaw.

Mch. 1 Indians fired at Lt. Baily's boat.

Mch. 1 Mrs. Abel Cook was found dead in the Round Bottom.

Mch. 4 Mrs. Bowman was fired at in the night through a crack in the house.

Mch. 22 Mr. Strong returned from up the River; had 24 men killed and wounded on the 19th March.

Mch. 27 Mr. Plasket arrived—the 24th in the morning fought the Indians just after daybreak, about 8 miles above Scioto—this the same battle mentioned in Hubble's narrative

July 7 Col. Spencer's son taken prisoner.

July 14 Francis Beadles, Jonathan Coleman, a soldier killed.

1792.

Jan. 7 In the evening Samuel Welch was taken.

Nov. 2 Last Monday night met at my house to consult on the expediency of founding an academy—Rev. John Smith, Major Gano, Mr. Dunlevy,—afterward Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and myself—Wednesday night met at Mr. Reily's school-house—Mr Reily then the teacher was for many years Clerk of Butler Common Pleas and Supreme Court—to digest matters respecting the academy, the night being bad, and but few people attending postponed till next night which was 1st of November, met at Mr. Reily's to appoint a committee.

Dec. 6 Fall of snow 7 inches on a level.

1793

Sep. 24 The first and fourth Sub-Legions march under General Wayne.

The 27th or rather the 30th the army march (*Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 172*)

THE VISIT OF BAILY.

As late as 1794 soldiers were kept at Columbia there being as many as two hundred there at that time. Columbia was visited by a distinguished Englishman, Francis Baily, afterwards a Fellow of the Royal Society, and president of the Royal Astronomical Society. His journal published in 1856 describes his visit as follows:

"Tuesday, February 28, 1797. This morning we dropped down the river about half mile to a convenient landing, and here we had a much better view of the town than we had where we lay last night. The houses lie very scattered along the bottom of a hill which is about one-eighth of a mile from the river. The town is laid out on a regular plan, but was never in a very flourishing state. The neighboring and well-settled country round and at Cincinnati prevents it from being a place of any great importance; besides, it lies very low, and is often overflowed from the river, which prevents any houses being built immediately on the banks, as is customary in these new settlements. One-quarter of the land on which the town was intended to be laid out is now under water.

"After breakfast we went ashore to view the town, and H. introduced me to Mr. Smith and Dr. Bean. The former gentleman is a man of very good property, which he has acquired in several different ways in this place: he is a farmer, a merchant, and a parson; all these occupations, though seemingly so different, he carries on with the greatest regularity and without confusion. The latter is a man of good education and practices physic here, somewhat in the same manner as our country apothecaries in England do, for which he is dubbed doctor. As those gentlemen rank with the first in the place, a description of their habitations, manners, and society will serve, without any great variation, for that of the bulk of emigrants in a similar state of life.

"As Dr. Bean would insist upon our sleeping at his house, and in fact stopping with him during our residence here we accompanied him home. His house was built of logs, as all the houses in these new settlements are, and consisted of a ground floor containing two rooms, one of which was appropriated to lumber, the other served all the purposes of parlor, bed room, shop, and everything else (though there was a little out-house where they occasionally cooked their victuals and also washed), and it did not appear as if it had been cleaned out this half-year. There were two windows to throw light into the room, but there had been so many of the panes of glass broken, whose places were supplied by old hats and pieces of paper, that it was very little benefited by the kind intention of the architect. I saw a few phials and gallipots on a shelf in one corner of the room, and near them a few books of different descriptions. * *

"Such is the force of example that very few of the emigrants who come into this kind of half-savage, half-civilized, state of life, however neat and cleanly they might have been before, can have resolution to prevent themselves from falling into that slovenly practice which everywhere surrounds them; and it is not till the first class of settlers are moved off, that any of these new countries are at all desirable to a person brought up in different habits of life.

"At dinner-table I observed a table prepared in the middle of the room, with some knives and forks and pewter plates placed on it, but without any table-cloth; and when the dinner was ready, two of his servants who were working out in the field were called in, and sat down at the same table and partook of the same provisions as ourselves.

"Our provisions consisted of some stewed pork and some beef, together with some wild sort of vegetable which had been gathered out in the woods, as it must be observed that in all these new settlements fresh provisions, both in meat and vegetables, are at some seasons very scarce, particularly at the time we were there. The inhabitants live a great deal upon deer and turkeys, which they shoot wild in the woods, and upon bacon, which they keep by them in case of need, and as to vegetables, they are seldom to be procured, except in summer. The bread which is made here is chiefly of Indian meal; it is a coarse kind of fare, but after a little use becomes not all unpleasant.

"When the time drew nigh for us to retire to rest, we were shown to one corner of the room where there was a ladder, up which we mounted into a dismal kind of a place without a window, but instead of those there were a number of crevices between the logs, which had never been filled up, and in the room there were three beds, or rather three bedsteads, with a few blankets thrown over them.

"I went to breakfast with Mr. Smith, and here I found things a little more in order, though far from that degree of refinement and comfort to be met with in the more civilized parts of this country. This house bore the marks of industry and cleanliness, and we were regaled with tea and coffee and boiled chicken for our breakfast, attended with buckwheat cakes, which are common in this part of the country.

"The farm of this gentleman consists of several acres of land adjoining his house, which he keeps in high cultivation—chiefly meadow ground—and from which he has realized a great deal of money. His warehouse was near the water side. It consisted of but one room, where he brings down the river such articles of European manufacture as are most in demand. There are but two or three other stores of the same kind in Columbia. The profits of this trade are generally one hundred per cent, and sufficiently compensate the trade for the trouble of a journey once or twice a year to Philadelphia."

In 1810 John Cutler says of the village that it had increased but little in the number of its inhabitants. "At present it is only a neat, pleasant village, consisting of about forty houses, built at some distance from each other, on a rich bottom or interval. Nor is it probable, from its situation, that it will ever become a place of much business."

Dr. Drake, writing in 1815 says, speaking of Columbia that it "in the year of 1789-90 had the largest settlement in the Miami country and was expected to flourish but the bayou which was formed across it from the Little Miami almost every year, and the occasional inundation of nearly the whole site had destroyed that expectation and it is now inhabited chiefly by farmers." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 37.)

In 1810 the *Ohio State Gazetteer* speaks of Columbia as containing but fifty houses. The later village lying down the river was incorporated in 1868 and was annexed to the city of Cincinnati in 1873. At the census of 1870, just prior to the annexation, its population was 1,165.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF LOSANTIVILLE AND NORTH BEND.

THE LANDING AT YEATMAN'S COVE—THE SURVEY OF THE TOWN—THE DONATION OF LOTS—THE RIVAL PLATS—THE ORIGINAL PURCHASERS—THE FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH THE INDIANS—SYMMES' PROCLAMATION TO THE INDIANS—THE LANDING AT NORTH BEND—THE CITY OF MIAMI.

The reports sent back by Stites were sufficiently encouraging to induce Patterson's party, still at Limestone, to make a start for the tract purchased by Denman, opposite the mouth of the Licking.

THE LANDING AT YEATMAN'S COVE.

"About the last of December," says the Directory of 1819, "Israel Ludlow, who after the death of Filson had become a joint proprietor with Denman and Patterson, of the site of Cincinnati, left Limestone with about twenty persons to commence a settlement on their purchase.

* * * *

"Immediately on their arrival, Mr. Ludlow and his party erected three or four log cabins, the first of which was built on Front street, near the corner of Front and Main streets. During the winter, Mr. Ludlow surveyed and laid out the town, then covered with a dense forest, marking the course of the streets on the trees. In addition to the small quantity of provision that the settlers brought with them, they found ample and easy means of subsistence from wild game and fish. The Indians, tho' unfriendly, committed no depredations for two or three months."

The names of the party are given in the Directory of 1819, as follows:

"James Carpenter, William McMillan, John Vance, Robert Caldwell, Sylvester White, Sam. Mooney, Henry Lindsay, Joseph Thornton, Noah Badgley, Thaddeus Bruen, Daniel Shoemaker, Ephraim Kirby, Thomas Gizzel, Wm. Connell, Joel Williams, Samuel Blackburn, Scott Traverse, John Porter, Fran. Hardisty, Matthew Fowler and Evan Shelby."

This list strangely enough does not include the names of Ludlow and Patterson, who were unquestionably with the party. The other names usually included in the roll of founders, are those of Matthew Campbell, Captain Henry, Luther Kitchel, Elijah Martin and Isaac Tuttle. It is conjectured that Ephraim Kirby is Ephraim Kibby, subsequently of Columbia, and also that the name of Daniel Shoemaker included here is that of the Columbia settler.

Kibby and Shoemaker drew lots at Losantiville, but were with Stites' party at Columbia and subsequently removed there. Tuttle, Henry and some of the others joined Symmes' number in February. Hardesty and others drifted away without making a permanent settlement here.

The exact date of the departure from Maysville is given in Symmes' letter to Dayton, written from North Bend, May 18, 1789:

"On the twenty-fourth of December last, colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking River, sailed from Limestone, in company with Mr. Tuttle, captain Henry, Mr. Ludlow, and about twelve others, in order to

form a station and lay out a town opposite Licking. They suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and floating ice, which filled the Ohio from shore to shore. Perseverance, however, triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably, but would have been much more important by this time, if colonel Patterson or Mr. Denman had resided in the town. Colonel Patterson tarried about one month at Losantiville, and returned to Lexington."

This fixes the date of departure from Limestone beyond any real question, but strangely enough the date of the landing has ever been in dispute. The 26th day of December was for a long time accepted as the proper date, upon no other grounds apparently, says Cist, than that two days ought to take a flat-boat down the Ohio, 65 miles; in the condition of the river at that time covered with drift ice, it must be conceded that nothing reliable can be deduced from such data. Another writer quotes an English traveler, who arrived here in 1806, as saying:

"Travelling is so very good between Limestone and the town, a distance of sixty-eight miles, that I descended in two short days' run, without meeting with any obstacles."

It is apparent from this that the two days' run was regarded as an unusually successful trip, which could hardly be the fact when the river was filled with floating ice from shore to shore.

In the chancery case between the city and Joel Williams, involving the ownership of the Public Landing, the witnesses testified variously. One witness spoke of the landing as being late in December, 1788. Patterson and Ludlow said that the landing was as late as the early part of January, 1789, which seems improbable, as a trip so prolonged would have been so unusual as to make a clear impression on the minds of all the parties.

William McMillan, a very intelligent lawyer and a very prominent man in Cincinnati for many years, and one of scrupulous and exact habits of business, testified, "that he was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati, on the 28th day of December, 1788."

Mr. Cist records that Judge Burnet assured him that he never had any doubt that this was the correct date. Denman, who was not with the party, in another case testified that they came "late in December," although he could not remember the precise day. Judge Burnet in his "Notes" has the party land on the 24th, an obvious error (p. 46).

The date fixed by McMillan is now generally accepted as the correct one. Tradition recites that "the party, occupied in completing the preparations, did not get away from Limestone until somewhat late in the day, and made but nine miles before tying up for the night; that the third day they sighted Columbia, but were unable to reach it or stop on account of the ice; that the same cause prevented their landing here upon arrival opposite the spot on the evening of the same day, but that, after remaining in or near the mouth of the Licking through the night of the twenty-seventh, they effected a crossing with their boats the next morning, and triumphantly entered the little inlet at the foot of Sycamore street, afterwards known as Yeatman's Cove. Fastening their frail barks to the roots and shrubs along the bank, they step ashore, collect driftwood and other dry fragments, strike the steel and flint, and provide themselves with their first necessity to comfort and cookery—ample fires. Very likely the fatigues of the voyage over, they soon realize, even long before night, the graphic picture drawn by Dr. Daniel Drake more than 63 years afterwards: 'Setting their watchmen around, they lay down with their feet to the blazing fires, and fell asleep under the music of the north wind whistling among the frozen limbs of the great sycamores and water maples which overhung them.' (Drake's Discourses, p. 10.)

"It was no time for prolonged rest or sleep, however. The depth of winter is not the season for open-air bivouacs, when shelters are at hand. The readiest expedient for the supply of material for dwellings—one already suggested by the practice of the boatmen of the age in breaking up their vessels and selling their constituent parts when the destination was reached—naturally occurred to the newly arrived, and their first cabin was constructed of boat-planks and other breakage from the craft in which they came." (Shaffer's Directory of 1840, p. 481, said by Ford to have been written by Judge Burnet; Ford's Cincinnati, p. 32).

This house was built as has been stated, on the present Front street, a little east of Main, and a trifle northwest of the cove or place of landing. This cove being the inlet opposite Sycamore street, was afterward named from Griffin Yeatman, who for many years resided and kept tavern where that street intersects the Public Landing, "Yeatman's Cove."

Another statement is to the same effect that the settlers first built a shelter of boards on the beach, under the bluff bank, felled trees, and began the erection of a small cabin, on the south side of Front street, just east of Main, for the use of Colonel Ludlow and his assistant surveyors. This is claimed to have been the first house built in Cincinnati as a dwelling, and stood for a great many years afterward. There was a board nailed on a stick chimney marked "1788," and Dr. Jones, in his "Early Days of Cincinnati," records that several old pioneers still living remember the house, or more properly the old cabin, very distinctly, although there is no means of ascertaining in what way or just when it was torn down. (P. 28 and sketch on p. 29.) Cabins were said to have been built here by Clark's soldiers in 1782, but they had disappeared.

THE SURVEY OF THE TOWN.

Ludlow immediately proceeded to make a survey of the town. In this he was assisted by Badgley, who was one of Symmes' surveyors, and others, and the work was substantially completed on the 7th of January, 1789, when the drawing took place for the donation lots.

According to the testimony of Patterson, given December 27, 1803, in a deposition which was taken in connection with the controversy about the Public Landing, Ludlow at this time did not attempt to make the survey of the whole town, but simply "laid out the front of said town as far as westwardly in Main street. * * * The ground in front of Front street was declared at that time a public common for the use of the citizens of said town except and reserving only for the benefit of the proprietors the privilege of establishing a Ferry on the banks of the Ohio on said Common." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office; Book D-1, page 74.)

This common as is explained hereafter became a subject of controversy. Melyn Baker testified on the same date, that Patterson's testimony was taken, that he arrived in Cincinnati in October, 1790, and occupied for a time a small enclosure on the common which was afterwards removed.

THE DONATION OF LOTS

The article of agreement for the settlement which had been entered into for the proprietors in December, before leaving Limestone, reads as follows:

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT."

"The conditions for settling the town of Losantiburg are as follows, viz.: That the thirty in and out lots of said town to as many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors, Messrs. Ludlow, Denman and Patterson, who, for their part, do agree to make a deed in fee simple, clear of all charge and incumbrances, except the expense of surveying and deeding the same, as soon as Judge Symmes can obtain a deed from Congress.

"The lot-holders, for their part, do agree to become actual settlers on the premises. They shall plant and attend two crops successively, and not less than an acre shall be cultivated for each crop; and within two years of the date hereof, each person who receives a donation lot or lots, shall build a house equal to twenty-five feet square, one and one-half stories high, with brick, stone or clay chimneys; which house shall stand on the front parts of their respective lots, and shall be put in tenable repair, all within a term of two years. These requirements shall be minutely complied with on penalty of forfeiture, unless it be found impracticable on account of savage depredations."

This agreement was not signed at Limestone, but seems to have been tacitly assented to by all parties. (See, however, the statement in Denman's deposition of August, 1833.)

When the survey had been completed on January 7, 1789, Colonel Ludlow promulgated the following statement:

"CONDITIONS"

"ON WHICH THE DONATION LOTS IN THE TOWN LOSANTIVILLE ARE HELD & SETTLED.

"The first Thirty town & out lots to so many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors Messrs. Denman, Patterson, & Ludlow who for their part do agree to make a deed free & clear of all charges and incumbrances excepting that of surveying & deeding the same so soon as a deed is procured from Congress by Judge Symmes.

"The lot-holders for their part do agree to become actual settlers on the premises; plant & attend two crops successively & not less than One Acre shall be cultivated for each crop & that within the term of two years—each person receiving a donation lot or lots shall build an house equal to Twenty feet square One Storey & half high with a brick stone or clay Chimney which shall stand in front of their

respective in lots and shall be put in tenantable repair within the term of two years from the date hereof.

"The above requisitions shall be minutely complyed with under penalty of forfeiture unless Indian depredations render it impracticable. Done this seventh day of January One thousand seven hundred & Eighty Nine.

"ISRAEL LUDLOW."

This proclamation, it will be seen upon comparison, differs from the December contract in but two particulars,—the name is given Losantiville in place of Losantiburg, and the size of the houses is reduced from 25 to 20 feet square. These papers dating long after Filson's death completely dispose of Judge Burnet's contention that the name Losantiville died with him.

The survey extended from the river to Seventh street, then called Northern row, and then from Broadway (Eastern row) to Central avenue (Western row) and thence to the river; the out-lots of four acres each (81 in number) extended beyond Northern row to the north limits of the Losantiville purchase, at Liberty street. This survey was not recorded by Israel Ludlow for himself and Denman until April 29, 1802, and then only because of the passage of a law requiring it. The entry may be found in Book E-2, pages 62-63, and is preceded by the following documents:

"References to the plan of the Town of Cincinnati, in page No. 62, exhibited by Colonel Israel Ludlow (as one of the proprietors), on the forenoon of the twenty-ninth day of April, 1802, and recorded agreeably thereto.

"N. B.—The following certificate is attached to the original:

"This may certify that I consider myself as having been one of the original proprietors of the Town of Cincinnati, and hereby authorize Israel Ludlow to make or copy a plan according to the original plan or intention of the firm, and cause to be recorded as such, agreeably to the Laws of the Territory in that case made and provided.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN."

"November 20th, 1801."

"*Test*:

"P. P. STEWART,

"D. C. COOPER."

"The lots in the regular squares of the town contain 72 square perches, are 12 poles in length and six poles wide. The out-lots, which are entire, contain each four acres, are in length, east and west, six and a half chains. The six long squares between Front and Water streets contain lots ten poles long and six poles wide. All the streets in the town are four poles wide, excepting Seventh street and Eastern and Western rows, which are but two poles wide. The courses of the streets are North sixteen West and others crossing at right angles South seventy-four West. The streets through the outlots are four poles wide."

THE RIVAL PLATS.

On the Ludlow plat the streets are named as they are at present, excepting Broadway was marked as Eastern row and Central avenue as Western row. Plum street was spelt Plumb. The space from Broadway, or Eastern row, to Main street, and from Front street to the river was made a common or public landing forever, reserving the privilege to the proprietors of establishing a ferry at this point. The cove was shown as extending to the south line of Front street, just east of the foot of Sycamore and a little wider at its junction with the river than it was long. The lots in the south half of the squares between Second and Front streets, and all below them are laid out lengthwise north and south; all others in an east and west direction. Lots 114 to 117 and 139 to 142 (the town plat) are indicated in Ludlow's appended notes as given to public uses. They constitute the block bounded by Fourth and Fifth streets, and Walnut and Main streets. The south half of these was afterwards divided between the First Presbyterian Church, the Cincinnati College, and the county of Hamilton, and the old Lancaster Seminary.

East of Broadway, between Third and Fifth streets, were sixteen in-lots, and north of these the first range of out-lots, numbered from one to eight. The northwestern range of out-lots began also north of Fifth street.

On the same day another plat was exhibited to the recorder by Joel Williams, at six o'clock, p. m., which purported to be a plat "of the town of Cincinnati, (formerly called Losanterville)," agreeable to the original plan thereof, and was recorded at the instance of Samuel Freeman and Joel Williams, assignees of Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson. The principal differences between the two plats are the names of streets, and on the (Public Landing) common. The east and west streets are designated as follows, beginning with the river,

Water, Front, Columbia (Second), Hill (Third), High (Fourth), Byrd (Fifth), Gano (Sixth), and Northern row (Seventh). The north and south streets, beginning with Eastern row (Broadway), running westward, were Sycamore, Main, Cider (Walnut), Jefferson (Vine), Beech (Race), Elm, Filson (Plum), and Western row. The Public Landing space is filled with in-lots, numbering 461 to 468. The numbers of the other lots and the general features of the survey are the same as in the Ludlow plat. The same square, bounded by Main, Cider, High and Byrd streets, is "reserved for a Court House, a Jail, a Church and School." The cove is not shown.

Williams' affidavit states that this record was made in the absence from the Territory of Denman and Patterson, the two other original proprietors of said town. (Colonel Ludlow is not recognized in any way in the affidavit, the third proprietor being evidently regarded as Filson, who is said to be dead.) The affidavit goes on to say that they "have no intention of recording in person the plat of said town, agreeable to a late act of the said Territory, entitled 'an act to provide for the recording of town-plats.'" The affidavit avers that "this deponent further saith that he possesses, as he believes, sufficient information in the premises to enable him to make a plat of the said Town of Cincinnati, agreeable to the original plat, plan, design, and intentions of the aforesaid original proprietors of said town, in manner and form as the same was originally laid laid out and declared by the proprietors; and this deponent further saith that the within is a true and accurate Map or Plat of the said Town of Cincinnati, agreeable to the Original Plat, Plan, Design and intentions of the three proprietors aforesaid," etc.

The purpose of recording this second plat, which by many has been regarded as the plat made by Filson (but without sufficient authority), was to support the claim made by Williams to the town lots, which this plat indicated in the place of the Public Landing.

Joel Williams was the owner by purchase from Denman, Patterson, Freeman and others of all the remaining proprietary interests in the town. Patterson's interests in the lots unsold had been conveyed by him in November, 1794, to Samuel Freeman for eight dollars in silver an acre. Denman's interests as an original proprietor were transferred in March, 1795, to Williams. Williams obtained from Symmes by deed of February 14, 1800, a title to this tract and by a subsequent purchase in November, 1803, from Freeman of all the interests that he had acquired from Patterson he became the owner of a two-thirds interest in the unsold lots. Patterson as will be remembered remained here about a month then returned to Lexington after which he ceased to have any real interest in the place. Denman did not even come out with the colony in December but remained in New Jersey. Of the four persons originally associated with the founding of Cincinnati, therefore, Israel Ludlow is the only one who ever lived in the town or in the immediate neighborhood. It suited Williams' interest of course to deny that Ludlow had any title whatsoever to the land especially as there was no record of a transfer to him or in fact to any one else of the original interest of Filson. He set up a claim therefore to the common now known as the Public Landing on the ground that it was private property reserved by the proprietors for future disposition. To add force to his claim, he erected a brick house on the northwest corner of the tract in question, just at the south end of Main street which is shown on the early plats of the city and marked "Council House." This was a two-story brick house about twenty feet square. Just east of this was placed a frame tenement a story and a half high and the whole was surrounded by a worm fence as late as 1806. The dispute over this land continued for a number of years and was finally concluded by a decree in chancery ended by the Supreme Court of Ohio in the November term of 1807, which required Williams to deed to the town all rights he had in the property excepting his ferry rights together with the use of the brick house erected by the said Joel Williams on the premises together with fifty feet in front commencing at the northwest corner of said house and one hundred feet in rear toward the Ohio River. As a result of this decree the sheriff, Goforth, put the municipal authorities in formal possession by offering to them a spade full of earth which was accepted with the proper formalities.

In the picture of the city known as "Cincinnati in 1802," there appears, on the northeast corner of Front and Main, Col. Thomas Gibson's house at that time probably the largest in the town. Just in front there appears a small building back of a large tree. It was at this point that Williams' brick house was erected. The lower story of the building was really a half basement while the upper part was at first left unfinished. In this building Henry Weaver

one of the early merchants of the city carried on business for a time and in the frame tenement to the east there was, some time later, a provision store. The frame buildings were built of plank taken for the first bridge built over the mouth of Mill creek after it had given away in the spring freshet of 1807. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 271; Vol. II, pp. 27-37-56.)

After the property had been surrendered to the city the brick building became known as the "Town House" and was used for the meetings of the Council. The chamber above was plastered and a stairway was run up to it on the outside. (Minutes of Council, March 4, 1816; Henderson's Council, p. 17.)

The tree, which is shown on the picture above referred to, is said to have been a black walnut nearly four feet in diameter. It was struck by lightning in June, 1807, and had to be taken down to prevent fire spreading to the buildings about it.

This digression is made necessary to explain the point of the recording the Williams plat. Colonel Patterson in his depositions with reference to the matter declared that he had examined both plats and believed "the one recorded by Israel Ludlow to be agreeable to the original plan."

THE ORIGINAL PURCHASERS.

On January 7, 1789, pursuant to the notice already sent out, the donation lots were distributed by lottery, held under the personal direction of Patterson and Ludlow. The first drawing resulted as follows:

	Out-Lots	In-Lots
Joel Williams	3	79
John Porter	2	77
David McClure	6	26
Samuel Mooney	14	33
Sylvester White	15	2
Joseph Thornton	28	3
James Carpenter	1	32
Matthew Cammel	8	28
Noah Badgeley	22	31
Luthar Kitchel	13	58
James Cammel	21	34
Jesse Stewart	30	54
Benjamin Dument	25	53
Isaac Van Meter	18	8
Daniel Shoemaker	27	79
William McMillan	31	..
Ephraim Kibby	4	59
John Vance	24	4
Jesse Fulton	23	6
Henry Bechtel	16	56
Isaac Freeman	20	51
Samuel Blackburn	29	1
Scott Traverse	9	52
Elijah Martin	26	7
Archibald Stewart	12	57
James McConnel	5	30
——— Davison	19	27
James Dument	11	5
Jonas Menser	10	20
Thomas Gizzel	17	9
Harry Lindsay	7	76
James Campbell	..	154

Mr. McMillan does not seem to have drawn an in-lot and James Campbell apparently did not draw an out-lot. Daniel Shoemaker and Joel Williams are both recorded as drawing in-lots 79. In the list given by Mr. Cist, as taken from Colonel Patterson's papers, Daniel Shoemaker is shown to have drawn in-lot 78.

After the drawing, a number of transfers were made. For instance: Joseph Thornton transferred in-lot 3 and out-lot 28 to Robert Caldwell. Matthew Cammel (Campbell) transferred in-lot 28 and out-lot 8 to Nathaniel Rolstein. Benjamin Dument (Dumont) transferred in-lot 53 and out-lot 25 to Enoch McHendry. The name Davison, who drew in-lot 27 and out-lot 19 was erased from the records. These are but few of the many instances.

The names of William McMillan as drawing out-lot 31, and James Campbell as drawing in-lot 154, do not appear on Colonel Patterson's list. Archibald Stewart's name is there given as Richard Stewart. Isaac Freeman is given as drawing out-lot 29 in place of out-lot 20 as it should be. Jonas Menser is there given as James Monson and as having drawn out-lot 14 in place of 10 as it should have been. The in-lots, which were drawn at this time, covered the entire blocks between Front, Second, Sycamore and Broadway; Second, Third, Sycamore and Broadway; Front, Second, Sycamore and Main and the east half of the block bounded by Second, Third, Sycamore and Main except lot 55, on the northwest corner of Second and Sycamore. This lot was not drawn, as it was regarded as of a small value by reason of a swamp, which for years existed at this corner. The lots which faced the Public Landing were of course considered the most valuable. According to the drawing, they were taken as follows: Beginning at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway, the first lot was drawn by Samuel Blackburn; second going west on Front, Sylvester White; third No. 26, David McClure; fourth, No. 27, a corner lot, Davison (afterwards drawn by William McMillan). Crossing Sycamore, the first lot on the northwest corner of Front, No. 51, was drawn by Isaac Freeman; next to him were

Scott Traverse and Harry Lindsay, and the northeast corner of Main and the landing fell to John Porter. Going up Broadway, the first lot in the rear of Blackburn and White, being No. 3, was drawn by Joseph Thornton (transferred to Robert Caldwell), and the corner lot on Second and Broadway fell to John Vance. Crossing the street, the northwest corner of Second and Broadway fell to James Dument or Dumont, and north of him was Jesse Fulton's lot. Lot 7, where subsequently was the market space, fell to Elijah Martin, and lot 8, to Isaac Van Meter. Lot 9, the southwest corner of Third and Broadway, located on the edge of the second bank or level of the city, fell to Thomas Gizzel. West of him on Third street, lot 34, occupying the southeast corner of Third and Sycamore streets, was drawn by James Cammel or Campbell. South of Campbell was Samuel Mooney, Campbell's lot being on the top of the bank, and Mooney's at the foot of it. Below Mooney's lot, where afterward was the market space, was lot 32, drawn by James Carpenter, and south of him, lot 31, was drawn by Noah Badgley. The northeast corner of Second and Sycamore fell to James or Richard McConnel; the southeast corner was drawn by James Monson or Jonas Menser, and the lot south of that by Matthew Cammel or Campbell. This completes the squares bounded by Broadway, Third, Sycamore and Front. Benjamin Dumont drew the lot on Sycamore street and north of Isaac Freeman's lot, and the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore was drawn by Jesse Stewart. Across the street from Jesse Stewart was the swamp, which no one seemed to want. Above that on a slope, Henry Bechtel, took lot 56, and north of him on the corner opposite the old market space, now Pearl street, Archibald Stewart took lot 57. On the opposite corner, lot 58 was drawn by Luther Kitchel, and the southwest corner of Third and Sycamore, just at the edge of the bank, fell to Ephraim Kibby. The west half of this block, covering the lots on Main street, between Second and Third streets, was not assigned at this drawing. The southeast corner of Second and Main was drawn by Joel Williams, and south of him came Daniel Shoemaker. James Campbell went west to the corner of Second and Walnut, either at this or the May drawing.

Mr. Cist says: "I have not been able to learn the price at which the proprietors held the in and out-lots, not comprehended in the thirty of each thus made a granting to the first thirty settlers. That it must have been a low figure may be readily inferred from the fact in payment of a balance, less than one hundred dollars due by the proprietors to Ludlow for surveying fees, he preferred taking 120 acres, seven miles from the town, to four out-lots and an entire square, of which Pearl street is now the center, worth now, as naked ground, more than two million dollars." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 15.)

The price of the lots generally is said in one account to have been two dollars on the lower level and four dollars above, but this price must have risen very quickly for in the list collected by Robert Clarke from the record of Colonel Ludlow referred to hereafter the lowest prices given run usually at 25 and 30 shillings up to as high as 80 shillings, which was paid by Enos Terry for a lot on the southwest corner of Sixth and Main and also by Seth Cutter for a lot on the northwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore. John Riddle paid this same amount for an inside lot on the north side of Front between Plum and Elm streets while a lot on the west side of Vine just south of Seventh appears to have been purchased by Elijah Davis for 75 shillings. Dr. Drake in his "Picture of Cincinnati" (page 131) says: "For several years after the settlement of this place the lots along the principal streets were sold for less than $100.00 each. They gradually increased in price until the year 1805, when from a sudden influx of population they arose for a short time with rapidity. Their advancement was then slower, until 1811; since which the rate of increase has been so high, that for a year past the lots in Main, from Front to Third streets, have sold at $200.00 per foot measuring on the front line; from thence to Sixth at $100.00; in Broadway, Front and Market streets, from 80 to 120; and on the others, from 50 to 10, according to local advantages. Out-lots, and land adjoining to the town plat bring from 500 to 1,000 dollars per acre."

William Wiseman in his narrative given by Mr. Cist states that after the defeat of St. Clair "such was the panic among the inhabitants of Cincinnati, that I could have bought the best lots in the city at five dollars each, but I did not think proper to make the investment." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 102.)

Some of the settlers preferred not to be limited to the lots covered by the drawings and declined to take them, trusting to make a better bargain when the lots were thrown open to sell at low prices.

Major Ferguson, who was killed at the time of St. Clair's defeat in 1791, had bought just prior to his departure lot 13 on the southwest corner of Fourth and Broadway, a hundred feet by two hundred for $11. Numerous illustrations of the low prices of the lots originally will be given later.

Denman's letter to Patterson of February 1, 1789, enjoins him "to pay the greatest attention to the laying out of the Town at the mouth of Licking River and see that we have a good choice in the Lots, and if possible get the best and most pleasantly situated ones.—In case you should not see Mr. Ludlow's letter, I would wish you to have as many lots as you Judge necessary of about ten Acres each laid out back of the Town where you shall think proper, and let any persons occupy the same for a number of years (suppose twelve or Fourteen) on a small yearly Rent of about six pense a lot, by which means we may likely have a considerable part of our lands cleared & improved." (Concerning the Fore-Fathers, p. 397.)

Many stories are told as to the rise of value in city property. Cist records that one-half of lot 76, the lot originally drawn by Lindsay, was sold to A. and J. Hunt, on the 30th of September, 1796, at $4, and comments that this property at the time of his writing in 1859 "if even stripped of its present improvements would now sell for more than one thousand dollars per front foot or fifty thousand dollars for the half lot." Patterson sold his interest to Freeman in 1794 at eight silver dollars per acre.

Either value would be incomprehensible at the present time. In May, 1789, a large number of other lots were given away to new comers on the same terms and conditions as applied to the first donation. The list as preserved of this donation reads as follows:

	No. of Lot.
Robert Caldwell	83, 84
John Cutter	92
Seth Cutter	89
James Millan	94
Levi Woodward	33, 34
Thaddeus Bruen	32
Nathaniel Rolstein	30
William Rolstein	65
Jonathan Fitts	61
William Cammel	85
Abraham Garrison	86
Francis Kennedy	151
Luther Kitchel	80
John Cummings	106
Robert Benham	17, 62, 63
Joshua Findlar	37
Henry Betchel, Junr.	57
Joseph Kelly	113
Isaac Bates	60
James Campbel	154
Doctor John Hole	227
Jabish Philips	91
Captain Furguson	13
Lieutenant Ford	10
Elijah Martin	82
David Logan	263
Samuel Kennedy	112
Mr. Wick—Malign Baker	138
Cobus Lindsicourt	114
William McMillan, Esqr	27
Same (Outlot)	53
Henry Reed	88
John Ellis—George Adams	129
Capt. Pratt	9
Capt. Ford	11
John Covert	85
Enock McHendry	67
James Dument	108
John Terry, Senr	116
Joel Williams	126
Joseph McHendry	79
James Cunningham	128
Samuel Kitchel	209, 205
Col. Robert Paterson	127

There are some variations from this list as given by different authorities. According to some accounts, lots 33, 83 and 209 were not included in the donation. Lot 65 was drawn by Rev. James Kemper and lot 61 by Peyton Cook and Winters.

In this donation the entire stretch from the southeast corner of Third and Main to the northeast corner of Pearl and Main, fell to Robert Caldwell. Elijah Martin received lot 82, at the southeast corner of Pearl and Main. The northeast corner of Second and Main was assigned to Luther Kitchel; the northeast corner of Third and Main to William Campbell and John Covert. North of them came Abraham Garrison. The southeast corner of Fourth and Main streets was assigned to Henry Reed. On Sycamore, at the northwest corner of Third, lot 60 fell to Isaac Bates, north of him came Jonathan Fitts (or Peyton Cook and Winters), then Robert Benham, who had two lots, extending to the corner of Fourth street, as well as lot 17 at the southwest corner of Fifth and Broadway. Many of the settlers did not come into the immediate neighborhood of the blocks first chosen, as was shown by the fact that lot 263, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Race streets, was chosen by David Logan, but in the main the streets along the lower level were filled up first.

This drawing included among others lots more or less scattered, running up the west side of Broadway from Third to Fourth and the southwest corner of Fifth and Broadway; a lot on the east side of Sycamore between Third and Fourth; the west side of Sycamore from Third to Fifth; the east side of Main to above Fifth street and the west side of Main almost to the corner of Fifth street; the east side of Walnut between Front and Second and the southeast corner of Fourth and Walnut.

An examination of the records shows that very few of those who were fortunate enough to draw lots in these distributions ever availed themselves of their good fortune. Most of them either abandoned their lots or assigned them to some other persons who finally received deeds for them. Of the original thirty participants in the drawing, Isaac Freeman and Scott Traverse seem to be the only ones who eventually took deeds for their in-lots. Of the large number who participated in the second drawing, almost fifty, about 20 per cent took deeds for their in-lots or parts of them. These included Robert Caldwell, John Cutter, Seth Cutter, Abraham Garrison, Dr. John Hole, Jabesh Phillips, Robert Benham, George Adams, Joel Williams and Samuel Kitchel. (See Deed Books in Recorder's Office.)

Symmes was not able to give deeds until after the patent of 1794 so that many transfers had been made in the meantime.

Robert Clarke has collected a list of original purchasers, mostly during the year of 1789. In addition to those already mentioned, the following are included in this list:

Dr. Adams,
John Adams,
Henry Atchison,
Stephen Barns,
Daniel Bates,
William Bearley,
William Bedell,
Thomas Black,
James Blackburn,
John Blanchard,
Truman Bostwick,
Thomas Brown,
Brunton & Dougherty,
Moses Burd,
James Burns,
Garret Cavender,
John Cheek,
Thomas Cochran,
Ephraim Coleman,
James Colwell,
William Gowen,
Peyton Cook,
Daniel C. Cooper,
John Coulson,
Joseph Cutter,
Matthew Danaids,
Edward Darling,
Jonathan Davis,
Elijah Davis,
William Dean,
William Dillon,
William Durrough,
Russell Farman,
Elijah Finley,
Benjamin Flinn,
Jacob Fowler,
Samuel Freeman,
Adam Funk,
John Gaston,
Uriah Gates,
James Gosald,
John Murfey,
Archibald Gray,
George Greves,
John Griffin,
Joel Hamblen,
Hezekiah Hardesty,
Uriah Hardesty,
William Harris,
James Harway,
William Hedger,
——— Heooleson,
Robert Hinds,
Daniel Hole,
Darius Hole,
William Hole,
Zachariah Hole,
Edward Holland,
Jerum Holt,
Israel Hunt,
Nehemiah Hunt,
Nicholas Johnston,
David Joice,
Nicholas Jones,
John Kearsey (or Kearney),
William Kelly,
Rev James Kemper,
Lieutenant Kingsbury,
Bethuel Kitchell,
Daniel Kitchell,
John Lore,
James Lowrey,
John Ludlow,
James Lyon,
Daniel McClure,
George McClure,
John McClure,
Mary McClure,
William McClure,
William McCoy,
James McKnight,
Henry McLaughlin,
John McLaughlin,
James Marshall,
Isaac Martin,
Margaret Martin,
Samuel Martin,
Luke Mellen,
Jonathan Mercer,
James Miller,
Moses Miller,
Jacob Mills,
Alexander Moore,
Robert Moore,
Dr. Morrel,
Jesse Mott,
Capt. John Munn,
George Murfey,
Mr. Neilson,
George Niece,
Christopher Noon,
Darius C. Orcutt,
Andrew Parks,
Culbertson Parks,
Presley Peck,
Thomas Persons,
Matthew Pierson,
Samuel Pierson,
Enos Potter,
James Pursley,
Jacob Reeder,
Stephen Reeder,
Thomas Richards,
John Riddle,
Abraham Ritchison,
Reuben Rood,
Asa Root,
Jonathan Ross,
John Ross,
John Ross, Jr.,
Moses Ross,
William Ross,
William Rusk,
Col. Winthrop Sargent,
Levi Sayre,
David Scott,
James Scott,
Obediah Scott,
John Seaman,
Jonas Seaman,
Niles Shaw,
Casper Sheets,
Ziba Stibbins,
Captain Strong,
Dennis Sullivan,
Jacob Tapping,
Henry Taylor,
Enos Terry,
Robert Terry,
John Tharp,
Judge George Turner,
Benjamin Valentine,
Benjamin Van Cleve,
John Van Cleve,
Jacob Van Doran,
John Van Eton,
Cornelius Van Nuys,
James Wallace,
Jacob Warwick,
David Welch,
Samuel Whiteside,
John Wiant,
——— Winters,
Amos Wood.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH BEND.

The third settlement in the Miami purchase, and the one made by Symmes himself, was that at North Bend. The territory covered by this settlement has never become a part of the city

THE JAMES A. GARFIELD STATUE.

THE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON STATUE.

of Cincinnati, but its early history is so intimately connected with the history of the other two settlements, which are now incorporated within the city limits, that no adequate idea of the conditions of the early days can be obtained without an account of this third of the Hamilton County settlements.

Judge Symmes, it will be remembered, had reserved for himself in his terms of sale and settlement, published at Trenton, the privilege of locating and paying for the entire township nearest the juntion of the Ohio and Great Miami rivers, as well as the several fractional townships west and south between that one and the rivers; here he purposed founding a city which he expected to become the metropolis of the Miami purchase. He did not make his start from Limestone for some time after the other two parties had begun their settlements. He and his party had remained in that village for over six months, and in the expectation that he would be detained until spring, he had taken a house for himself and family. He was waiting for assistance, in the shape of troops, which he expected would be sent to him by General Harmar, and also for news of the conclusion of the treaty with the Indians.

He sent down a few surveyors to Miami, in order to traverse the two Miamis as far up as they could, and implies in one of his letters that these surveyors came down at the time Stites made his journey to Columbia. He says, however: "I tarried myself at Limestone, where I had provided a tolerable house of my own, and in which I supposed the coming Spring would find me; as I could get no encouragement from Governor St. Clair, of a favorable conclusion of the treaty, nor from General Harmar of any assistance of troops."

On the 12th of December, however, Captain Kearsey, with 45 soldiers arrived at Limestone, having been ordered down the Ohio to protect Ludlow in surveying that river to Scioto. From Scioto his directions were to go to Miami if the settlement should be begun there and with his soldiers to protect that settlement throughout the winter.

These troops added to the party already at Limestone were "of much more detriment than use," as the soldiers brought with them a very short supply of provisions. General Harmar, it seems, had some expectations of having provisions supplied to the soldiers from the falls of the Ohio, and had sent a letter to Symmes, instructing the contractor coming up the Ohio to take the necessary steps for supplying the soldiers at the Miami, where they were expected to winter, but this arrangement failed. As a result, when Kearsey arrived at Limestone, Symmes was put to the alternative either of letting him go down to the falls or of furnishing him and his people with provisions throughout the winter. He still hoped that when General Harmar discovered the failure of supplies he would receive some assistance from that quarter, and for this reason he detained Kearsey and his soldiers and took upon himself the burden of supplying him.

He speaks of this task as almost impracticable at that season of the year, as the roads were scarcely passable and as the amazing emigration into Kentucky had stripped the country all around Limestone of provisions of all kinds. Flour had to be brought down the Ohio from the Monongahela, and this was done with great difficulty, as the ice was running down the river considerably. Symmes had provided about three thousand weight of flour and fifteen hundred of pork for his own family and to assist the surveyors when assistance was needed, but these stores he was obliged to share with Kearsey.

A sergeant with 18 men, who was despatched to the assistance of Stites and the surveyors, was furnished at once with fifty days' rations. About two weeks later some settlers passed down the river, desirous of locating at the Old Fort at Miami, and another sergeant with 12 men had to be detached as an escort for them. This took more of Symmes' stores. One of the settlers, however, assured him that he was well supplied with flour and corn and "as for meat, I knew no place where that article of the wild kind could be procured with more ease and plenty than at Miami."

This last named detachment had a hard time; the weather grew intensely cold and the Ohio froze to such a point that it was feared that the boats would become frozen in the river before they reached Miami. They got as far as Columbia, where they made a short stop, expecting to proceed to the Old Fort at once, but the floating ice came down upon their boats, injuring them severely and drowning much of the stock and destroying most of the provisions. This misfortune terminated the expedition.

THE FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH THE INDIANS.

In the meantime Stites kept sending messages to Symmes, informing him of the frequent visits of Indians to the blockhouse and of their great

desire to see Symmes, who they understood was coming to live in the Miami country. They made great professions of peace and friendship, even prior to the treaty of Muskingum.

Symmes, in his letter to Dayton, of May 18, 1789, describes the measures which the Indians took to introduce themselves at the blockhouse as a little dangerous and singular. "They had first espied Captain Stites' boats lying at the bank of the river, opposite the blockhouse, as they have since informed me. On holding a council at their hunting camp, which was about six miles northwest of the Ohio, they concluded to introduce themselves to our acquaintance rather as friends than as enemies. To this they were wholly encouraged by the lenity which had been shown by me to one of their camps on the Great Miami, in September last, which adventure I have already communicated. They had with them a white man by the name of George, who was a good interpreter of their language; he had been ten or twelve years a prisoner with them, yet spoke the English language very well. George was therefore sent down to the blockhouse, as near as he and one Indian dare to go, and hallooed to our people, who were at work at their fortifications. George called out, in English, for some of them to come to him; but those who heard him supposed him to be one of their own party, and paid no regard to George's call. At length, one answered, in a blackguarding manner, asking him why he did not come to them, if he had anything to say? This induced George and his companion to retreat again to their camp. The next step was in this sort: six of them, armed and mounted on horseback, made towards the blockhouse, in order to take a prisoner. They soon fell in with the fresh trace of three of the surveyor's hands, who were out a hunting. They rode down the trail, and came up with the three men, who first fled at the sight of the Indians, but soon found it impossible to escape: when they prepared to make resistance. Robert Hamson and Joseph Cox, of Sussex County, New Jersey, were two of them. On Hamson's presenting his rifle at the foremost Indian, the Indian took off his cap, trailing his gun, and holding out his right hand: while George called to the white men not to fire upon them, for they were friends, and did not wish to hurt them; begging to be led by them to the blockhouse. This was agreed to, and the whole nine came in together to Captain Stites. This was so unexpected a visit from the Indians that the people at the blockhouse were much at a loss in what point of view to consider it. Some thought the Indians came in only as spies, to view their strength; others thought more favorably, and believed the Indians sincere in their peaceable professions. A few days' acquaintance discarded the fears of the former, and the white and red people began to form a sociable neighborhood: our hunters frequently taking shelter for the night at the Indian camps; and the Indians, with their squaws, spending whole days and nights at the blockhouse, regaling themselves with whiskey. This important piece of information Captain Stites communicated, as I before observed, to me at Limestone, by two messengers sent on foot up the banks of the Ohio."

SYMMES' PROCLAMATION TO THE INDIANS.

Captain Stites kept giving the Indians further information as to the intentions of Symmes, but finally they became so impatient that they charged Stites with telling them falsehoods in his representations as to Symmes' coming and to the effect that he would supply them with articles of trading. Symmes was still waiting for the boat load of flour which he had ordered, or for some supplies which he had hoped would come from Harmar, but these repeated and urgent messages decided him to make a start for fear that if his journey were longer delayed the friendly actions of the savages might turn to hostility. He was further encouraged by the successful landing of the Patterson and Ludlow party, opposite the mouth of the Licking. Before starting from Limestone, on January 3, 1789, he despatched a letter of friendship to his new Indian neighbors, his brethren of the Miami (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 61):

"Brothers of the Wyandots and Shawanese! Hearken to your brother, who is coming to live at the Great Miami. He was on the Great Miami last summer, while the Deer was yet red, and met with one of your camps; he did no harm to anything which you had in your camp; he held back his young men from hurting you or your horses, and would not let them take your skins or meat, though your brothers were very hungry. All this he did, because he was your brother, and would live in peace with the Red people. If the Red people will live in friendship with him, and his young men who came from the great Salt ocean, to plant corn and built Cabins on the land between the Great and Little Miami, then the White and Red people shall all be brothers and live together, and we will buy your Furs and

Skins, and sell you Blankets and Rifles, and Powder and Lead and Rum, and everything that our Red Brothers may want in hunting and in their towns.

"Brothers! A treaty is holding at Muskingum, Great men from the thirteen fires are there, to meet the Chiefs and head men of all the nations of the Red people. May the Great Spirit direct all their councils for peace! But the great men and the wise men of the Red and White people cannot keep peace and friendship long, unless we, who are their sons and warriors, will also bury the hatchet and live in peace.

"Brothers! I send you a string of white beads, and write to you with my own hand, that you may believe what I say. I am your brother, and will be kind to you while you remain in peace. Farewell!

"JNO. C. SYMMES."

"January the 3d, 1789."

Mr. Cist, on several occasions, comments on the similarity of this letter to the letter written by Penn, over a hundred years before, to the Indians of his own purchase as well as upon the dissimilarity of the two letters, in this,—Penn in his letter says "nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell *rumme* to make your people drunk," while Symmes expressly offers to sell rum as well as rifles, powder and lead.

THE LANDING AT NORTH BEND.

The latter part of January brought a great rise in the river which swept out the ice and cleared the river for his boats and he concluded to make a start. On the 29th day of January, 1789, after collecting with much difficulty a small supply of flour and salt, he embarked with his family and furniture, taking with them Captain Kearsey and the remainder of his soldiers. The river was higher at this time by several feet than had been known since the white people came to Kentucky, and Symmes embarked with the bow of his boat even with the high bank on which his house was built. These boats, as were the other boats used by the settlers, were flatboats made of green oak, planed and fastened with wooden pins to a frame of timber and caulked with tow or any pliant substance that could be procured. They were known as Kentucky boats, and their materials were usually used for the construction of houses after the landing. When the party reached Columbia they found the place under water; but one house on a high spot of ground had escaped the deluge. The soldiers had been driven into the lofts of their blockhouses and had been compelled finally to trust themselves to a boat. Symmes and his party staid but one night and proceeded to Losantiville. The water at that point had begun to ebb, although the town had not suffered from the rise. On the 2nd of February, he landed at the point afterwards known as North Bend. His original idea had been of course to go down to the Old Fort, at the junction of the two rivers. He explained however, that from the time of his arrival at this point, in September of the previous year, he had remained in a great degree ignorant of the character of the ground at the site of the fort. He had been but once on the spot, and as he expected to return so soon, did not fully inform himself as to the lay of the land. Throughout the winter, however, he had been told that the point was frequently covered with water and as he found Columbia under water, he thought it best for the present at least not to go down as far as Old Fort until he had informed himself whether the ground was eligible for a town or not. Several other considerations moved him in this respect. One was that he would be nearer to the surveyors, who would not be required to walk the extra ten miles down the neck of land on which the Fort stood, and back again. The other, which in reality was the principal consideration, was this,—from the river elevated as he was in his boat by the height of the water, he could see that the river hills appear to fall away in such a manner that no considerable rise appeared between the Ohio and the Great Miami. Knowing that the distance across the neck did not exceed a mile, he thought it possible to find a good tract of ground extending from river to river, on which the city might be built with more propriety, than if crowded so far down in the point. For these reasons he made his first lodgment in the most northerly bend of the river, where the distance is the least and the land the lowest over toward the Miami, and where at the time of his arrival he says, "the banks were inviting from their secure appearance from the then fresh in the Ohio."

The landing was about three o'clock in the afternoon. The men that belonged to Captain Kearsey's company, and who had been previously sent down to Columbia, had rejoined him, so that his company was once more full. They immediately raised what "in this country is called a camp, by setting two forks of saplings in the

ground, a ridge-pole across, and leaning boat-boards, which I had brought from Limestone, one end on the ground and the other against the ridge-pole: enclosing one end of the camp, and leaving the other open to the weather for a door, where our fire was made to fence against the cold, which was now very intense. In this hut I lived six weeks, before I was able to erect myself a log-house, and cover it, so as to get into the same with my family and property."

Captain Kearsey was much displeased, because Symmes had insisted upon landing at this point, as he had expected to go on to the Old Fort. When he set out on the expedition, he had expected to find a fort ready built for him and had not provided implements necessary to construct one. As a result of his disappointment, he finally concluded that he would not begin the building of the new fortification but would leave Symmes' party and join the garrison at Louisville, which he did in March. Several days after the landing, however, were occupied by Symmes and others in examining the ground with a view of locating the proposed city. They found the neck of the land was so broken with hills and small streams of water, as to make the laying out of the city, from the Ohio across to the Great Miami, impracticable. An exploration in a small boat down to the Old Fort, showed that a large part of the land here had been covered with water. The river had fallen fifteen feet, "but the cold had spread a mantle of ice, six inches thick, over all the back waters while at their height, which had closed so firmly round the trees on the low bottoms of the country along the river side, as to hang like canopies projecting from the trees, for four or five feet distance."

They went over from the Old Fort to the pond on the Miami and examined the whole point, but as it was apparent that it had all been covered to the depth of many feet, the idea of locating the city here had to be abandoned. For this reason Symmes concluded without more loss of time to lay out a number of house-lots on the spot where they were in order to form a village. Forty-eight lots of one acre each were laid off, and every other one of these were given away upon condition that the donees should build thereon at once. Further applications followed, and the village was extended up and down the Ohio, until it formed a front one mile and a half on the river, including more than one hundred lots. On this at the time of Symmes' writing in May, 1789, there were comfortable log cabins, covered with shingles, or clapboards, to the number of forty and other houses in process of erection, so that there were not three donation lots unappropriated. This village Symmes called North Bend, "from its being situated in the most northerly bend of the Ohio, that there is between the Muskingum and the Mississippi."

Encouraged by his success at North Bend, and by the fact that fresh applications were pouring in for house-lots, Symmes concluded to lay off another village, seven miles up the Ohio from North Bend, and fronting about a mile along the river. This village he called South Bend, "from its being contiguous to the most southerly point of land in the purchase."

Despite the success of these settlements, as well as of the third one, a little below North Bend, known as the Sugar Camp settlement, Symmes felt as yet uncertain as to the place where he was to locate his city. This city, of course, was to be the great emporium of trade for the purchasers and its location was a matter of serious consequence in his mind. His letters from North Bend are full of discussions with relation to the proper site for such a city. They also give an insight into the many discouragements under which he labored, and the dangers to which he was exposed.

In his letter to Dayton, of May of that year, from which so much has been quoted, he speaks of two pieces of ground, both of which he thinks eligible for a city. One of these was on the Ohio about three miles east of North Bend, the other was about three miles north of North Bend, on the bank of the Great Miami, and about twelve miles from its mouth. His argument as to the merits of these two places is most curious. He admits that most men at first thought would favor the location on the Ohio, from the supposition that the Ohio would command more trade and business than the Miami. But although more boats would necessarily ply on a river eleven hundred miles in length, there would be a greater number of towns and merchants strewed along the Ohio, who would have the same advantages possessed by his townspeople. Unless the merchants in his city would be prepared to pay the New Orleans price, the merchants of the upper towns would proceed down the river to the highest market. But the most serious objection to the Ohio location was its distance from the Great Miami.

"The extent of country spreading for many miles on both sides of the Great Miami, is, beyond all dispute, equal, I believe superior, in point of soil, water and timber, to any tract of equal contents to be found in the United States. From this Egypt on Miami, in a very few years, will be poured down its stream to the Ohio, the products of the country from two hundred miles above the mouth of the Great Miami, which may be principally collected at a trading town low down the banks of that river; here, no rival city or town can divide the trade of the river. The body of the Miami settlers will have their communications up and down the Great Miami, both for imports and exports. They cannot work their corn and flour boats eight or nine miles up the Ohio, from the mouth of the Great Miami, should the city be built above Muddy creek. But were it built on the Miami, the settlers throughout the purchase would find it very convenient. At Northbend a sufficient number of merchants may, and no doubt will settle, so as to command all the share of trade on the Ohio; half an hour's gallop of three miles brings you to the city plat on the Miami. One mile's portage is all the space that lies between the Miami and Northbend; and I have already marked out a road across, which is not only tolerable, but exceedingly good, if you make allowance for the hills which it winds through; then two miles by water up the Miami brings heavy articles from the Ohio to the city."

Such an arrangement would save farmers doubling the point with their boats. Naturally the point itself, were it high enough, would be the most eligible spot for a city, but it would have to be raised like Venice, out of the water. The superior advantages of the point, by reason of the richness of its growth of wild and tame grass for pasturing purposes, led Symmes to favor its reservation as a common manor for the proprietors.

The final conclusion reached in this matter was that the great city of Miami was laid out at the point of his landing, running from the Ohio River at North Bend to the Great Miami at the present city of Cleves. The city did not reach quite over the banks of the Miami as it was laid out on the old plan and on the cardinal points. This necessitated a relocation of the lots taken up by the settlers which in the main resulted in little hardship. Symmes himself and his two nephews were the only ones who had gone to the expense of erecting a stone chimney to their house. A little discussion in Symmes' letter with regard to the common stretching from river to river on the side of the city is interesting as showing the conditions and as explaining probably why so little land was set aside as a common property in the early days. "I would have left a wider common, but at this dangerous time when we have already had a man murdered by the Indians within the squares of the city, to leave a larger extent of unoccupied land between the city and small lots, would have looked rather like trifling with the lives of citizens who are obliged to go daily to their labor on the donation lots beyond the common."

The Judge did not care to lose the results of his own labor and therefore to show the expense to which he had gone in erecting comfortable log houses for himself and nephews he gives us a description of his improvements which affords us a good opportunity of understanding the character of the better class of cabins in those days:

"The lots in North Bend were four poles wide, we have therefore occupied twelve poles of ground on the bank of the Ohio. This front is covered with buildings from one end to the other, and of too valuable a construction for me to think of losing them in the general wreck of the village. That the proprietors may be the more sensible of the reasonableness of my request, I will give you a description of them. The first, or most easterly one, is a good cabin, 16 feet wide and 22 feet long, with a handsome stone chimney in it; the roof is composed of boat plank set endwise, obliquely, and answers a triple purpose of rafters, lath and an undercourse of shingle, on which lie double rows of clapboards which makes an exceedingly tight and good roof. The next is a cottage 16 feet by 18, and two and a half stories high; the roof is well shingled with nails. The third is a cabin 15 feet wide and 16 feet long, one story high, with a good stone chimney in it; the roof shingled with nails. The fourth is a very handsome log-house 18 feet by 26, and two stories high, with two good cellars under the same, the second cellar being sunk directly under, the first in order to guard more effectually against heat and cold. This large cabin is shingled with nails, has a very large and good stone-chimney which extends from side to side of the house, for the more convenient accommodation of strangers, who are constantly coming and

going, and never fail to make my house their home while they stay in the village. In this chimney is a large oven built of stone. Adjoining to this house, I have built me a well finished smoke-house, 14 feet square, which brings you to a fortified gate of eight feet, for communication back. All the buildings east of this gate are set as close to each other as was possible. Adjoining to and west of the gate is a double cabin of 48 feet in length and 16 feet wide, with a well built stone chimney of two fireplaces, one facing each room. This roof is covered with boat plank throughout, and double rows of clapboards in the same manner with the first described cabin. In these several cabins I have fourteen sashwindows of glass. My barn or fodder-house comes next, with a stable on one side for my horses, and on the other, one for my cows. These entirely fill up the space of twelve poles. This string of cabins stands —— feet from the bank of the river, and quite free from and to the south of the front or Jersey street of the city.

"Now, gentlemen, I beg of the proprietors this small piece of land at some price which they may set, that I may have the fee thereof vested in me. These buildings have cost me more than two hundred pounds specie, and I can not afford to let them go to strangers for nothing—the mason work alone, came to more than one hundred dollars. There is not another house on the ground that has either cellar, stone chimney, or glass window in it, nor of any value compared with mine—therefore none can complain of this indulgence as a partiality to me."

As has already been stated, one of the first undertakings was to establish another settlement at South Bend for which Symmes seemed to have great hopes. In almost every letter he speaks of the desirability of encouraging this settlement by giving away donation lots and in other ways. As South Bend was near the center of the purchase he had hopes as is apparent in a letter quoted elsewhere of its being made the county town but these hopes soon disappeared. For a time however the settlement seemed to improve.

The immediate condition of affairs is indicated by Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791:

"South Bend is pretty well established, but we have done nothing towards laying out a village at the northeast corner of the reserved township. The inhabitants of the purchase are very much favored this summer in point of health. There are few complaints of any kind —rheumatisms are the chief. Provisions are extremely plenty; corn may be had at Columbia for 2/0 cash per bushel; wild meat is still had with little difficulty, and hogs are increasing in number at a great rate, so that I expect any quantity of pork may be had next killing time at 25/0 per hundred. We have not yet a supply of horn-cattle; therefore very little beef will be slaughtered."

THE CITY OF MIAMI.

The new city was supposed to be called the city of Miami but in fact it was known as Symmes or Symmes' City in the early days. It retained its name however in the popular mind as North Bend by which name it is still known. It grew for a few years and in 1791, according to Dr. Goforth's letters, a garrison of eighty soldiers was stationed there. The gradual concentration of interests at the new county town for those who desired town life and the increasing safety of the out lying lands to those of agricultural tendencies soon reduced North Bend in population and in importance.

Symmes in a letter of August 6, 1795, speaks of this and gives the reason:

"The village is reduced more than one-half in its numbers of inhabitants since I left it to go to Jersey in February, 1793. The people have spread themselves into all parts of the purchase below the military range since the Indian defeat on the 20th of August, and the cabins are of late deserted by dozens in a street. What has in some measure contributed to this is the demand I made on all volunteer settlers at my arrival to go out and improve on their forfeitures in the course of this year, as the truce with the Indians afforded a very favorable opportunity for the purpose. * * * They do not value a town lot more than so many square perches at any other place out of the town, for there is not a single advantage enjoyed in the limits of the village of North Bend which they do not enjoy in more perfection in the country, and there are many more inconveniences to conflict with."

How complete was this pacification as a result of the Greenville treaty is apparent from the fact that the Indians at once changed their attitude towards the whites.

The condition of trade is indicated in Symmes' letter to Dayton, January 20, 1796:

"One word on the subject of the Indians. They now begin to crowd in upon us in numbers, and are becoming troublesome. We have but one merchant in this part of the purchase, and he will not buy their deer-skins. Their next resort is to beg from me, and I was compelled last week to give them upwards of forty dollars value or send near forty of them away offended.

"The President's plan of fixing traders and stores of Indian goods along the frontiers, I think, is very judicious. They must have a market for their skins or they can purchase nothing from us. Though we have twenty or more merchants at Cincinnati, not one of them is fond of purchasing deer-skins. Some attention of Government is certainly necessary to this object. If the Indians can not enjoy the benefits of peace with us (trade and commerce) most assuredly they will have war, where one party only need be consulted. Some of our citizens will purchase horses from the Indians. The consequence is, that the Indians immediately steal others, for not an Indian will walk if he can steal a horse to ride. I wish it was made penal by Congress to buy horses directly or indirectly from the Indians."

The history of North Bend from this time is not eventful. Judge Symmes remained here for years and here received visitors from all over the world who happened to be traveling in this neighborhood. Here it was that in 1795 William Henry Harrison married his daughter Annie and here for many years he resided. The original log cabin of the presidential campaign of 1840 which was in fact to a large extent a myth was supposed to be located here. The old Harrison mansion was in part built of logs but a large frame structure was added and the whole clapboarded and painted white making for a time a commodious house. Henry Howe in his "Ohio" gives us a plan of this house and also a drawing showing its exterior appearance.

Symmes himself built another residence in the northwest part of the town which was afterwards destroyed by an incendiary in March, 1811. The fire destroyed as well a large number of papers relating to his transactions in the purchase, including certificates of the original proprietors of Cincinnati and other documents which could not be replaced. The loss was a matter of serious consequence and gave the Judge great trouble in his later years. A man named Hart was suspected of being the incendiary and his reason was supposed to be the refusal of Judge Symmes to vote for him when a candidate for justice of the peace. He was arrested, indicted, and tried and although the evidence against him seemed strong and most of the public believed in his guilt he was acquitted by the jury.

Thomas Ashe, the English traveler, visited Symmes in 1808 and gives an interesting account of his household: "I left Cincinnati with an impression very favorable to its inhabitants, and with a higher opinion of its back country than I entertain of any other. Seven miles below my departure, at a place called North Bend, I stopped to take breakfast with the hospitable Judge Symmes, the original proprietor, after the extinction of the Indian title, of the whole of the country lying between the two Miamis. The situation which the Judge has chosen for his residence cannot be equalled for the variety and elegance of its prospects. Improved farms, villages, seats, and the remains of ancient and modern military works, decorate the banks of the finest piece of water in the world, and present themselves to view from the principal apartments of the house, which is a noble stone mansion, erected at great expense—and on a plan which does infinite honor to the artist and to the taste of the proprietor. Differing from other settlers, Mr. Symmes has been studious to give the river-sides a pastoral effect by preserving woods, planting orchards, and diversifying these with corn fields, sloping pastures, and every other effect incidental both to an improved and rural life. From this expression of elevated judgment you may be prepared to know that the proprietor formerly resided in England, and after in New York, where he married his present wife, a lady distinguished by elegance of mind and a general and correct information. They have no children, but there resides with them a Miss Livingston, on whom they fix their affections, and whom they treat with parental kindness and respectful urbanity, the one being due to her intrinsic merit, and the other to her family, which is eminent by birth, property, and talent in the State of New York.

"The Judge passes his time in directing his various works, and the ladies read, walk, and attend to numerous birds and animals, which they domesticate, both for entertainment and use. Miss Livingston is much of a botanist—a practical one. She collects seeds from such plants and flowers as are most conspicuous in

the prairies, and cultivates them with care on the banks and in the vicinity of the house. She is forming a shrubbery also, which will be entirely composed of magnolia, catalpa, papaw, rose, and tulip trees, and all others distinguished for blossom and fragrance. In the middle is erected a small Indian temple, where this young lady preserves seeds and plants, and classes specimens of wood, which contribute much to her knowledge and entertainment. When the beauties of the fine season fade, and the country becomes somewhat inert and insipid, the Judge and the ladies remove to Cincinnati, and revolve in its pleasures till fatigued, when they again return to their rural economy, and to the prosecution of happy and inoffensive designs. I could with great difficulty tear myself from persons so amiable."

Judge Symmes died in Cincinnati in 1814 and was buried at North Bend in the cemetery about a mile southeast of his former residence. On his grave is the following inscription:

"Here rest the remains of John Cleves Symmes, who, at the foot of these hills, made the first settlement between the Miami rivers. Born on Long Island, in the State of New York, July 21, A. D. 1742. Died at Cincinnati, February 26, A. D. 1814."

Not very far from this grave on the height back of North Bend rests the body of his son-in-law, President William Henry Harrison.

The Sugar Camp settlement about three miles below North Bend founded about the same time had at one time about thirty houses but afterwards became extinct. The blockhouse which was built in the early days for the protection of the settlers was said to be standing in 1847 but being in a very diiapidated condition it soon disappeared altogther.

South Bend, of which so much was expected, was reported on September 17, 1791, to have included eighteen or twenty families. A garrison of twenty soldiers was also stationed there. The settlement gradually dwindled, its population departed and its buildings were abandoned and its very site became almost unknown. As a matter of fact the southeastern part of it is within the present limits of the city of Cincinnati. The post office which for a long time bore its name now appears as a railway station.—Trautman's.

CHAPTER XIV.

FORT WASHINGTON.

SYMMES' COMPLAINTS—THE DEPARTURE OF KEARSEY—THE ARRIVAL OF LUCE—THE ROMANTIC STORY OF LUCE—THE ARRIVAL OF MAJOR DOUGHTY—THE SELECTION OF A SITE—THE BUILDING OF THE FORT—CONTEMPORANEOUS DESCRIPTIONS—THE LIFE AT THE FORT—THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR—THE OFFICERS OF THE FORT.

The first military works on the site of Cincinnati, of which we have any record, were the blockhouses built for the expeditions of George Rogers Clark. These blockhouses were just opposite the Licking River and probably not far from the mouth of Deer creek. Fort Finney was subsequently built for the conference with the Indians, which was held at the mouth of the Great Miami in the winter of 1785-86.

Stites and his party immediately upon landing at Columbia built a blockhouse which has been described, and shortly afterwards three blockhouses were erected near this, forming a square stockade fort. A few weeks later a sergeant and six soldiers, who had been sent as military protection to the settlement at Columbia, built a blockhouse near Columbia to which a letter from Dr. William Goforth, written from Fort Washington in September, 1791, probably refers: "Just below the mouth of the Little Miami is a garrison called Fort Miami; at a small distance below this garrison is the town of Columbia." Judge Goforth in his diary enters on August 3, 1790: "Named the Fort 'Miami.'"

SYMMES' COMPLAINTS.

From the first Symmes relied upon receiving from the War Department proper protection against the Indians. In his prospectus written at Trenton in 1787, he states that the Secretary of War, General Knox, has assured him of his friendly disposition to support the settlers against the Indians, "by replacing a garrison of federal troops in the fort which is still remaining on the land at the mouth of the Great Miami," which Symmes relied upon greatly to facilitate the settlement and to furnish safety to the first adventurers. It may as well be remarked here that the government of the United States never in the early period of the settlement of the Miami country gave proper and adequate protection to the settlers. This was a matter of complaint on the part of Symmes from the very earliest days of the settlement. In his letter to Dayton written from North Bend on May 18, 1789, he complains:

"And though I have not been actually hindered from a settlement by the United States troops, yet very small has been the support which I have hitherto received. At Muskingum, I believe, from two to three hundred men are stationed, though that post is not to be named, in point of danger, with the Miami settlement. On the other hand, one ensign (Luce) and seventeen rank and file are all the guards that are allowed me at present, for the protection and defence of this slaughter-house, as some in this country (Kentucky) are pleased to term the Miami purchase, on which are three settlements, now becoming somewhat considerable, and would have been important beyond my former most sanguine expectations, had I been properly aided, as promised, with troops of the United States, last summer; and permitted to have made my lodgment in September last, when I first explored the purchase."

Another circumstance which Symmes regarded as giving the settlers at Marietta greater security was their method of settlement which was the New England plan of connected towns or villages. The settlers were not permitted to go to any point at will but were restrained by their directors, while at Miami every purchaser was allowed to choose his ground and convert the same into a station, village or town at pleasure. Nothing restrained him in this particular but the fear of the Indians and as a result whenever ten or twelve men agreed to form a station it was done. This method of course already militated against concentration of strength but on the other hand it tended to develop the country and open up for settlement new lands throughout the entire purchase.

The delay in the ratification of the treaty at Fort Harmar, however, on the one hand had a tendency to keep Symmes and his party at Limestone, but on the other hand kept the Indians occupied to the east of the settlements between the Miamis and to that extent at least reduced the danger. When Captain Kearsey with 45 troops arrived at Limestone on the 12th of December, 1788, ordered down the Ohio to protect Ludlow who was then surveying the river to Scioto, it was with the further instructions from General Harmar to go to Miami when the settlement was made there to protect the pioneers through the winter as already stated. These troops were not sufficiently supplied with provisions and the arrangements made to renew their supplies fell through. Symmes himself was obliged to undertake the burthen of supplying these soldiers and he complains very bitterly about it. He had to furnish fifty days' rations to the sergeant and 18 men who were sent to support Stites at his station; again two weeks later when the party of settlers already mentioned started down the river to plant themselves at the Old Fort at Miami (Fort Finney) another sergeant and 12 men were sent with them and had to be supplied with stores. This detachment it will be remembered was not successful in its purpose. The intense cold froze the river so that it was feared they would get fast in the ice before they reached Miami. They succeeded in making Columbia however, where their boats were injured and much of their stock lost to the settlers; this forced them to give up their intended settlement at the Old Fort.

When Symmes was finally prevailed upon by the information of Stites as to the impatience of the Indians to see him and the fear that if he did not soon arrive at the settlement, the red men would regard him as a myth and would leave in disgust, he started on his expedition down the river on January 29, 1789, and Captain Kearsey and the remainder of his men went with him. It will be remembered that as he passed Columbia he found the place under water and the soldiers driven from the ground floor of their blockhouse into the loft and from the loft into a boat which made him give up the plan of going down as far as Old Fort, which he realized must be but poorly protected from the floods.

Captain Kearsey was very much inclined to landing his company at the Old Fort and was ever afterwards much disappointed at Symmes' refusal to go down the river. After the river had fallen about fifteen feet, Kearsey and Symmes explored the site of the Old Fort and found that the land in the neighborhood of the point had been covered to the depth of many feet.

THE DEPARTURE OF KEARSEY.

Kearsey was so disgusted at the situation that he made no attempt to build a fortification at North Bend, although he remained on the ground from the 2nd day of February to the 8th day of March "in which time" says Symmes "he had not thrown two logs together by way of defence though a child would have been sensible of the necessity of such a measure."

He finally left for the falls, leaving behind him but five men without any blockhouse or other means of protection and had been gone but eight days when a contractor's boat arrived with many supplies for him. Symmes was most indignant at Kearsey's conduct which furnished his enemies ammunition for reports to his injury. Stories were circulated among the strangers who came down the river to Limestone, that the troops had left the place, that the settlers were starving and that the settlement had been given up by Congress as of no consequence. The Indians were said to be on the point of annihilating the settlement and sometimes the story was told that they had already done so. Such reports naturally discouraged great numbers from proceeding down the river and turned them aside to Kentucky. It is not surprising that Symmes thought Kearsey's conduct should have been inquired into and brought before General Knox. It seems remarkable that the dangers of the settlement already referred to in the chapter relating to the Indians should have made so little impression

upon the government nor unreasonable that Symmes should indignantly write as follows:

"I now, sir, beg leave to ask why it is that we are so neglected on the score of troops, at the settlements on the Miami purchase? Is it a matter of no moment to the United States, whether we are saved or destroyed by the savages? It is true the Indians have hitherto been unexpectedly pacific, but who can vouch for a continuance of peace. They are a subtile enemy, and all their boasted friendship may be only to learn our numbers, and what state of defence we are in. The Shawanese nation (and they are nearest to us) would not treat with Governor St. Clair, at Muskingum; and why should they refuse him peace, and observe it with us? There are several companies of troops at Muskingum, even so many that all the surveyors of the Ohio Company have always been escorted with a guard: what guards have the Miami surveyors had? nothing more than their own vigilance and courage to carry them into the very midst of danger." (Symmes to Dayton, May 18, 1789.)

THE ARRIVAL OF LUCE.

The applications for protection to Major Wyllys at the falls of the Ohio happily resulted in his sending Ensign Luce with 18 men to North Bend. The party arrived during the last days of March and within a week built a good blockhouse. It was during his stay at North Bend that the episode of the Indian attack elsewhere referred to occurred. In this attack one soldier named Runyan from New Jersey was killed and six others wounded, including two citizens. A soldier, Gray, it was thought was mortally wounded and he was taken with the other soldiers to the garrison at the falls where there was a surgeon. This attack necessarily frightened the settlers very much and fifty of the inhabitants fled during the next few days and the work at South Bend was temporarily abandoned.

Symmes immediately upon his arrival at North Bend attempted to enter into negotiations with the Shawanese and for that purpose sent Isaac Freeman, as related in another chapter. At the same time he made an effort through Major Wyllys to obtain from General Harmar more troops. In the meantime he built a stockade for fear of the worst. "Should the Indians prove hostile, or should the Indians come in with Mr. Freeman, for their friends with us, if we remain then as defenceless as now, I fear our weakness may tempt them to make war upon us. But there is another benefit I promise myself from a good large stockade: this is, that it will embolden many a citizen to settle in this town, whose nerves would not bear the thoughts of sleeping out of a fort. Had we have had a good stockade on the 21st ultimo, I do not believe that half so many, if any, indeed, would have fled the place." (June 14, 1789.)

In June, further messages from Major Hamtramck at post Vincennes, reciting hostilities by the Indians on the Wabash, as well as a letter to Mr. Luce that the Miami and Wabash Indians intended to attack the settlement during the summer, called further attention to the defenseless condition of the pioneers in the Miami country and it is probable that these rumors taken in connection with the attack on North Bend as well as the actions of the Indians at other points within the settlements are responsible for the definite action of the authorities which terminated in the settlement at Fort Washington.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF LUCE.

Judge Burnet (in his "Notes"), however, tells a romantic tale which may or may not be true, explaining the selection of Losantiville as the place for the fort.

After explaining that North Bend at first had the advantage because of the landing of the troops there by General Harmar which had induced many of the first adventurers to plant themselves there as the place of greatest safety and the subsequent departure of that detachment for Louisville, he proceeds: "It appears also that Ensign Luce, the commandant of the party which succeeded it, did not feel bound to erect his fort at any particular place but was at liberty to select a spot best calculated to afford the most extensive protection to the Miami settlers. Viewing his duty in that light, he put up a small temporary work sufficient for the security of his troops, regardless of the earnest entreaty of the Judge to proceed at once to erect a substantial, spacious blockhouse, sufficient for the protection of the inhabitants of the village.

"The remonstrances and entreaties of the Judge had but little influence on the mind of this obstinate officer, for in spite of them all he left the Bend and proceeded to Cincinnati with his command where he immediately commenced the construction of a military work. That important move was followed by very decided results—it terminated the strife for supremacy, by

removing the only motive which had induced former emigrants to pass the settlements above and proceed to the Bend. As soon as the troops removed from that place to Cincinnati, the settlers of the Bend who were then the most numerous, feeling the loss of the protection on which they had relied became uneasy and began to follow; and ere long the place was almost entirely deserted and the hope of making it even a respectable town was abandoned. In the course of the ensuing summer, Major Doughty arrived at Cincinnati with troops from Fort Harmar and commenced the construction of Fort Washington which was the most extensive and important military work in the Territory belonging to the United States.

"About that time there was a rumor prevailing in the settlement, said to have been endorsed by the Judge himself, which goes far to unravel the mystery in which the removal of the troops from the Bend was involved. It was said, and believed, that while the officer in command at that place was looking out very leisurely for a suitable site on which to build the blockhouse, he formed an acquaintance with a beautiful black-eyed female, who called forth his most assiduous and tender attentions. She was the wife of one of the settlers at the Bend. Her husband saw the danger to which he would be exposed if he remained where he was. He therefore resolved at once to remove to Cincinnati, and very promptly executed his resolution. As soon as the gallant commandant discovered that the object of his admiration had changed her residence, he began to think that the Bend was not an advantageous situation for a military work, and communicated that opinion to Judge Symmes, who strenuously opposed it. His reasoning, however, was not as persuasive as the sparkling eyes of the fair dulcinea now at Cincinnati. The result was a determination to visit Cincinnati and examine its advantages for a military post; which he communicated to the Judge, with an assurance that if, on examination, it did not prove to be the most eligible place he would return and erect the fort at the Bend. The visit was quickly made, and resulted in a conviction that the Bend could not be compared with Cincinnati as a military position. The troops were accordingly removed to that place, and the building of a blockhouse commenced. Whether this structure was on the ground on which Fort Washington was erected by Major Doughty, can not now be decided. That movement, produced by a cause whimsical and apparently trivial in itself, was attended with results of incalculable importance. It settled the question whether North Bend or Cincinnati was to be the great commercial town of the Miami country.

"Thus we see what unexpected results are sometimes produced by circumstances apparently trivial. The incomparable beauty of a Spartan dame produced a ten years' war, which terminated in the destruction of Troy; and the irresistible charms of another female transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio from the place where it had been commenced to the place where it now is. If this captivating American Helen had continued at the Bend, the garrison would have been erected there—population, capital, and business, would have centred there, and there would have been the Queen City of the West."

This story is considered of sufficient consequence as to be referred to by John Scott Harrison in his Cleves address where he uses the language quoted below. Mr. Harrison's father was for some time commander of Fort Washington and his grandfather was Judge Symmes, who resented very much the moving of the troops to Losantiville. It is not unlikely therefore that his statement in this address is a statement of what was common knowledge not only in his family but among the public.

"But, if tradition be true, the prosperity of the North Bend Colony was not so well founded—that it could not be retarded, and finally destroyed, by the whimsical caprice of a black-eyed girl. This fair resident of North Bend (whose name, I regret to say, neither history nor tradition has given us) suddenly 'took it into her head to remove to the Cincinnati settlement. And *almost* as suddenly the lieutenant commanding the guard at North Bend (who had been sent to erect a blockhouse at that place, with perhaps some discretion as to Cincinnati) came to the steadfast conclusion that he could not think of *damaging his reputation as an engineer officer so much* as to build a fort at the Bend, when *Cincinnati* afforded so much more eligible a position. What particular influence the removal of the dark-eyed beauty had in brightening up the engineering qualifications of the officer in command, history does not tell us. But history does tell us, that Lieutenant Luce removed his command to Cincinnati, and there built his Fort—'Ergo,' there stands 'Queen City.'" (Pioneer Life at North Bend, p. 10.)

This story romantic as it is has not appealed to most of the subsequent writers of history who demand accurate detail rather than romantic generalizations. Mr. Miller in his book, "Cincinnati's Beginnings," devotes considerable space to discrediting Judge Burnet's narrative. His argument for discrediting the story is first that Ensign Luce who had built a blockhouse at North Bend "as good a one as could have been expected under the circumstances and continued to occupy it conducting himself in a perfectly satisfactory manner for at least the next four months or until the end of the ensuing July." He further states that the backset which the affairs at North Bend had received was in consequence of the abandoning of that post by Luce with his command and as a result of the attack in May already referred to. He concludes that Fort Washington was completed and garrisoned by Major Doughty before the close of that same year and begun by him that summer while Ensign Luce was shown by the letter of Symmes to be still at the Bend. As a final argument Mr. Miller suggests that Mr. Luce did not have the proper implements with which to build a fort. For these reasons he rejects his story altogether. (Cincinnati's Beginnings, p. 91.)

Mr. Ford in his "History of Cincinnati" (page 37) speaks of this as a gossipy tradition and apparently takes the view of Mr. Miller, although the first point of Mr. Miller's argument he shows by a quotation of Symmes' letter, July 17, 1789, to be of no consequence. In this iconoclastic age the tendency of historical writers is to reject the romantic, especially when it seems to have nothing more than tradition to support it. It must be confessed, however, that such historical method does not necessarily attain the greatest accuracy. The gossipy tradition shorn of its exaggerations is frequently a more truthful representation of fact than misty records or formal documents. Judge Burnet did not arrive in Cincinnati for some half dozen years after the building of Fort Washington, but he was a man of affairs and of high standing in the community, and such a man as would be likely to hear the details of the inside history of the settlement generally discussed. Although it is true that Judge Symmes does not mention anything throwing light on this episode, it seems strange and little hard to believe that Judge Burnet would have recited in the book, which he hands down to posterity as his contribution to the history of the section, a statement of this character as endorsed by Judge Symmes himself if there had been no basis whatsoever for the statement. Judge Burnet has not always been careful in his statements of fact so far as matters of date are concerned, but he was at all times a controversialist and therefore would probably hesitate to recite such a story if he had not felt certain that it was known to others as well as to himself. In his letter of October, 1837, to Delafield, the Judge says: "This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes and is unquestionably authentic." (Transactions Ohio Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 18.)

As to the point that Luce had constructed a suitable blockhouse, it need only be said that this blockhouse was evidently entirely unsatisfactory after the attack in May. In a letter of July 17, 1789, Judge Symmes complains of the helpless condition of the settlement. He says that Freeman returned from the Indian country with such terrifying accounts of the warlike preparations at the Indian towns as to raise fresh commotion in the village and as to induce many families to go down to the falls, leaving a place which they regarded as the very forlorn hope of the United States, "and at the same time so intolerably neglected as we are." "One ensign and twelve soldiers in a little blockhouse badly constructed, and not an axe, hoe, spade, or even tomahawk—the property of the United States—is furnished to them. They must have perished for want of shelter and firewood had I not furnished utensils to them ever since December last, to my very great detriment, for very few axes and other articles are returned until they are entirely ruined, and frequently when I lend an article it is gone forever from me, as boats are always passing, and by calling at this place furnish an opportunity to the soldiers to barter for liquor many an article of mine. Not a swivel is afforded us, when common prudence dictates that each village should have two or three field pieces at least. I have indeed lost sight of any succor from the United States. Major Wyllys assured me when on his passage up the river, that he would prevail with General Harmar to detach some men from that post. Seven weeks have elapsed since, and not a man arrives—not even a dawn of hope that any will arrive, unless these settlements become more an object of attention to Congress and General Knox."

In view of this letter, Mr. Miller is hardly justified in speaking of the blockhouse at North Bend as being as good a one as could have been

expected under the circumstances. It is perfectly apparent that the fortification was not regarded sufficient and that an effort was made in every communication sent up the river to induce General Harmar to construct a fort worthy of the importance of the place. The blockhouses along the river were regarded as but temporary in their character and a more pretentious military work was confidently expected.

As early as June 22nd, General Harmar, in writing to Major Wyllys, had suggested that two companies would probably be ordered to be stationed at the mouth of the Great Miami "not only as a better cover for Kentucky but also to afford protection to Judge Symmes in his intended settlement there."

The argument that Luce remained at North Bend until at least as late as July 17, 1789, as reflecting upon this story can have no weight, as the actual effort to fortify the Miami country was not begun until a couple of months later. The same difference in time affects the suggestion that it was the attack in the spring that gave Losantiville its preeminence. This point was no safer during the summer than was the Bend garrisoned by Luce and his men. The final argument, that of the insufficiency of implements, disappears in view of the fact that when the determination was reached to build a fortress proper implements were sent.

THE ARRIVAL OF MAJOR DOUGHTY.

In his "Military Journal," Denny, who had just received his lieutenant's commission, makes the following entry on the 9th of August of that year:

"Aug. 9th. * * * Captain Strong, with his two subalterns, Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn, and a complete company of seventy men, embark for the Miami.

"11th.—Captain Ferguson joined us with his recruits. Major Doughty follows Captain Strong for the purpose of choosing ground and laying out a new work intended for the protection of persons who have settled within the limits of Judge Symmes' purchase.

"Sept. 4th.—Ferguson with his company ordered to join Strong in erecting a fort near the Miami. Lieutenant Pratt, the quartermaster, ordered to the same place."

General Harmar in his letter to General Knox, Secretary of War, written from Fort Harmar on September 12, 1789, says:

"Major Doughty informs me, in his letter dated the twenty-first ultimo, that he arrived at the Little Miami on the sixteenth, and after reconnoitring for three days from thence to the Big Miami, for an eligible situation whereon to erect the works for headquarters, he had at length determined to fix upon a spot opposite Licking River, which he represents as high and healthy, abounding with never-failing springs, etc., and the most proper position he could find for the purpose."

It is apparent from these records that Judge Symmes' appeals were about to have some effect and that Major Doughty who had arrived at Fort Harmar from New York, on July 7th, was the officer who had the final determination of the matter of location. Several days before Major Doughty arrived a number of other officers had reached the Bend and undoubtedly had made explorations with the view to the location of suitable works. Just what influences might have been brought to bear upon the particular officer whoever he may have been, whose judgment was finally accepted as to the location, we have no means of knowing. It is a curious commentary however that when Ensign Francis Luce retired from the army in the following March, General Harmar did not seem enthusiastic about him. "Ensign Francis Luse has given me his resignation and I now enclose his commission which I hope you will be pleased to accept. I have allowed him to be run upon the rolls until the first of May next as he is considerably embarrassed in his circumstances." (The name is spelled Luse and Luce indiscriminately.)

There is another story that shortly after Lieutenant Kingsbury and his soldiers arrived at Columbia, he commenced building a fort about one and a half miles below the Fort Miami built by the first settlers. A rise in the river convinced him that the situation was a bad one and on December 31, 1788, he loosed cable and floated down below the mouth of Deer creek. Here he landed at the high bank just above the foot of Broadway and at this point on January 1, 1789, he began building a picket fort as near the bank of the river as it could be erected. Captain Stites who was in the party was quoted years after by saying that this was the first attempt made towards erecting a building in Cincinnati. This fort according to the story was built and occupied by the soldiers until Fort Washington was complete and afterwards when the contractors' house was built a little above it it was enclosed with that building and became a part of the artificers' yard.

Symmes' complaints seem to have had influence in the matter, and Dayton writes to him on August 15, 1789:

"In consequence of what you wrote to me, I conversed very freely with General Knox on the situation of the settlers upon your tract, and likewise upon its position on the Ohio as comparatively preferable for the general defense of the territory to either of the other places at which the troops are stationed. He gave me assurances before I took my leave of him, that he would immediately make such new arrangements in that country as would effectually cover and protect you. If this should be delayed long, do not fail to inform me, and I will take care to remind him of his promise."

In a letter of August 25, 1789, Dayton says:

"Gen'l Knox, whom I do not fail to call upon and converse with, in every visit to New York, about your situation assures me I may be perfectly at ease, for that he has directed such a disposition and arrangement of the troops in the Western territory as will effectually protect you."

In his letter of September 26, 1789, Dayton again speaks of being at New York and says:

"Governor St. Clair was my fellow-passenger, and we conversed much, as may naturally be supposed, on the Western country, and particularly your tract. He informs me that the present plan is to station a considerable part of the troops between the Miamis and to extend a chain of posts from thence to post St. Vincent. Upon my arrival in town, I visited Gen'l Knox, who assured me that Captains Ferguson and Strong's companies were at this time with you, and that he thought it probable you would soon have Headquarters there. These new arrangements are of importance and must contribute greatly to promote the population and increase the value of the tract."

THE SELECTION OF A SITE.

After the determination to erect a fortification opposite the mouth of the Licking, which should serve to protect the settlers in the Symmes' purchase, was finally reached, there was but little delay. As seen from Lieutenant Denny's diary, Captain Strong with Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn left Fort Harmar on August 9th, followed on the 4th of the next month by Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt. The work was entirely under the charge of Major Doughty a native of New Jersey who had served in the artillery arm of the service in the Continental Army and was appointed major of the artillery battalion of the United States Army in 1784. Major Doughty had been the designer and constructor of Fort Harmar in 1785 and was regarded as a very able and patriotic officer. At the conclusion of his work in building Fort Washington he returned to Fort Harmar. He was at this time next in command to General Harmar. In the latter's letter to the Secretary of War, already cited, it is apparent that Doughty reached the Little Miami on the 16th of August and that by the 20th he had determined the matter of location, making the report of the same in his letter of the 21st. This report and the letter of General Harmar show that the immediate reason which determined this location of the site was the height of the elevation and it was due to this that Mr. King makes the remark "that whatever Cincinnati may have suffered since by floods she undoubtedly owes her start to that of 1789." (King's Ohio, p. 213.)

The spot selected was immediately east of the platted land and on the second or upper bank. It will be remembered that the shore at this point rose rather sharply to a height of about 55 feet above low water where there was a terrace which extended for some distance to the east and west. Although this was the level which was first built upon by the settlers, it was not sufficiently high to protect against unusual overflow. The level ground at this place ran back to the top of the bank about 450 feet, at which point there was a second bank rising some 30 feet higher. It was this second terrace which was from 80 to 90 feet above low water, entirely out of the reach of the highest floods in the Ohio River, which was selected by Major Doughty. The bank of the river was heavily wooded with beech trees many of which were quite large. Above these, between this bank and the second bank, was a heavy growth of white walnut, soft maple, white elm, shell bark hickory and white ash. On the second terrace was spread a variety of timber, such as beech, ash, black walnut, hickory and black and red oak, generally of vigorous growth. Here and there white oak and poplar interspersed the rest. The entire reservation as subsequently made by the government, including 15 acres, lay east of Broadway and extended from Fourth street to the river as far east as Ludlow street. The early maps of the city show in a general way the location of Fort Washington and as late as February, 1841, Samuel Abbey, who belonged as sergeant to the detachment of troops under the command of Major Doughty, revisited the

city and located the fort. After some difficulty in determining its actual site, he is reported to have made his way to the Public Landing where he took observations from the mouth of the Licking and the direction of the sun, after which he started up Broadway as far as Third street and turned. After reaching a point where that street alters its angles northwardly he placed his foot on the ground with emphasis and observed, "Here is the very spot where stood the flag staff."

In recent years a movement was started to determine accurately the location of the fort and one result of that movement is the admirable monograph on Fort Washington, written by Robert Ralston Jones of the United States Engineer's Department, and published by the Society of Colonial Wars for the State of Ohio in its Year Book for 1902. In that volume is given at length the account of the search for proper material from which could be determined accurately the location of the fort and a plat is included marking the lines. In a general way it may be stated that the fort lay east of Broadway and west of Ludlow, right along the present line of Third street with its central part about a point where Third street turns to the northeast.

The southeast angle and the blockhouse of the fort stood upon a site of the house since known as the Drake house,—the second house from the southwest corner of Ludlow and Third streets which was begun by Drake as early as 1812 and not completed until 1818. In the cornice on the north wall of the front room of this house between two windows opening on the balcony is a plaster cast or alto-relievo of Washington which is said by Mr. Jones to have been placed there about the year 1815. Mr. Jones in his monograph gives an illustration of this head of Washington as well as of the Drake and Mansfield houses. Drake states in his deposition, in a case in the United States Court referred to elsewhere, that he lived here from 1812 to 1823; this is an inaccurate statement, however, as he did not move into this house until October, 1818, at the time of its completion.

The Mansfield house to the west of the Drake house is said to mark the site of the gateway of the fort. This house was built in 1827 by Hon. Jared Mansfield, surveyor-general of the United States. It was occupied for many years by the late Rufus King, one of the leaders of the Cincinnati bar and the historian of Ohio.

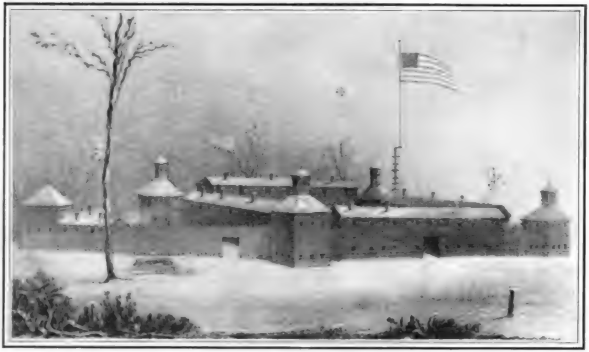
The southwest angle of the fort and blockhouse was marked for many years by the remarkable building known as the Bazaar built by Madam Trollope in 1829 and removed in March, 1881, to be supplanted by a building known as the Lorraine Building.

Among the best known pictures relating to the early history of Cincinnati is a picture of Fort Washington taken from a sketch made by Maj. Jonathan Heart in 1791 just prior to his setting out on the St. Clair expedition in which he was killed. Another well known picture is that of "Cincinnati in 1802," made up from a drawing by a man named William Bucknell who resided in the city at that time which gave the location of the buildings and streets with considerable accuracy. From this drawing and Captain Heart's sketch of Fort Washington and other materials Alfred J. Swing made the picture referred to which shows with more or less accuracy the city at that time, with the fort on the upper bank and the artificers' yard on the lower bank just south of the pond and east of Yeatman's Cove. A little to the southeast of the fort is shown the residence of Dr. Allison in the midst of Peach Grove, afterwards the site of the Lytle homestead. Dr. Drake says that the house was where "the Lytle house now stands." If so, the picture by Swing is quite inaccurate in this particular, even after making allowance for the southwestern point of view. The Lytle house is the present Foster residence on Lawrence street. (Drake's Discourses, p. 29.) Dr. Allison's house was subsequently occupied by Dr. Goforth, the tutor of Drake.

The various hereditary patriotic societies of the city have erected at the southeastern part of the fort a monument built of native Ohio stone in the form of a blockhouse, which stands about nine feet above ground. This is surrounded by a chain railing supported by four old cannons. The monument bears upon its various faces bronze tablets upon which are inscribed the dedication and a map of the fort together with the streets surrounding it and intersecting it.

THE BUILDING OF THE FORT.

It is apparent that from the first this fortification was intended to be a permanent and important one and it was designed as the headquarters of General Harmar. As early as September 22nd he writes from Fort Harmar to Col. Francis Johnson, "I am shortly going to make my headquarters down opposite Licking River." On the 28th in a letter to Gen. Richard Butler, then at Pittsburg, he says: "Your



FORT WASHINGTON.

(From a sketch by Maj. Jonathan Heart, U. S. A., drawn in 1791.)

THE DRAKE HOUSE AND THE FORT WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

(Near the site of the Southeast Blockhouse of the Fort. From Jones' "Fort Washington.")

THE MANSFIELD HOUSE.

(On the site of the Great Gateway of Fort Washington. From Jones' "Fort Washington.")

humble servant is a bird of passage. Some time the latter end of next month or beginning of November I shall move down the river, bag and baggage (leaving Ziegler's and Heart's companies at this post for the protection of our New England brethren), and shall fix my headquarters opposite Licking River. I am in hourly expectation of the Governor" (St. Clair,—Governor of the Northwest Territory).

Again on November 9th, he writes to Thomas Mifflin: "I am now on the wing, expecting to move down the Ohio in a few days and to fix my headquarters opposite the mouth of the Licking River about three hundred miles below this garrison where I shall be proud to be honored with your company." General Harmar evidently had great expectations for in the same letter he speaks as follows of the game: "Venison two or three inches cut deep of fat, turkey at one pence per pound, buffalo in abundance, and cat fish of one hundred pounds weight, are stories that are by no means exaggerated. I am going to a country where there is a much greater plenty of game than there is here at present."

Lieutenant Denny records in his diary on November 10th that "the General intends removing to head quarters very shortly to the new fort building by Major Doughty opposite the mouth of Licking creek."

General Harmar left the fort bearing his name on December 24th and after a passage of four days arrived at the new fort with his command including about three hundred men. This was just one year after the landing of the Patterson party at Losantiville. His first letter from Fort Washington was written to the committee of the Ohio Company and inhabitants of the settlement of Marietta, thanking them for a polite address sent to him upon his departure. This was written January 8, 1790, and headed, "Head Quarters, Fort Washington." On January 14, he reports to the Secretary of War, General Knox, concerning the construction of the fort. From this letter we learn that the plan of the fort is Major Doughty's and that Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt are particularly entitled to credit for their indefatigable industry and attention in forwarding the work thus far. It was evidently not entirely completed for General Harmar says: "This will be one of the most solid and substantial wooden fortresses, when finished, of any in the Western Territory. It is built of hewn timber a perfect square, two stories high with four block-houses at the angles. * * * On account of its superior excellence I have thought proper to honor it with the name of *Fort Washington*. The public ought to be benefited by the sale of these buildings whenever we evacuate them, although they will cost them but little."

The reason for the low cost is given in the letter: "About forty or fifty Kentucky boats have begun and will complete it. Limestone is the grand mart of Kentucky; whenever boats arrive there they are scarcely of any value to the owners; they are frequently set adrift in order to make room for the arrival of others. I have contracted for the above number for the moderate price of from one to two dollars each; thus much for the plank work. All other expenses (wagon-hire, nails and some glass excepted) are to be charged to the labor of the troops. The lime we have burned ourselves, and the stone is at hand. Be pleased to receive the enclosed plan of the fort." General Harmar proceeds to give some information concerning the settlements: "The distance between the Little and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement called Columbia; here seven miles distant from Columbia, there is another named Losantiville but lately changed to Cincinnati and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami city, at the north bend of the Ohio River. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people."

General Harmar was evidently a little homesick for Marietta. In a letter to Major Doughty, written some months before, he speaks of finding gay circles, of ladies' balls, etc., and in his letter to General Mifflin, from which an extract has already been made, he says: "Our New England brethren are a very industrious set of people. With the protection afforded by the troops which they acknowledge with great gratitude they have converted the wilderness into a fine state of cultivation. Their settlement bids fair to be very flourishing. Cornfields, gardens, etc., now appear in places which were lately the habitation of wild beasts. Such are the glorious effects of industry."

He also complains of the difficulty of forwarding despatches to Fort Washington by river: "Fort Pitt is about five hundred miles away which makes it too fatiguing to send monthly a boat against the stream." For this reason he was making arrangements to send his letters to

Danville, in Kentucky, to be forwarded through the wilderness and deposited at the post office in Richmond.

Major Denny had also been favorably impressed with the settlement at Fort Harmar. Many of the men from New England, he said, were of the first respectability,—old Revolutionary officers.

CONTEMPORANEOUS DESCRIPTIONS.

From other descriptions of Fort Washington we learn that it was built generally upon the plan of most of the forts on the Western frontier. This plan usually provided for blockhouses or bastions located at the angles. These blockhouses were sometimes set obliquely to the side walls or curtains of the fort, or as in the case of Fort Washington parallel to these walls and projecting about ten feet in front of them in each direction so as to command completely, by the direct and raking fire of cannon and musketry, each of the four walls of the fortification. The entire structure was about one hundred and eighty feet square. The blockhouses were usually two stories in height with the upper story projecting beyond the one below and pierced with loop-holes for firearms. They were built of hewn logs and were probably about twenty feet square. The logs were hewed on the upper and lower edges to bring them into close contact and were built in horizontal courses notched together at the corners. On the middle of each side wall or curtain were the barrack buildings or store houses built also of hewn timber and two stories high but without the over hanging of the second story. Between the blockhouses and barracks were palisades made of tree trunks, placed upright in a trench which was usually four feet deep. These palisades rose from ten to sixteen feet above the surface of the ground and were squared off at their lower end and pointed at the top. The edges of the palisades, where they came into contact with each other, were fitted together and usually a second row was placed in such a manner as to cover the joints of the outer row. The whole structure was bound firmly together by horizontal string pieces secured by wooden pins to the upper ends of the palisades. The roofs of the buildings and the floors were usually constructed of the rough plank riven or sawed from logs except where better lumber could be obtained as in the case of Fort Washington, where the planks from the Kentucky boats were used. Chimneys were sometimes made of stone and sometimes of sticks built up in cob house fashion and plastered with clay. The earth in the trench was usually rammed about the palisades while on the outside shallow ditches were dug for the surface drainage. The logs used for the framing timbers and for the palisades and outer walls were cut of course from the trees in the neighborhood. We are informed that the buildings used as the barracks were located one in the middle of each of the four sides and that the one on the south side contained six rooms of twenty feet each arranged three on each side of the gateway. This gateway was about twelve feet wide and ten feet high and secured by heavy wooden doors affording a passage through the line of barracks. The barracks ran over the gateway. From these dimensions it seems that there was about twenty-two and one half feet of palisade work at each end of the barrack buildings. (See "Fort Washington" by R. R. Jones from which this description is largely taken.)

The fort was sufficiently large to accommodate fifteen hundred soldiers, with officers' quarters, conveniently arranged and better furnished than the barracks, in the southeast blockhouse for the proper complement of such a force.

In that most valuable contribution to the literature of Fort Washington made in recent years just cited, R. R. Jones quotes at length from the proceedings in the case of lessee of Harmar's heirs *vs.* David Gwynne and George Morris which was tried in December, 1829, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the then Seventh Circuit which included the Ohio District. Among these proceedings is the deposition of John Cleves Symmes made in 1809, in which he describes the laying out of small lots of sixty square rods each on the land between the fort and parade ground on the west and Deer creek on the east in the year 1790, eight of which lots were sold to General Harmar for £32. Dr. Daniel Drake testified as to the correctness of a plat made by Joseph Gest, city surveyor, and stated that he once lived in the rooms that were occupied by the commander of the garrison (this was in 1802 or 1803) and that afterwards in 1808, when the reserve was sold by the government, he purchased several lots which included the southeast angle and blockhouse. He built a residence upon these lots and resided there until 1823. During this period the foundations of

the fort were everywhere to be seen and could be compared with the lines and corners of the lots and streets.

According to the deposition of William H. Orcutt given in an action in the Circuit Court of the United States in March, 1829 (printed by Mr. Jones), the artificers' yard was to the west of the garrison and somewhat in the form of a triangle and contained a blockhouse on the west corner of the triangle. This blockhouse must have stood near the present east line of Broadway. It is not mentioned by the other deponents in that case nor shown on the map presented in court nor is it mentioned by General Harmar in his report to the Secretary of War. It is however shown on the sketch of the fort made by Maj. Jonathan Heart in 1791, the familiar sketch so well known to all interested in the history of Cincinnati.

Major Heart was in the fort from the 20th of April until the departure of the troops for the St. Clair campaign in the fall of the same year, during which time this sketch must have been made. This same blockhouse was also mentioned in the "Narrative" of Rev. O. M. Spencer (page 27). In his description of early Cincinnati, as he first saw it in February, 1791, he says:

"Between Eastern row (a narrow street now enlarge into Broadway) and Main street, on Front and Columbia Streets, there were about twenty log houses; and on Sycamore and Main, principally on the second bank, or hill, as it was called, there were scattered about fifteen cabins more. At the foot of this bank, extending across Broadway and Main streets, were large ponds, on which as lately as the winter of 1798, I have seen boys skating. All the ground from the foot of the second bank to the river, between Lawrence street and Broadway, and appropriated to the fort, was an open space, on which, although no trees were left standing, most of their large trunks were still lying. On the top, and about eighty feet distant from the brow of the second bank, facing the river, stood Fort Washington, occuping nearly all the ground between Third and Fourth streets, and between Ludlow street and Broadway. This fort, of nearly a square form, was simply a wooden fortification, whose four sides or walls, each about one hundred and eighty feet long, were constructed of hewed logs, erected into barracks two stories high, connected at the corners by high pickets, with bastions or blockhouses, also of hewed logs, and projecting about ten feet in front of each side of the fort, so that the cannon placed within them could be brought to rake its walls. Through the centre of the south side, or front of the fort, was the principal gateway, a passage through this line of barracks, about twelve feet wide and ten feet high, secured by strong wooden doors of the same dimensions. Appended to the fort on its north side, and enclosed with high palisades extending from its northeast and northwest corners to a blockhouse, was a small triangular space, in which were constructed shops for the accommodation of the artificers. Extending along the whole front of the fort, was a fine esplanade, about eighty feet wide and enclosed with a handsome paling on the brow of the bank; the descent from which, to the lower bottom, was sloping, about thirty feet. The front and sides of the fort were whitewashed, and at a small distance presented a handsome and imposing appearance. On the eastern side were the officers' gardens finely cultivated, ornamented with beautiful summer houses and yielding in their season abundance of vegetables."

It will be noticed that this varies from the testimony of Orcutt and the picture by Captain Heart which places the fifth blockhouse to the west. Some of the blockhouses in Captain Heart's sketch have the appearance of being hexagonal instead of square as described. In the center of the enclosure stood the flagstaff. The road from the river seems to come along the east side of the structure probably along the line of the present Ludlow street. This led down to the old artificers' yard which was on the lower bank near the river a little distance east of Broadway. This appendage to the fort contained about two acres of ground which were enclosed by small and contiguous buildings occupied as work shops and quarters for the laborrers. Within the enclosure there was a large two-story frame house familiarly called the "Yellow House," built for the accommodation of the quartermaster-general, Captain Thorp, which was said to be the most commodious and best finished edifice in Cincinnati. Ranging between the fort and this yard, probably near the southeast corner of Second and Broadway, were several log houses which were occupied by soldiers. The fort itself as well as the paling fence in front of it was whitewashed (afterwards painted red) and at a short distance must indeed have presented a very handsome and imposing appearance, standing out so prominently above the little town nestling below it. (Burnet's Notes, p. 34.)

To the east, Dr. Allison, as already stated, the surgeon-general of the army, subsequently erected a plain frame dwelling in the center of a large lot cultivated as a garden and fruitery which was called "Peach Grove." To the north on the north side of Fourth street behind the fort, Col. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, built a convenient frame house which was also surrounded by a spacious garden.

General Harmar was so delighted with the location that in March, 1790, he wrote to Judge Symmes speaking of his desire for an acre of ground or perhaps a little more near the garrison on the east side of it for the purpose of making a garden. "I suppose by applying to Mr. Ludlow he will be able to stake off three or four lots accordingly. I wish to give him the necessary directions." This garden which was located south of Third and east of Ludlow contained a summer house which became one of the points for determination some years later in the cause in the United States Court already referred to. Just previous to this the General had written to a merchant friend of his in Philadelphia, Jonathan Williams, recalling the gay moments passed together in France which recollection afforded him an opportunity for comparisons: "Here we are delightfully situated on the most beautiful river in the world, *La Belle Riviere*, opposite the mouth of Licking in Kentucky. You'll wonder at this when you call to mind the handsome meanders of the Seine at the foot of your old quarters. Society, unless what the military affords, is entirely out of the question. Buffalo, venison, turkeys, and fish of an enormous size (when the season arrives), we have in great abundance. If ever *Miss—Fortune*, the slippery jade, should direct your course to the westward, it will give me great pleasure to regale you with some of our dainties. You shall have a hearty soldierly welcome."

About the same time he writes to another friend, Daniel Clymer, at Reading, Pennsylvania, inviting him to visit him:

"We can afford you buffalo and venison in abundance. * * * We are most beautifully situated where we are at present on the handsome river Ohio and directly opposite Licking in Kentucky. I have heard no news of disturbance lately from our yellow brethren. From Fort Pitt you can easily glide down the current to see me. It is about five hundred miles. This month I expect we shall have great plenty of fish; such as pike, perch, bass, buffalo, sturgeon and cat; the latter of an enormous size. What do you think of being regaled of one of one hundred weight? There are some actually caught at that weight."

THE LIFE AT THE FORT.

Fort Washington naturally became the center of life in the little community gathered about this point. The population of the town when the fort was first erected consisted of 11 families and 24 unmarried men together with the officers and soldiers of the garrison. About twenty small log cabins were built chiefly on the lower bank. The upper part of the trees on the Bottom between Walnut street and Broadway were cut down but not entirely removed for several years. As late as 1795, Judge Burnet records that Cincinnati was a small village of log cabins including about fifteen rough unfinished frame houses with stone chimneys. Not a brick had then been seen in the place. In consequence of the fact that the surface of the ground at the base of the upper level was lower than on the margin of the river, there extended the entire length of the town along the river front a narrow swamp or morass. This subjected the inhabitants during the summer and fall to ague and intermittent fevers. One of these attacks came upon the Judge in September, 1790, while at the chief hotel of the village owned and kept by Griffin Yeatman, an early emigrant from Virginia. The Judge's bed stood in a large room neither lathed nor plastered which was originally intended and occasionally used for the ball room. It was ordinarily occupied as the common dormitory of the establishment and at this time there were fifteen or sixteen others lying sick in the same room which gave it much the appearance of a hospital. In spite of this fact the invalids, who were conscious that they were as well provided for as circumstances would permit, made but few murmurs or complaints. (Burnet's Notes, p. 32.)

General Harmar, as has already been quoted, commented upon the lack of any society excepting such as could be found among the soldiers. A similar complaint is made by Judge Burnet, who speaks from an altogether different point of view. According to him there were but "few individuals and still fewer families who had been accustomed to mingle in the circles of polished society. That fact put it in the power of the military to give character to the manners and customs of the people. Such a school it must be admitted was by no means intended to make the

most favorable impression on the morals and sobriety of any community as was abundantly proved by the result. Idleness, drinking and gambling prevailed in the army to a greater extent than it has at any subsequent period. This may be attributed to the fact that they had been several years in the wilderness cut off from all society but their own with but few comforts and conveniences at hand and no amusements but such as their own ingenuity could invent. Libraries were not to be found,—men of liberal minds or polished manners were rarely to be met with; and they had long been deprived of the advantage of modest and accomplished female society which always produces a salutary influence on the feelings and moral habits of men. Thus situated the officers were urged by an irresistible impulse to tax their wits for expedients to fill up the chasms of leisure which were left on their hands after a full discharge of their military duties; and as is too frequently the case in such circumstances the bottle, the dice-box and the card table were among the expedients resorted to because they were the nearest had and the most easily procured. It is a disastrous fact that a very large proportion of the officers under General Wayne and subsequently under General Wilkinson were hard drinkers. Harrison, Clark, Shomberg, Ford, Strong and a few others were the only exceptions. Such were the habits of the army when they began to associate with the inhabitants of Cincinnati and of the Western settlements generally and to give tone to public sentiment. As a natural consequence the citizens indulged in the same practices and formed the same habits." (Burnet's Notes, p. 36.)

In proof of this the Judge cites the fact that when he came to the bar there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice. He for many years had been the only survivor; the rest with the exception of his brother, who died of consumption in 1801, had all become confirmed sots and descended to premature graves.

Mr. Cist quotes the following "Instructive Record," which describes the habits of the officers already referred to by Judge Burnet.

"In August, 1793, a court martial was convened on the spot where Cincinnati now stands, by order of General St. Clair, for the trial of one ensign Morgan; who was found guilty and cashiered. Three years thereafter, the late Gen. Wm. Eaton (a member of the court), then consul to Tunis, thus recorded the fate of his associates:

Brig. Gen. Posey	Resigned and dead.
Major D.	Resigned and dead.
Major H.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. P.	Dead per do.
Capt. P.	Dead.
Capt. Eaton	At Tunis.
Capt. P.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. M.	Dead.
Capt. F.	Dead.
Capt. P.	Dead.
Capt. J.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. C.	Killed.

"Eaton's own fate, although delayed, was sealed by the same habits. He died in 1811, confirmed in intemperance.

"Among orders filed away in 1792, by a merchant of that period, and now lying on my table, the whole number being twelve, ten are for spirituous liquors, as follows: 'Twenty gallons whiskey—half a gallon cogneac—ten gallons whiskey—three gallons whiskey—one gallon madeira—two gallons cogneac—whiskey—whiskey—whiskey—whiskey.' These were all for officers in the United States Army, some of whose initials correspond with Eaton's list." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 69.)

The entries in Smith & Findlay's books of account, preserved among the "Findlay Papers," in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio tell much the same tale.

Judge Goforth's docket of August 12, 1799, gives evidence of the serious character of the sales of liquor. The Judge, who lived at Columbia, records that on that day he was visited by Esq. Wells and Mr. Sedam, an officer in the army, and that as he was walking with them to the boat towards evening the conversation turned on the pernicious practice of retailing spirituous liquors to the troops. General Harmar desired that the court should take some action to break up this practice. According to this suggestion, a session was called for the 14th of August at which time Goforth records that he arrived at Cincinnati with Esq. Gano and "waited upon Esq. McMillan who was in a low state of health but gave me encouragement that he would be able to sit in session."

A letter was sent by Judge Goforth to General Harmar asking evidence with regard to the sale of liquors by the persons sanctioned in the previous May term to keep public houses of entertainment. Thereupon "the court being opened, present William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano.

"Captain Ferguson, Captain Pratt, Captain Strong, and several other officers appeared agreeable to Gen. Harmar's orders, and informed

the court, that in consequence of the troops being debauched by spirituous liquors, punishment had become frequent in the army, and that the men were sickening fast, and that the sickness in the opinion of the Doctors was in a great degree brought on by excessive hard drinking, and the officers complained of three houses which had retailed to the troops, to-wit: Thomas Cochran, Mathew Winton and John Scott. These charges were supported by evidence, and Thomas Cochran, and Mathew Winton, each with a security were bound by their recognizance at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, to be holden at Cincinnati, for the county of Hamilton on the first Tuesday in November next, in the sum of two hundred dollars, and in the mean time to refrain from retailing spirituous liquors to the troops without a written permission from their officers. And John Scott, in the sum of thirty dollars. The Court being adjourned without day." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 187.)

THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR.

Arthur St. Clair, the Governor of the Territory, arrived at Fort Washington on January 2, 1790, and staid until the 5th at which time he departed for the Illinois country, accompanied by an escort of fifty chosen men selected from the garrison under the immediate command of Lieutenant Doyle. Major Wyllys accompanied him. General St. Clair came down on a flatboat and was met at the landing and escorted to Fort Washington by the military and citizens, during which time a salute of 14 guns was fired from the fort. It is said that when he arrived near the village, while standing on the roof of the boat looking at the town he asked, "What in the hell is the name of this town anyhow?" Whether that anecdote be true or not it is certain that during his stay the name was changed from Losantiville to Cincinnati, in honor of the society of that name which had just been formed by the ex-officers of the Revolutionary Army. This society had been so called in honor of the Roman patriot, Cincinnatus, who at the calling of his country had left his plow to take up arms in her defense, and after the conclusion of his work had returned to his farm again. This had been the usual history of the officers of the Revolutionary Army and when they formed their society to keep in remembrance the scenes and events of their long struggle for independence, to keep alive the friendship thus formed and also to care for the widows and orphans of their deceased fellow officers, they selected this name as the most appropriate one, each feeling himself to be a Cincinnatus of modern time. As the Ohio settlements were the first fruits of the victory with which the Revolutionary soldiers had any special connection, the name seemed an appropriate one for the town in which was located its principal fort.

During this visit General St. Clair erected the county of Hamilton, which he named in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the suggestion of Judge Symmes. Various officers of the county were appointed by the Governor and on the 5th he left for Fort Vincennes for the purpose of conciliating the savages if possible and to organize the territory west of Hamilton County.

The history of Fort Washington from this time was in the main the history of Cincinnati. It was the central point in the community as well as in the Territory. The expeditions against the Western Indians all set out from this fort and their history is a part of the history of the community. In the correspondence between the officers and in the official reports are found many of the most valuable authorities upon which the history must be based. The letters of General Harmar, written from the fort during his residence there, give much information as to the life of not only the soldiers and of the people in the neighborhood but foreshadow the expeditions against the Indians. In a letter to Richard Graham, in March, 1790, he refers to the murder of some people at a small station above Limestone by the savages who "will continue their carnages and depredations until government raise a proper force to sweep them off the face of the earth." In a letter in the same month to General Knox, he says: "The Indians still continue to murder and plunder the inhabitants; especially the boats going up and down the Ohio River. About the middle of this month they broke up Kenton Station, a small settlement fifteen miles above Limestone, killing and capturing the whole of the people supposed to be ten or twelve in number. Buckner Thruston, Esq., has just arrived here who informs me of a capital stroke of plunder which they made from the boats, one of which he was on board a small distance above Scioto River. This gentleman is a member of the Virginia Legislature and has given me the enclosed written report of the attack by which you will be pleased to observe that the property captured by the savages was estimated at £4,000. He

supposed them to have been Shawanees. No calculation will answer but raising a sufficient force to effectually chastise the whole of those nations who are known to be hostile."

In a letter to Captain Ziegler, who was afterwards the first mayor of Cincinnati, but at that time celebrating his honeymoon, in command at Fort Harmar, he commends him for sending a guard with the contractors' boats, as the Indians begin already to be very troublesome on the river near Scioto. "We have a delightful situation here and an excellent garrison; no danger as there is with you of an inundation."

To Dr. Wistar, he writes concerning some bones which he is forwarding to him. "We are at present stationed opposite the mouth of the Licking River not above twenty miles by land from the Big Bone Lick creek. I intend shortly to let Dr. Allison, the surgeon of the regiment, proceed to that place and stay there for about a week. Upon his return I am in hopes to be able to send you a proper collection of the bones, and worthy of your acceptance, as the Doctor is curious in these matters." In this letter he speaks also of the subject which seems to be uppermost in his mind. "The savages begin already to be very troublesome with the boats descending the Ohio River; nothing will cure them but an effectual chastisement."

In a letter of June 8th, to William Govett, after the discussion of purchasing an encyclopedia "the most elegant edition that can be procured" and a thermometer he says "the Indians have been and still are troublesome. I am in full hopes that the new government will give me the materials to work with and the next year be prepared for a general war with them." About the same time he writes to the paymaster general, complaining as follows: "There has been a Major J——— here for the avowed design of speculating upon the necessities of the soldiers and some others but I have prevented them. It is in my opinion a most dishonorable traffic; by God my hands are clear of it and if I find that any officer is concerned in it he shall be called to a strict and severe account for such unmilitary proceedings. The Indians are exceedingly troublesome. I know of nothing that will cure the disorder but government raising an army to effectually chastise them. All treaties are in vain."

THE OFFICERS OF THE FORT

In a letter to Lieut. Matthew Ernst, commanding officer at Fort Pitt, announcing that he will surely be selected as the paymaster at Fort Washington, General Harmar gives a list of officers at Fort Washington on June 9, 1790. They were: Gen. Josiah Harmar, Capt. William Ferguson, Capt. David Strong, Capt. William McCurdy, Capt. Erkuries Beatty, Lieut. John Armstrong, Lieut. William Kerney (Kearsey), Lieut. Mahlon Forde, Lieut. John Pratt, Lieut. Ebenezer Denny, Ensign Cornelius Ryker Sedam, Ensign Asa Hartshorn, Ensign Robert Thompson, and Dr. Richard Allison. With but few exceptions the officers of this First United States Infantry, whose names are given, had served during the Revolutionary War and served in the campaigns about to begin.

General Harmar had served from October 27, 1775, to November 3, 1783, when he retired with the rank of brevet colonel. During the following year he conveyed dispatches to Paris from Congress, announcing the formal ratification of peace. August 12, 1784, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the United States Infantry Regiment, and remained at the head of the army until he was superseded by Arthur St. Clair in 1791. He retired from the service January 1, 1792, owing to the criticisms concerning his management of the campaign which bears his name. He returned to Pennsylvania and there served six years as adjutant-general and died on August 20, 1813, in Philadelphia, where he was buried with military honors.

William Ferguson was from Pennsylvania and had served in the Artillery Corps during the Revolution. He was appointed captain in the United States Army in 1785 and as already stated was the principal constructor of Fort Washington, associated in that duty with Lieutenant Pratt. He married Susanna, daughter of Maskell Ewing, secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge of New Jersey. (Ewing's name appears as secretary on the original charter granted to the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge of Cincinnati, dated September 8, 1791.) Shortly before he set out for the St. Clair campaign, in which he was killed, November 4, 1791, Major Ferguson purchased the lot on the southwest corner of Broadway and Fourth street, opposite the upper end of the military reservation.

Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) David Strong was from Connecticut, and retired from service in the Continental Army with the rank of captain. He entered the army of the United States and served in it until the time of his

death at Fort Wilkinson, Illinois, August 19, 1801. He took part in the preliminary work at least in the building of Fort Washington and subsequently constructed Fort Wilkinson twelve miles below Metropolis, and was in command at Fort Jefferson in 1792, and Detroit in 1799.

Erkuries Beatty was born in Pennsylvania, October 9, 1759, and served as lieutenant throughout the Revolutionary War. At its conclusion he became clerk in the War Department until commissioned lieutenant of infantry in 1784. He was afterwards promoted to be captain and major and resigned from the army in 1792. For several years, including the time at Fort Washington, he was paymaster. He died at Princeton, February 23, 1823.

Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) John Armstrong, in 1776 entered the Continental Army from Pennsylvania as a non-commissioned officer. He served throughout the war and at its conclusion was a captain. He became an ensign in the newly organized army and retired in 1793 with the rank of major. He served in the Harmar campaign, concerning which he left a journal. In this fight he lost 22 out of a command of 30, while falling back from the position to which he had been assigned. He had held command at Fort Pitt, Fort Finney at Jeffersonville and Fort Hamilton. After his retirement from the regular army, he served as colonel of militia, treasurer of the Territory and judge of the courts in Hamilton County. He died in 1816, on his farm in Clark County, Indiana.

Lieutenant (afterwards Major) William Kearsey was from New Jersey and had served seven years in the Continental Army of the United States. He was ensign and subsequently lieutenant, captain, and at the time of his death in service, March 21, 1800, he had attained the rank of major. He it was who was in command of the party that accompanied Judge Symmes to the mouth of the Great Miami and left him there because of the dissatisfaction at Symmes' selection of his city site.

Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) John Pratt entered the Continental Army from Connecticut and retired with the rank of lieutenant, which rank he took in the army of the United States in 1785. He resigned in September, 1793. He was regimental quartermaster at Fort Washington in 1789, and was carried on the army lists as acting quartermaster general at this time.

Lieutenant Denny is already well known. He was a special favorite of General Harmar, to whom he was much devoted and after whom he named one of his sons. He was born March 11, 1761, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. At the age of 13 years he carried dispatches to the commanding officers at Fort Pitt. He served in the early part of the Revolutionary War on a privateer and afterwards entered the Continental Army as ensign serving to the close of the war, having then the rank of lieutenant. At the surrender of Yorktown, General Butler assigned to him the duty of planting the first American flag upon the British parapet. As Denny in the presence of the three armies was in the act of planting the flagstaff, Baron Steuben rode out of the lines, dismounted and took the flag and planted it himself. This almost resulted in a duel between Butler and Steuben which was only averted by the influence of General Washington and Count Rochambeau. He was with General Butler at Fort Finney, having been appointed an ensign in the army in 1784. He resigned from the army in the spring of 1792 with the rank of captain, having served through both the campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair as an aide. He was the bearer of the dispatches from both of these generals, announcing their defeats to the War Department. At a later time he served for a time under a commission from the Governor of Pennsylvania to protect the frontier at Venango and Presqu' Isle. He built a new work at the former near the site of the old French and English forts. His "Military Journal," from which so much has already been quoted, is one of the most valuable of contemporary documents. He subsequently became a very prominent merchant at Pittsburg. He was the first treasurer of Allegheny County and the first mayor of the city of Pittsburg. For many years prior to his death he was a director of the Bank of the United States. He died July 21, 1822.

Asa Hartshorn entered the army in 1787 and performed much service on details for protecting the surveyors and the government geographers. He was killed during the Wayne campaign, June 30, 1794, under the walls of Fort Recovery.

Dr. Robert Allison served five years in the Revolutionary Army, having enlisted from Pennsylvania. He was appointed surgeon's mate in the United States Infantry in 1784 and became a surgeon in 1788, continuing in the army until his honorable discharge in 1796. He lived on the east side of Lawrence street just above Third street, at the place where afterwards

in 1814 was erected the home of General Lytle, which is still standing and known as the Foster place.

Ensign Cornelius Sedam became a celebrated character in Cincinnati history. It was from him and his son that the village of Sedamsville takes its name.

Major Doughty whose name will be always connected with Fort Washington had long since, at the conclusion of his work, returned to Fort Harmar where he was particularly devoted to the cultivation of peaches. He resigned from the service in 1791 but afterwards reentered it in 1798. In 1800 he retired permanently and died September 16, 1826.

Capt. Jonathan Heart, who drew the celebrated picture of the fort, was born in 1744 in Connecticut and graduated at Yale. He was a volunteer at Lexington, a private at Bunker Hill and ensign at the siege of Boston. He served eight and a half years in the Continental Army, retiring with the rank of brigade major. He became a captain in one of the companies furnished by Connecticut in 1785 and was finally located at Fort McIntosh. He arrived at Fort Washington on the 20th of April and was killed at St. Clair's defeat.

Maj. John P. Wyllys was killed in the Harmar expedition. He was born in 1754, graduated at Yale in 1773 and served during the Revolutionary War at Boston, about New York, at Valley Forge and in Virginia. He was appointed major of the First Regiment in 1785 and was in command at Fort Finney for part of the next year.

Lieut.-Col. George Gibson, who served on the Harmar "Court of Inquiry," was from Pennsylvania and served through the Revolutionary War. He was mortally wounded on November 4, 1791, when he commanded the Second Regiment. He died at Fort Jefferson on December 11, 1791.

Another member of this court, Lieut.-Col. William Darke was also from Pennsylvania, born in 1736. He served through the French and Indian War and was at Braddock's defeat. He served through the War of the Revolution, although a prisoner in the hands of the British for a time. He lost his son in the battle of November 4th. He was a man of great bravery but very illiterate and seemed to have an unpleasant habit of criticising his associates. He died November 20, 1801.

Capt. Edward Miller, who afterwards commanded the fort, was from Connecticut and served throughout the Revolutionary War. He became 2nd lieutenant of the Second Regiment of Infantry in 1793. He brought his family to Fort Washington in 1798. He subsequently retired from the army and resided for some years in Clermont County, dying in Columbia township, Hamilton County, July 6, 1823.

Lieutenant Kingsbury who commanded at Colerain was from Connecticut and served throughout the Revolutionary War. The date of his retirement (June 15, 1815) was forty years after his first enlistment in the Continental Army as a private. He retired as a colonel, having been inspector general during the previous year. He died July 1, 1837. (The details of the service of the foregoing officers have been in a measure taken by permission from Mr. Jones' monograph on Fort Washington.)

The first commander of the fort of course was Major Doughty who built it. He was succeeded in turn by General Harmar, the commander of the army upon his arrival in December. The fort was named Fort Washington by Harmar at the time of the arrival of St. Clair in January, 1790, at the time Hamilton County and Cincinnati received their names. After Harmar's defeat General St. Clair succeeded as major-general of the army, and Colonel Trueman was in command at the fort. After the disastrous St. Clair expedition, St. Clair placed Major Ziegler in command at the fort and he himself hastened to Philadelphia. (Captain Buel had commanded during the absence of the army.) Ziegler was soon followed by Colonel Wilkinson. In 1794 Captain Pierce was in command. In 1796 Capt. William Harrison became commander at the fort and continued in his command until his resignation in 1798. General Wilkinson became commander-in-chief of the army and made it his headquarters for many months in 1797 but the command of the fort seemed to remain in the hands of Captain Harrison. In 1799 Capt. Edward Miller was in command, as shown by the account of the memorial funeral of General Washington. It appears from an advertisement for a deserter from Washington, published December 21, 1800, that Lieut. Peter Shiras commanded at that time. In January, 1801, Captain Vance at the recruiting station advertised for soldiers, offering "an abundant supply of whiskey, food and clothing of the best quality—twelve dollars bounty and ten dollars per month with comfortable quarters and a life of ease."

The local paper, *The Centinel*, contains frequent references to the fort and officers.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TOWN AND THE GARRISON.

THE STARVING TIME—THE CONFLICT OF AUTHORITY—THE SOLDIERS AGAINST THE TOWNSPEOPLE—THE INDIAN BURIAL—THE HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS—WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL—THE SALE OF THE FORT—THE SECOND REGIMENT.

Many episodes connected with the life of the garrison and its relations to the town are of interest. Despite the great plenty of provisions spoken of by Harmar in his letters there were times in the early days when the fort was reduced to serious straits in procuring supplies. At one time in 1789, it is said that Captain Strong's company of regulars were contemplating the abandonment of the post. When all provisions and supplies from the stations up the river had given out, John S. Wallace suggested the purchasing of corn at Columbia while he, Wallace, with some hunters would endeavor to get meat. General Harmar sent Captains Strong and Kearsey to Columbia to procure corn. They made application to James Flinn who was supposed to have 500 bushels for sale. Flinn refused to sell to them. His reason was that during the previous year when living below Marietta he had furnished supplies to the troops at Fort Harmar but had never been able to get any pay because of the removal of the officer who made the purchase to some other station. Captain Strong thought that if they could not get corn they should be obliged to retreat on account of starvation. During the conversation, Luke Foster, afterwards associate judge of the county, came up and asked the difficulty, to which Strong replied that the difficulty was that the troops had been for nine days on half rations and that the half rations were about out and they were starving for corn. Foster thereupon agreed to lend to the garrison 100 bushels upon condition that it should be returned the next season. The next season Foster was obliged to ride down to Cincinnati six times to get 19 bushels. This particular crop of corn had been the result of a very careful sowing. Foster had run out of seed corn and the only neighbor who had the amount he wanted, less than a peck, was out of corn meal. Foster happening to have a small quantity of corn meal exchanged it for the corn, 13 pint cup fulls of meal for 13 pints of corn. It was planted three grains in a hill and in this way managed to seed two and one-half acres. Although the crop was put in late and it was a dry season, the soil was so good that the result was very successful. The statement is made that this corn in the hands of Foster, together with that owned by Flinn, constituted at that time two-thirds of the whole supply of Columbia and Cincinnati.

Wallace started to the woods to procure the meat with two other settlers, Drennan and Dement, but Dement knew little of hunting and Drennan having never hunted at all knew less. Wallace however was able to shoot enough for the three; the other two did their share by carrying the meat on their backs. They went down the river in a canoe to a point ten miles below the fort and landed on the Kentucky side. They used the precaution, which was always necessary in a case of this kind, of concealing their boat. This was to prevent the Indians from noticing it and lying in ambush for them on their return:—a frequent occurrence. They struck off into the woods and were very successful in their hunting. They obtained enough buffalo,

1 A good name is better than precious ointment;
and the day of death than the day of birth.
2 It is better to go to the house of mourning
than to go to the house of feasting;
for this is the end of all humankind,
and the living will take it to heart.
3 Sorrow is better than laughter,
for by the sadness of the face the heart is made glad.
4 The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning,
but the heart of fools is in the house of pleasure.
5 It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise
than to hear the song of fools.
6 For like the crackling of thorns under a pot,
so is the laughter of the fools;
this also is vanity.
7 Surely oppression makes the wise foolish,
and a bribe destroys the understanding.
8 Better the end of a matter than its beginning;
patience is better than pride.
9 Do not be quick in your spirit to be angry,
for anger lodges in the bosom of fools.
10 Do not say, "Why were the days of old better than these?"
For it is not wisdom that you ask about these.
11 Wisdom is good with an inheritance,
and it gives advantage to those who see the sun.
12 For wisdom is a protection as money is a protection,
but the advantage of knowledge is that wisdom preserves the life of its possessor.
13 Consider the work of God:
who can straighten what God has made crooked?
14 In the day of prosperity be joyful,
but in the day of adversity consider:
God has made the one as well as the other,
so that humankind will find nothing
that comes after them.

ing a writ of habeas corpus for the release of a military prisoner. The commandant of the fort, Colonel Trueman, refused to obey the order to produce the body of the prisoner in court and was sustained in his action by the Governor. The prisoner had been charged with a capital offense under the military law,—the offense of persuading a soldier to desert and of providing him with the means of escape. The deserter had been arrested, tried and executed and on the scaffold had confessed the facts in the case.

The difficulties between the citizens and the soldiers are referred to in Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791:

"The Governor's proclamations have convulsed these settlements beyond your conception, sir, not only with regard to the limits of the purchase, but also with respect to his putting part of the town of Cincinnati under military government. Nor do the people find their subordination to martial law a very pleasant situation. A few days ago a very decent citizen, by the name of Shaw, from New England (and one, too, who lived with his family a considerable distance beyond the limits assigned by proclamation round Fort Washington, for the exercise of the law martial), was put in irons, as I was yesterday credibly informed, his house burned by the military, and he banished the Territory. I hear his charges are, that of purchasing some of the soldiers' clothing, and advising in some desertions; but of this he was not otherwise convicted (for he asserts his innocence), than by the soldier's accusation after he had deserted and been retaken, which he might possibly do in order to shift the blame in some degree from himself in hopes of more favor. There are, indeed, many other acts of a despotic complexion, such as some of the officers, Capt. Armstrong, Capt. Kirkwood, Lieut. Pastures, and Ensign Schuyler, very recently, and Capt. Strong, Capt. Ford, Capt. Ashton, and Ensign Hartshorn, while General Harmar commanded, beating and imprisoning citizens at their pleasure. But here, in justice to the officers generally of the levies, I ought to observe that, as yet, I have heard no complaint of any severity or wantonness in them. The violence of which I speak are found among the officers of the regular troops, who, in too many instances, are imperiously haughty, and evidently affect to look down on the officers of the levies. I hear there are several officers with their corps from Jersey arrived at headquarters, but I have not seen any of them, as I had left Cincinnati a day or two before their arrival, and have not been there since. It really becomes a very unpleasant place to me, for I have always had something in my nature which was shocked at acts of tyranny, and when at that place, my eyes and ears are every day saluted with more or less of those acts which border hard on it."

The proclamation referred to was that of July 19, 1781, which was issued by St. Clair for the purpose of preventing the settlement of land lying eastward of the twenty-mile line which was the first boundary of the Symmes purchase. The citizen, Shaw, referred to is probably one of the family of Esquire Shaw, who with his sons Knoles and Alvin were members of the company which first settled Crosby township in 1801.

Much of this trouble arose from the incompatibility of civil and military authority, especially in new settlements. In such cases there seems to be a constant irritation that is very difficult to allay. An illustration of this condition is shown by the occurrence reported in Symmes' letter of June 15, 1792:

"The superority which the Governor affected to give the military over citizens, is maintained with ridiculous importance by some of the officers. I will give you one instance: Captain John Armstrong, who commands, for the present, at Fort Hamilton, has, within a few days past, ordered out of the purchase some of Mr. Dunlap's settlers, at Colerain, against whom he has a pique. He threatens to dislodge them with a party of soldiers if he is not obeyed. The citizens have applied to me for advice, and I have directed them to pay no regard to his menaces, yet I very much fear he will put his threats into execution, for I well know his imperious disposition. This same Armstrong, soon after the Governor had ordered Knoles Shaw's house burned, and himself and family banished, met with Mr. Martin, the deputy sheriff, with whom a little before, he had some dispute touching the superiority of the civil or military authority. Armstrong now deridingly takes the sheriff by the sleeve, saying: 'What think you of the civil authority now.'"

THE SOLDIERS AGAINST THE TOWNSPEOPLE

A much more serious matter occurred on February 12, 1792. Lieutenant Pasteur of Symmes' letter became involved in a quarrel with John Bartle. Bartle was one of the most prominent men in the place and kept a store at the corner

of Front and Broadway where the Spencer House now stands. The officer decoyed Bartle on pretense of business to come to the fort and thereupon, surrounded as he was by his friends, he assaulted Bartle and beat him severely. Bartle promptly prosecuted the arrogant soldier and in the course of the trial his attorney, Mr. Blanchard, denounced the conduct of the officer in unmeasured terms and made him appear in so contemptible a light as to divert the anger of Pasteur from the client to the attorney. Thereupon a sergeant and 30 private soldiers accompanied the lieutenant to chastise personally the lawyer and his supporters. Naturally, the citizens took the part of their own associates and a riot took place on Main street between Front and Second, in the neighborhood of Mr. McMillan's office. McMillan, who was the magistrate, and Col. John Riddle with 18 of the citizens succeeded in driving the soldiers off. This affair naturally aroused great excitement and indignation and General Wilkinson who was then in command reduced the sergeant to the ranks. He would have inflicted further punishment upon the sergeant and would have punished the soldiers had it not been apparent that they acted under orders. Pasteur himself was tried at the Court of General Quarter Sessions in the following year and sentenced to pay a fine of three dollars for his assault. The immediate result of the affray was the issuing of a general order:

"HEADQUARTERS FORT WASHINGTON,
"February 13, 1792.

"The riot in the town of Cincinnati yesterday, and the outrage committed by a party of soldiers on the person of a magistrate of this Territory, is a dishonor to the military and an indignity to the National Government, which demands that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the perpetrators. Although the Commandant cannot admit the idea that any gentleman in commission who wears the garb of honor could be instrumental or accessory to this flagitious transaction, yet the circumstances of a sergeant and twenty or thirty men from the same company, leaving the garrison in a body, as has been represented to the Commandant, carries with it an aspect of premeditation, and may subject the officer commanding such company to undue suspicions and censures. To avert such consequences in future, and to restrain the licentious habits of the soldiery, the Commandant calls for the firm cooperation and support of his officers, and orders that all duties beyond the walls of the garrison, whether for water, wood or provisions, must be done by detachment, under a non-commissioned officer, who shall be answerable for the conduct of such detachment. No private is to pass the gateway on any other pretence without a special commission from the commanding officer. The Commandant laments that he should be reduced to the necessity of exerting so rigid a system of police, but he considers it indispensably necessary, not only to the good of the service but the honor of the corps.

"By order,
"JOHN WADE,
"Ensign, Fort Adj't."

Another affray between the citizens and soldiers took place two years later. In the spring of this year a detachment of Kentucky volunteers who were on their way to join Wayne encamped for a few days in the vicinity of Cincinnati. They were accompanied by about one hundred friendly Indians, Choctaws of the Mississippi region, who encamped on Deer creek. With the Indians was a young white woman who was held as a captive, having been taken in Western Pennsylvania some time previous. It was thought that she had relatives in this city but this did not turn out to be true but several of the citizens happened to know her friends and relatives near Pittsburg as they themselves had come from that neighborhood and after considerable negotiations one of them succeeded in ransoming the girl upon the payment of a barrel of Monongahela whiskey. The whiskey and the girl were exchanged at a tavern just above John Bartle's store on Broadway and the trade was celebrated by the Indians with many libations. The jollification continued until the whiskey had been pretty well consumed, whereupon having no visible evidence for their bargain the Indians concluded that they had been imposed upon and were for retaking the girl from her friends. These naturally objected in a very peaceable yet firm manner and the girl was secreted so that the Indians could not find her. The white men involved in the party were all Irishmen from Pennsylvania and were assisted by many others of their countrymen and other citizens. At that time the lower end of Broadway was very narrow but widened rapidly as it went up the hill. The east side was occupied by the artificers' shop belonging to the garrison. The Indians retired for a time but presently came back crowding down Broadway

to the number of fifty and were met at the narrow part of the street by the Irish contingent and a general *mêlée* ensued. The weapons used were stones and rocks at first but presently the Irish began to do effective work with sticks or shillalas and although much inferior in number put the redskins to flight up the hill. The leader of the Irishmen was a well-known citizen, Isaac Anderson, who had been taken captive at Laughery's defeat and who felt that he had a grudge against the whole race of redskins regardless of their nation and was endeavoring to pay off part of it. It became necessary for Captain Pierce, who was in command at the garrison at that time, to send out troops to quiet the disturbance but they arrived after the fight was over. As a result of this engagement, the row of cabins on the east side of Broadway near the river was called Battle row; this name it retained until 1810 when the houses were removed. The girl who caused all the controversy was returned to her friends in Pennsylvania and is said by Mr. Cist to have been living as late as 1859. (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 135.)

Again in September of the same year it became necessary to issue orders for the protection of these and other friendly Choctaw Indians who were returning from the Miamis of the Lakes where they had been assisting Wayne against the hostiles. The feeling of the community against all Indians was very high at this time and a number of lawless spirits assaulted this party. The Secretary of the Territory, Mr. Sargent, who was at that time the commander of the militia, applied to Judge McMillan about four o'clock in the afternoon stating that it had been represented to him that great violence had been committed on a party of Choctaw Indians by a number of people of the town armed with clubs and calling upon him to take legal measures to prevent a repetition of the outrage and the sacrifice of the lives not only of the Indians but of inhabitants. Two hours later he felt called upon to write to Captain Pierce, then in charge of the garrison, as follows:

"Since I parted from you, I have too sufficient reason to believe that attempts may, indeed, will be made upon the lives of the Choctaw Indians this night; and, although I have ordered out a militia guard, and shall make every possible exertion to prevent mischief, it appears to me that it can not be done unless you take the Indians into the fort immediately. I, therefore, presume thus, in writing, to reiterate my advice, and stand exculpated under all possible circumstances."

In accordance with this suggestion it appears that the Indians were taken into the fort for protection over night.

The following militia order was also issued:

"Twenty privates from the militia, with the due complement of non-commissioned officers, to be paraded immediately, at Mr. Cutter's, near the churchyard. Major Gano will command this party, and make such dispositions as shall seem best calculated to establish and preserve order at Cincinnati, and afford protection to the Choctaw Indians.

"Colonel Sargent, with the civil officers of the town, and some private gentlemen, will reinforce this guard at an early hour.

"WINTHROP SARGENT,
"Commanding the Militia."

The lawlessness of the mob in Cincinnati was certainly very great, for not only were the friendly Indians assailed with clubs and stones and guns, but two balls were fired into the dwelling of Secretary Sargent, and for several nights violence ran riot in the streets of the town. The County Court paying no attention to the matter, when the United States Court met, the Secretary addressed a communication to Judge Putnam, reciting the facts and asked for a special inquiry. He also said that, unless the hatred of the old pioneers against the Indians could be controlled, it would lead to serious consequences. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, pp. 328 and 336.)

A curious illustration of the feelings of the old citizens of the Territory at this period towards the Indians, and of the difficulties which Governor St. Clair had to encounter to preserve peace and the lives of the inhabitants, is afforded by an advertisement which was issued by citizens in the Miami purchase in 1794. It was as follows:

"PUBLIC NOTICE."

"Whereas, many good citizens of this Territory, with a design to check the incursions of hostile Indians now at war with the people of the United States, have voluntarily entered into and subscribed their names to certain articles; each name having a sum annexed thereto, and have severally bound themselves, their heirs, etc., to pay the same, as in the said articles are mentioned:

"We, the subscribers, therefore, being nominated and appointed to superintend the business of collecting and paying the money thus subscribed, hereby give notice that the following

arrangement is made for the reward to be given for Indian scalps, to be taken and produced within the period of the 18th day of April last past, and the 25th day of December next ensuing, and within the boundaries following, to-wit: Beginning on the Ohio, ten miles above the mouth of the Little Miami, on a direct line thence northwardly, the same distance from the said Miami until it shall extend twenty-five miles above where Harmar's trace first crosses the said Miami; thence, due west, crossing the said Little Miami, until it shall extend ten miles west of the Great Miami; thence, southwardly, keeping the distance of ten miles from the said Great Miami, to the Ohio; thence up the middle of the said River Ohio to the beginning; that for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the first ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid by those who are subscribers to the said articles, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of one hundred and thirty-six dollars; and for every scalp of the like number of Indians, having the right ear appendant, who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid, by those who are not subscribers, the Federal troops excepted, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of one hundred dollars; and for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the second ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid by those who are subscribers to said articles, shall, whenever collected as aforesaid, be paid the sum of one hundred and seventeen dollars; and for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the said second ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid, by those who are not subscribers to the said articles, except before excepted, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of ninety-five dollars.

"Cincinnati—

"LEVI WOODWARD,
"DARIUS C. ORCUTT,
"JAMES LYONS,

"Columbia—

"WILLIAM BROWN,
"IGNATIUS ROSS,
"JOHN REILY,
"Committee."

It was this feeling and such occurrences as those already described which made Wayne feel it necessary to issue his proclamation of February 22, 1795, warning the settlers against attacking the Indians. The same Captain Pierce was called upon about six weeks later to detail soldiers to assist the sheriff in making arrests of parties who had resisted the apprehension of some alleged law breakers.

It is apparent from casual references that Indians were kept at the fort much of the time and a party under General Scott which made the raid on the Indian towns in 1792 brought in over twenty prisoners including old men, women and children who were left in charge of the garrison at Fort Washington. Garret Burns, who was one of the party that captured them, said he saw them still confined as prisoners in 1793 after Wayne had come to the city. Heckswelder also speaks of them in his account.

Judge Symmes, in his letter of August 15, 1791, refers to a previous raid of Scott's in which he brought in forty Indian prisoners who were kept at the fort.

THE INDIAN BURIAL.

Not the least interesting ceremony which took place at the fort is described in a letter written by Dr. William Goforth, of September 3, 1791, from which several quotations have been already given:

"One of the Indian captives lately died at this place.—His Excellency Gov. St. Clair gave liberty to the rest to bury the corpse according to the custom of their nation; the mode is that the body be wrapped in a shroud, over which they put a blanket, a pair of moccasins on the feet, a seven days' ration by the side of the head, with other necessaries. The march from Fort Washington was very solemn; on their arrival at the grave, the corpse was let down, and the relatives immediately retired; an aged matron then descended into the grave, and placed the blanket according to rule, and fixed the provisions in such a manner as she thought would be handy and convenient to her departed friend; casting her eyes about to see if all was right, she found the deceased was barefoot, and inquired why they had omitted the moccasins? The white person who superintended the whole business, informed her that there were no good moccasins in the store, but by the way of amends they had put a sufficiency of leather into the knapsack to make two pairs, at the same time showing her the leather. With this she appeared satisfied, saying that her friend was well acquainted with making them." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 200.)

It is thought that it was due to the contact with the savage prisoners and friendlies that in the fall of 1794, shortly after Wayne's army had left the settlement, smallpox broke out among the soldiers in the fort and spread about the town with such malignity as to carry off many of the soldiers and citizens.

One of the elements that contributed considerably to the feeling of the military and civilians was the constant aid given by the latter to deserters.

The first executions in the new settlement took place at the southeast corner of the fort in 1789, at which time two soldiers, John Ayres and Mathew Ratmore, were shot for desertion. The matter of desertion seems to have been a very serious one. In a letter written by John Wilkinson, May 11, 1792, while commanding the fort, to Capt. John Armstrong at Fort Hamilton, the following instructions were given:

"Should any men desert you, the scouts are to take the track, pursue, overtake, and make prisoners of them; and for every one so apprehended and brought back, you may engage them twenty dollars. If the deserter is discovered making for the enemy, it will be well for the scout to shoot him and bring his head to you; for which allow forty dollars. One head lopped off in this way and set upon a pole on the parade might do lasting good in the way of deterring others."

THE HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS

On the other hand the citizens and soldiers frequently participated in the functions of each other. On the Fourth of July, 1790, the national salute of 13 guns was fired from the fort and a special military parade passed through the streets of the town in honor of the day. In the following year Washington's birthday was celebrated in grand style by the officers of the fort. Salutes were fired from the cannons, rockets and fireworks and firearms were discharged and in the evening there was a grand ball to which citizens and their wives from all three settlements were invited. This practice of firing salutes on public occasions seems to have been the usual one.

The militia, too, felt called upon to indulge in the expenditure of gunpowder and at a later time when the Territory was being divided into parties quite a little rivalry existed between the citizens and soldiers in this respect. This is referred to in an extract from a letter written in 1797 at which time the Fourth was observed by a dinner at Yeatman's Tavern and a Federal salute from the guns of the fort:

"One brilliant Fourth of July celebration was terminated by a sad accident. The party opposed to the Governor, glowing with all the heroism of 'Seventy-six,' mounted a blunderbuss on the bank of the river, and with a few hearts of steel made its shores resound, rivalling in their imagination the ordnance of the garrison! Delighted with their success, the load was increased in proportion to their enthusiasm; and when the 'Western Territory' was toasted, the gun summoned every power within it, carried its thunder to the Kentucky hills, and burst in pieces! Major Ziegler, on taking a view of the field reports as follows: Wounded, four men —killed, one gun!"

The Fourth of July, 1799, called for a special celebration an account of which is given in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of July 9th of that year. This account is well worth reproducing especially in view of the toasts given at the banquet.

"Last Thursday being the Fourth of July, it was celebrated by the citizens of this town in a manner which does credit to its inhabitants, and testifies that they hold in just estimation the DAY which gave BIRTH to our NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

"The morning was ushered in by a Federal Salute from Fort Washington, the 1st Battalion of Hamilton Militia paraded at the muster ground in the vicinity of this place, and went through the customary evolutions and firings.—As to their performance, we only need refer our Readers to the Governor's General Orders. —After the Battalion was dismissed, the Governor, the Federal Officers from Fort Washington, the officers of Militia, and a large number of respectable citizens dined under a bower prepared for that purpose.—Capt. Miller having furnished a piece of Artillery, which with Capt. Smith's company of Militia, accompanied by martial music made the woods resound to each of the following:

TOASTS

1. The PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA. May the display of his firmness and Patriotic Spirit, endear him to all who live under his administration.

2. GENERAL WASHINGTON, the Father and Friend of his country.

3. The ANNIVERSARY we celebrate: May every year impress on our minds a stronger sense of its consequence and blessing.

4. The Memory of those who fought and bled to establish AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. May they never be forgotten.

5. Our INFANT NAVY. May it add to the Nation's honor and wealth and confound her enemies.

6. The ARMY of the United States. May tney stand and be ever ready to guard our rights and support our Government.

7. Our Foreign Ministers. May they be respected as the representatives of a great, free and independent people.

8. PEACE throughout all the world on just principles.

9. The OFFICERS of the different Departments in the General Government. May they be faithful in executing the duties of their important stations.

10. The NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY.

11. The FAIR SEX of AMERICA. May their influence lead to the happiness of the nation.

12. Agriculture and Commerce. May we feel their happy effects like the SUN from East to West making a plentiful harvest.

13. The Old Patriots of Seventy-six. May they retain their energy and hand down their principles to the latest posterity.

14. Confusion and Reformation to all designing Bad Men, who are endeavoring to mar the peace and prosperity of our country.

15. May the AMERICAN EAGLE soar triumphantly when danger approaches.

"In the evening the Gentlemen joined a brilliant Assembly of Ladies at Mr. Yeatman's in Town, and it is impossible to describe the ecstatic pleasure that appeared to be enjoyed by all present at the Celebration of the Auspicious Day, and the scene closed in perfect harmony."

WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL.

Very shortly after Fourth of July came the memorial funeral for General Washington which was held on February 1st. The account of this in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of February 5, 1800, is as follows:

"At 12 o'clock the troops formed on the flat in front of the garrison (then under command of Capt. Miller), where they were joined by Captain Findlay's (and Capt. Brown's) troop of horse, the Masonic brethren and a large concourse of citizens, all eager to testify their high veneration for the character of the deceased. The bier was received by the troops formed in lines, with presented arms, officers, drums and colors saluting.

"The procession then moved on in the following order—Minute guns firing from the garrison and the music performing a solemn dirge.

Cavalry
Regular Troops
Horse, representing that of the General, with saddle, holsters and pistols, and boots reversed.
Rev. Mr. Wallace
Pall Bearers

To the left of Bier	To the right of Bier
Dr. Sellman	Dr. Elliott
Capt. Prince	Maj. Ziegler.
Col. Spencer	Major Goforth

His excellency the Governor and the Attorney General as Mourners
Masonic Brethren
Militia Officers in Uniform
Citizens.

"Having proceeded through different streets, and arrived at the place representing that of interment, the military halted, and opening their lines formed an avenue for the bier and those immediately attendant on it to pass through the troops leaning on reversed arms.

"The coffin having been deposited in the grave, a prayer suitable to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wallace, after which the Masonic Brethren performed their ceremony.

"Three discharges of musketry over the grave concluded the ceremonies."

From time to time little notices appeared in the local press which throw light upon the little happenings of the garrison.

In *Freeman's Journal* of Saturday, October 27, 1798, appears an advertisement in which we can recognize under a changed form a well-known name:

"Bohongedelass a Delaware Chief has brought into this place Eight Horses the property of the citizens of the United States. The owner or owners may have them by applying to me. "A. WHITLOCK,

"*For the Quartermaster.*"

"FORT WASHINGTON, October 26, 1792."

The *Spy* of October 29th contains a notice to the citizens that the quartermaster of the garrison would no longer furnish horses for the accommodation of the citizens who desired to indulge in the pleasant sport of riding.

In the report of the Secretary of War published in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, of January 30, 1802, the growing strength of the settlement is indicated by the proposition in the following year to divide one company of infantry between Pittsburg and Cincinnati, so that Fort Washington would have but half a company.

In April, 1802, one of the citizens, James Wilson, published his opinion of one of the officers of the post in the following terms: "The treatment that I received on the 6th inst., from Captain Cornelius Lyman of the 2nd United States regiment of infantry together with the subsequent conduct authorizes me thus publicly to declare him a Rascal, a Lyar and a Coward."

THE SALE OF THE FORT.

The government purchased from James Taylor, in 1803, the ground upon which afterwards the Newport barracks were built and thereafter as soon as the barracks were completed the troops removed across the river and Fort Washington was evacuated. After this time there was little of interest connected with the history of the fort except its demolition which took place in 1808. Dr. William Goforth and his pupil, the celebrated Dr. Daniel Drake, from time to time occupied rooms in the officers' quarters of the fort. In 1808 Congress ordered the military reservation condemned and sold. The sale was in charge of the surveyor-general, Jared Mansfield, who in accordance with the act of Congress, approved February 28, 1806, made a survey and prepared a plat dated July 8, 1807. The certificate on said plat is as follows:

"I do hereby certify that agreeably to instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, I have surveyed, or caused to be surveyed, and laid off into lots, streets and alleys, the fifteen acres of land belonging to the United States lying in the town of Cincinnati, in the form and manner exhibited in the Plat, and the field notes of the Survey are deposited in the office of this department.

"JARED MANSFIELD,
"Surv. Genl."

"Certified this 8th day of July 1807."

By virtue of this act, the land was advertised for sale in the *Liberty Hall and Mercury*, January 15, 1808, to take place on the "first Thursday of March next," March 14, 1808. The actual break up of the buildings and sale took place on St. Patrick's Day, March 17th.

The entire population of the city and the neighborhood attended the sale and made of it an occasion of great rejoicing. Little of the material was of any consequence and most of it was sold for firewood. The logs of the cabins between the fort and the artificers' yard are said to have been bought by Col. Stephen McFarland and used by him for many years for fire-wood. The lock of the old fort passed into the possession of Joseph Coppin of Pleasant Ridge and has remained in the possession of his family. A picture of it is given in R. R. Jones' monograph on Fort Washington. Mr. Coppin was present at the sale and gives the following account of one of the episodes connected with it:

"During the taking down of the fort, two men got into a fight, and upset a barrel of soft soap. Here they were down in soap, and then in the dirt; and when the people thought they had fought enough and were fit for the river, they marched them down to the tune of the 'Rogue's March,' and in the river they had to go and wash off in presence of the crowd that followed."

The following title page of the fourth volume of the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, introducing an elaborate paper read before that society July 14, 1797, indicates that the same spirit of scientific inquiry which induced General Harmar to send out a surgeon to investigate the big bones found in the neighborhood extended in other directions:

THERMOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS,
MADE AT FORT WASHINGTGON,
COMMENCING JUNE, 1790, AND ENDING
APRIL, 1791.
By Daniel Britt and G. Turner.
To which are added, for some time,
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE OHIO
Communicated by G. Turner.

Read July 14th, 1797, at a special meeting.

THE SECOND REGIMENT.

This chapter on Fort Washington can have no better conclusion than the paragraph which concludes Mr. Jones' monograph:

"At the formal dedication of the monument which now marks the site of Fort Washington, an interesting coincidence presented itself. In the year 1791, the Second Regiment of Infantry was organized at Fort Washington, a little prior to starting out on the ill-fated campaign of General St. Clair, when Major Heart, the first commandant of the regiment was slain, to-

gether with many other officers and men of the regiment, on the 4th of November of the same year. At the dedication of the monument in 1901, a detachment of this Second Regiment was present and took part in the ceremonies. The trim blue-clad soldiers, who stood about the monument in 1901, were the legal heirs, so to speak, of the old Second Regiment which had gone forth to battle from the same spot, one hundred and ten years before.

"Four buglers from the regiment stood at 'Attention' by the old guns which formed the railing around the monument. At the word of command, they gave out clearly and distinctly the 'reveille.' The call had been sounded by the trumpeters of the old regiment more than a century before, waking the slumbering echoes of the valley and startling the wild bird from its nest, as the silver notes rolled across the shimmering waters of the Ohio, or were hurled back with increased volume from the forest-clad hills behind the fort.

"Then came the final 'taps,' always of mournful association, as the last tribute of the living to the memory of the dead; and in this case, as it seemed, a fitting conclusion to the obsequies of those who had passed for the last time the frowning portal of old Fort Washington."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS.

INDIAN DEPREDATIONS—HARMAR'S EXPEDITION—THE BATTLES OF THE INDIAN TOWNS—THE EFFECT ON THE SETTLEMENTS—WILKINSON'S EXPEDITION.

As Fort Washington was the frontier post and in fact the principal post of the United States Army at this time and as it was from this point that the various expeditions which subsequently concluded the Indian occupancy of the Northwest took their start, the description of the events of those expeditions is a legitimate part of the history of Cincinnati. A very large number of the forces of the soldiers and officers were either drawn from the population of the village at that time or subsequently settled there. The experiences of pioneer life had largely to do with the Indians and the news that most occupied the attention of the settlers in the early days was from the Indian country either detailing some new outrage on the part of the red men or some effort of the pioneers or of soldiers to quell them. In fact until the various expeditions had succeeded in vanquishing the redskins, it was a daily question with the settlements on the Ohio as to whether they should be able to continue their existence. The large part of the trade, too, of the settlements depended upon the presence of the army and its necessities. It is apparent from letters of Symmes and others that the fluctuation in real estate was due to the success or lack of it of the soldiers and even the price of food was affected by the same causes. A serious defeat would throw on the market an excessive supply of provisions which would lower the prices to the settlers while at other times the increasing numbers of soldiers made it difficult if not almost impossible to supply a sufficient quantity of provisions. The three great expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne are a part of the history of the United States and the battles fought by these generals did not take place within the limits of the city of Cincinnati; the history of that city, however, would be as incomplete without a narrative of these expeditions as it would be without a reference to the negotiations with Congress or the preparations of the settlers in the East which led to its establishment.

INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

The necessity for some expedition against the savages became more and more apparent as the outrages on the part of the redskins increased in number. During the years preceding the settlement many settlers with their families had been slain and whole bodies of emigrants destroyed and the only punishment received by the Indians was the killing of a few of their number by rescue parties. The Ohio River was watched by the Indians with great care and below the Muskingum no boat was safe. It was necessary for parties going down the river to move in compact bodies. One of these parties is described by Denny. The expedition consisted of sixteen "Kentuck boats" and two keels. The Kentucky boats were lashed three together and kept in one line. The women and children and stock were all put into the middle boats and the outside boats only were worked. The men belonging to each block of boats had their own commanding officer and the whole party could repair to either side as necessity might require. The keels kept on the flanks.

All efforts to negotiate peace were received with apparent sincerity which in many cases covered the deepest treachery. St. Clair writing to the Secretary of War, July 12, 1788, reports that one of his officers carrying supplies to a place on the Muskingum where the treaty was to be held had been attacked by a party of Indians and had lost one man killed, two badly wounded and several missing. The Indians were repulsed and one left dead on the spot although the attack was a very spirited one on the part of the Indians, who, armed with spears only, rushed between the guard and their huts. The party of Indians who were Chippewas had retreated to Mackinaw where their prisoners were saved from torture by the fortunate interposition of the British commander at that post. In the early spring of 1790 a band of Indians about 54 in number, largely Cherokees and Shawanees, located their camp near the mouth of the Scioto. From here they attacked a new station a little below Limestone and killed or captured all of its inhabitants, 15 in number. Two of their captives were spared and used to serve as decoys for the purpose of attracting passing boats. On one occasion a boat was coming down the river containing four men and two unmarried girls and a quantity of stores for the Kentucky towns. The two captives came to the bank on the Ohio side and asked that the boat put in and take them aboard as they had just escaped from the savages. Three of the men objected to landing but the fourth, a man named Flynn, and the two girls, more good natured than discreet, insisted upon taking the suppliants aboard. The boat was put ashore and Flynn jumped on to the bank to be immediately captured by the Indians who fired at the others in the boat. The party tried to get away but were unsuccessful. One man and one girl were shot and another wounded. The savages took all the stores and got very drunk on a keg of whiskey. The man Flynn was taken to one of the Miami towns and burned alive after dreadful torture. The other girl, after suffering repeated outrage and direst hardships, was about to be burned at the stake when a merciful Indian interposed in her behalf and she was sent home. At another time the same party of Indians captured a pirogue going up the stream and killed all its occupants, six in number. Another party descending the river near the Virginia shore was accosted by one of the white captives from the bank and told that the Indians fifty or sixty in number would murder them if they did not surrender without resistance. The boat party attempted to escape down the river but were fired upon by the Indians and pursued. The Americans were obliged to abandon one of their boats containing many horses and much valuable property and crowd into the other boats. Although pursued some six or eight miles they escaped from their pursuers and arrived at Limestone. They lost 28 horses and merchandise valued at £1,500. This was the Buckner Thurston party referred to by Harmar in his letter of March, 1790, quoted in Chapter XIV. The boat with which the Indians pursued was the one captured just before and belonged to John May.

In January, 1790, a number of men were killed at various stations throughout Kentucky. About the same time a hunting party was fired upon six miles below Limestone and one of the members killed. Major Doughty, who was then passing down the river with a detachment of troops pursued the enemy but failed to overtake them. In the same month another boat containing about a dozen persons including a woman was captured fifteen miles above Limestone and the boat was afterwards found containing nine dead bodies; the others including the woman had been taken prisoner. A boy who had been hunting up the Licking with two men was captured while the two men were killed; the boy subsequently made his escape. In May Ensign Hartshorn, who was descending the river with a body of United States troops, was attacked about nine miles above Limestone where he had landed for the night. The attack was a furious one and resulted in the loss of one of the boats. The party escaped to Limestone and returned the next day to punish the savages. The red men had gone but they found the bodies of one man, one woman and three children, all of whom had been scalped. During this attack thirteen were killed and missing. On the 13th of May, 1790, the Indians killed two white men, two girls and two negroes in Jefferson County, Kentucky, and about the same time scalped one woman and made prisoner of another. A little later in the same county, at one point two young men and a negro woman had been captured and at another two men at work in the field and at a third point two boys had been taken. In still another case a man and young woman returning from a meeting were taken by the Indians; the man was killed instantly and the young woman was carried about ten miles then tomahawked and

scalped. The house of Miles Hart in Nelson County was attacked, Hart himself killed and his wife and two children carried off. The taking of young Tanner has already been described. These are but few of the instances which were being constantly reported by letters, affidavits and depositions. Horses were stolen in all directions and women and children carried off into captivity and many tortured to death in the most horrible manner. Men were usually killed and the women frequently reserved for a worse fate.

"The pioneers, who descended the Ohio on their way westward, will remember while they live the lofty rock standing a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto, on the Virginia shore, which was occupied for years by the savages as a favorite watch tower, from which boats ascending and descending could be discovered at a great distance. From that memorable spot, hundreds of human beings, men, women and children while unconscious of immediate danger, had been seen in the distance and marked for destruction. The murders and depredations committed in that vicinity at all periods of the war, were so shocking as to attract universal notice; letters were written to General Harmar from various quarters calling his attention to the subject and praying that measures might be taken without delay to check the evil. They informed him that scarcely a boat passed the rock without being attacked and in most instances captured; and that unless something were done without delay the navigation of the river would necessarily be abandoned." (Burnet's Notes, p. 94.)

HARMAR'S EXPEDITION.

In a letter of September 3, 1790, to Major Hamtramck, General Harmar referred to the unsettled condition of affairs among the Indians and on the next day in writing to General Mifflin he announces that he is preparing for an expedition against the savages to go forward the first of the next month. "Our regular force is but small. There is a prospect of being joined by a considerable body of militia who I hope will stick to the text and not leave me in the lurch." This expedition was, of course, the so-called Harmar campaign which resulted so disastrously for the whites.

General Harmar had sent out an expedition against the Indians on April 20th. He took with him about three hundred regulars and volunteers and marched for Paint creek to attack the Shawanee villages where it was thought that the Indians who had been on the Ohio would be found with their plunder. General Harmar left the expedition at the mouth of the Scioto and proceeded to Marietta, returning to Fort Washington the latter part of May or the early part of June. The troops under command of Captain Ferguson were not able to do much in this expedition, as the Indians were warned concerning their movements and abandoned their villages before the party arrived.

Governor St. Clair had arrived at Fort Washington from the Illinois country on July 11th. He had spent the winter and spring in organizing the counties in that quarter of the Territory and establishing a system of government. He remained but three days at the fort, during which time it was decided that General Harmar should conduct an expedition against the Maumee town, the residence of the renegade Indians from which issued the parties who infested the frontiers. One thousand militia were ordered from Kentucky and the Governor on his way from New York was to order five hundred more from the back counties of Pennsylvania. The day selected for the militia to assemble at Fort Washington was September 15th.

As early as the 15th of July, Lieutenant Denny in his journal refers to the preparations for this expedition which were making at the fort, stating that every day was employed in the most industrious manner. "Calculations of provisions, horses, stores, etc., were immediately made out and ordered accordingly. * * * Captain Ferguson with his company engaged in getting in complete order the artillery and military stores. Indeed every officer was busily employed in something or other necessary for the expedition but particularly the quartermaster Pratt. No time was lost."

The militia evidently did not arrive on time. Lieutenant Denny records the arrival of the Kentucky militia at Fort Washington on September 18th. Speaking of them, he says that they were "not such as we had been accustomed to see on the frontiers. They appeared to be raw and unused to the gun or the woods; indeed many are without guns, and many of those they have want repairing. Our artificers employed in putting to right the militia arms. General much disheartened at the kind of people from Kentucky. One-half certainly serve no other purpose than to swell their number.

If the leading *patriots* of Kentucky don't turn out rascals then some of the men that I know are greatly mistaken."

On the 19th the battalion of Pennsylvania militia arrived. On the 22nd Governor St. Clair returned from New York. On the 25th Major Doughty with two companions of the First Regiment commanded by Captains Ziegler and Heart arrived from Fort Harmar. They were accompanied by the rest of the Pennsylvania militia whom Denny thought were similar to the Kentuckians, too many substitutes. There seems to have been much difficulty in regulating and organizing the militia, whose colonels disputed about the command. This dispute was settled by General Harmar, after considerable trouble, with a compromise and reconciliation. The three battalions of Kentuckians were commanded by Majors Hall, McMillan and Ray, and Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Trotter, while the Pennsylvania militia were organized in one battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Truby and Major Paul. The whole was commanded by Col. John Hardin of Kentucky, subject of course to the orders of General Harmar.

Colonel Hardin was an old Continental officer and a Virginian by birth. He had served as ensign in Lord Dunmore's War and during the Revolution was with General Morgan's rifle corps. At the close of the war he removed to Kentucky (then part of Augusta County, Virginia), where he became lieutenant-colonel of the militia. He served under Clark in his expeditions against the Wabash Indians and was known as an old Indian fighter. He was killed as described later while bearing a letter to the Indians.

On September 26, 1790, the whole of the militia, amounting to 1,133, took the field under Colonel Hardin and marched on the direct route to the Indian towns. They were followed and joined on the 29th by General Harmar with the Federal troops. These, divided into two battalions, under the command of Majors Wyllys and Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery carrying three light brass pieces, numbered 320, mkaing a total number in the expedition of 1,453.

The route taken by General Harmar known for a long time as "Harmar's Trace" has been pretty well identified through the greater part of its course. The natural course for the settlers to take when following up the Indians after their raids was along the trails which the Indian himself had made. These trails eventually became well known and developed into highways when they constituted the first roads of the settlers. The route of the main body ran out Main street and up the hill now known as Mount Auburn about where Sycamore street now runs and then probably along Auburn and East Auburn avenues and the old Lebanon road now Reading road near Oak street (Mad River road) in Avondale. From this point the line ran probably in the direction now taken by Reading road, turning off into the little valley running from Mill creek to the Little Miami. At nightfall a camp was made near Ross Run. A western wing of the army went up the Mill creek valley going seven miles northeastwardly on the first day through a rich hilly land terminating on the second day near the present town of Sharonville. Major Denny records that on October 3rd, they encamped on the waters of the Little Miami, 31 miles and on the 4th on the branch of the Little Miami, 42 miles from Fort Washington. On the 5th they had reached Glade creek a branch of the Little Miami, 52 miles from Fort Washington and on the 6th after passing through a beautiful open country encamped three miles north of Old Chillicothe, 62 miles from the fort. On the following day they encamped at Mad River on the Pickaway fork of the Great Miami, 71 miles from the fort. Next day they gained nine miles and encamped on the Great Miami. This river they followed for the next few days, reaching the so-called French Store, 112 miles from Fort Washington on the 11th. Next day they passed New Chillicothe on Grave creek, the branch of the Maumee, 125 miles from the fort where a half pound of powder and a pound of lead were served out to each rifleman and 24 rounds of cartridges to the musketry. A Shawanee Indian was captured the next day, from whom they learned that the Indians were clearing out as fast as possible, and that the towns would be evacuated before their arrival. As it was impossible for the entire army to hasten its march, Harmar detached Colonel Hardin with six hundred light troops to push for the Miami village. The army itself pushed ahead through the flat country keeping itself in readiness to start early each morning. The marching over the

beech roots and brush was very difficult and although the horses were tied at night and grass cut and brought to them so that they would not be delayed on their march by grazing the horses, they found it very difficult to keep them together and many horses were lost. Reports came back from Colonel Hardin that every place was abandoned by the enemy before his arrival and when the main body of the army arrived at the Miami village or Maumee towns, one hundred and seventy miles from Fort Washington at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary, they were found to be unoccupied. They found here several good log houses belonging to British traders, some good gardens with some fruit trees and vast fields of corn in almost every direction.

THE BATTLES OF THE INDIAN TOWNS.

Colonel Trotter was ordered to make a reconnaissance with three hundred men, but after marching a few miles and overtaking and killing two of the savages he turned back and marched to camp. Colonel Hardin was disgusted with this and asked the command. On the following day he started out but it was apparent that the militia were dissatisfied and many of them dropped out of the ranks and returned to camp. At a point about ten miles from the camp he was surprised by a party of about one hundred Indians. Owing to the bad order of his men and their cowardly conduct, he was entirely defeated. The Indians made the first discovery and commenced to fire at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards and then advanced. A great number of the militia fled without firing a shot. Some few with thirty regulars that were of the detachment stood and were cut to pieces. Of the militia forty were missing but it was well known that very few of them were in the fight, most of them running back and pushing for the Ohio. Twenty-five of the regulars were missing. The next day the army moved from the Miami village to Chillicothe (a Shawanee town two miles east) for the purpose of destroying the houses and corn. During the night two of the captains took a notion to trap some of the Indians who were lurking about and carrying off some of the straggling horses. They put a horse outside the sentries with a bell on as a decoy and in a short time an Indian stalked up and seized the horse. The captains rushed upon him and cut off his head and brought it into the camp claiming at least the price of a wolf's scalp. The next day after burning everything that could be of use, such as corn, beans, pumpkins, stacks of hay, fencing, cabins, etc., and five villages including the capital town and destroying twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears the army took up its line of march back to Fort Washington. During the night Harmar sent back four hundred choice men, militia and regulars under the command of Major Wyllys, to surprise any Indian parties that might have returned to their towns. A part of the force were decoyed by small bodies of the Indians who then attacked Major Wyllys in force. After sustaining a very unequal fight for some time he was obliged to give way. One of the wounded escaping to the camp of General Harmar gave an imperfect account of the business, as a result of which a battalion was sent forward to aid the scattered troops. He met Colonel Hardin, who with a view of retrieving his affair of the 19th had volunteered to serve under Wyllys in command of the militia, returning with the wounded. In this affair two officers, Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham, were killed and 48 of the regulars. The whole of the killed and missing in the army was stated by Denny to be 183. It is believed, however, that a number of the militia who were missing had deserted and were on their way to Kentucky. Denny comments upon the matter to the effect that the design of sending back Wyllys would have been successful had the militia been able to control themselves. The army immediately returned to Fort Washington, arriving there November 3rd, and on the following day the militia were mustered out on the south side of the Ohio.

General Harmar's opinion with regard to the militia undoubtedly accords with that of Lieutenant Denny as is shown by his general order which he issued on October 20th, as follows:

"The party under the command of Captain Strong is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all the corn, etc., which he can collect. A party of one hundred men (militia), properly officered, under command of Colonel Hardin, is to burn and destroy effectually, this afternoon, the Pickaway town, with all the corn, etc., which he can find in it and its vicinity.

"The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday was entirely owing to the shameful, cowardly conduct of the militia, who ran away and threw down their arms without firing scarcely a single gun.

"In returning to Fort Washington, if any officer or men shall presume to quit the ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will, most assuredly, order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them, in future, obedient to orders."

The conduct of the militia on the 22nd however was such as to retrieve in part their unfortunate behavior in the earlier conflict and called forth the following order on the afternoon of the day of the second battle:

"The General is exceedingly well pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead upon the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison to the slaughter among the savages. Every account agrees that upward of one hundred warriors fell in the battle; it is not more than man for man, and we can afford them two for one. The resolution and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning has effectually retrieved their character in the opinion of the General. He knows they can and will fight."

The heat of the action on the second day is indicated by a number of anecdotes told by survivors. Capt. Jonathan Heart in a letter written December 3, 1790, speaks as follows: "A regular soldier on the retreat near the St. Joseph River, being surrounded and in the midst of the Indians, put his bayonet through six Indians, knocked down the seventh, and the soldier himself made the eighth dead man in the heap."

Samuel L. Metcalf, of Lexington, Kentucky, writing in 1829, pays a tribute to the bravery of the Indians: "Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head."

Another incident is as follows: "A young Indian, accompanied by his father and brother, were crossing the river when a ball from the rifle of a white man passed through his body. As he fell his father dropped his rifle and attempted to raise his stricken son so as to carry him beyond the reach of the enemy when the other son fell mortally wounded at his side. He carried them both to the shore and then sat down with their bodies one on each side of him and with absolute composure awaited the attacking foe who soon caught up with him and stretched his body dead upon the ground between his sons."

Captain Armstrong himself broke through the Indians who were pursuing him and plunged into the morasses about the field of battle and remained concealed there all night, lying in water to his chin with his head concealed by a tuft of high grass. All night long he heard the dancing and yelling of the savages celebrating their success by committing all sorts of indignities upon the dead bodies of his soldiers. In the morning although thoroughly chilled he was able to slip out from the swamp undiscovered by the enemy who were resting from their orgies and finally reached a ravine where he was able to light a fire with his tinder box which he had preserved. He recovered the use of his limbs which had been stiffened by the cold and at last reached the camp in safety. Major Fountain or Fontaine who led the cavalry in the charge at the second battle was deserted by his men and fell pierced with 18 bullets. After his death he hung for some minutes to his saddle until taken off by some of his soldiers and buried beside a lake near by.

Harmar was much criticised for keeping the main body of his troops away from the battle and for the manoeuvre of sending Wyllys back with so small a body. The popular opinion is shown by Judge Symmes' letter quoted hereafter and by the comment of the historian, Mr. Cist, published considerably over a half a century afterwards:

"A general who encamps in the neighborhood of the enemy, with a force large enough to exterminate him, and contents himself with sending out detachments to be destroyed successively, where no adequate reason exists why the whole force should not have been brought into action, deserves not the name of a military man. Harmar kept two-thirds or three-fourths of his

troops eight miles from the battle-ground inactive, and of as little service as if he had left them at Fort Washington. He appeared to be fully consoled for the loss of the brave officers and soldiers, who fell by the savage tomahawk and rifle, by the reflection expressed in the general orders, that the American troops could afford to lose twice as many men as the Indians. My unfavorable judgment on this subject is supported by that of the actors of that campaign who still survive."

The latest commentator upon the campaign, Robert Ralston Jones, calls attention to the fact that Harmar could exercise but little control over the two elements which were most prominent in defeating his plans: the undisciplined condition of the auxiliary troops and the wholly inadequate nature of the commissary department. The circumstances were such that Mr. Roosevelt states that the keenest observers on the frontier foretold failure from the start. The Indians at these battles were commanded by the celebrated Indian chief Little Turtle, Me-che-cun-na-qua.

The report of Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War, written from Fort Washington on October 29, 1790, is rather remarkable:

"I have the pleasure to inform you of the entire success of General Harmar at the Indian towns on the Miami and St. Joseph rivers, of which he has destroyed five in number, and a very great quantity of corn and other vegetable provisions. It is supposed that about two hundred of the Indians likewise have fallen in the different encounters that have happened between them and the detachment, for there has been no general action; but it has not been without considerable loss on our part. The particulars I can not give you, as the officer (Ensign Britt) who has charge of the General's dispatches is not yet arrived, and there is some reason to fear he may be killed or taken, as the party, which consisted of six only, were fired upon by the Indians about one hundred and twenty miles from hence and dispersed. Three of them are come in, and from them I have this intelligence, which may, I believe, be depended upon so far as it goes.

"Of the Federal troops, Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham and seventy-seven men; of the militia, Major Fontaine, Captain McMurtry, and Captain Scott, a son of General Scott, and seventy-three men, are among the slain. It is said that the Indians, though they could not be brought to a general action, fought by detachment in a very determined and desperate manner. The moment Mr. Britt arrives, or I can get an authentic account, it shall be forwarded." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 188.)

This letter was followed by one on November 6, 1790, written from the same place in which he says: "On the 29th of last month, I had the honor to inform you generally of the success that attended General Harmar. I could not then give you the particulars, as the General's letters had not reached me (the officer, however, who had them in charge, got in a few days afterwards); it is not now necessary, because he writes himself. One thing, however, is certain, that the savages have got a most terrible stroke, of which nothing can be a greater proof than that they have not attempted to harass the army on its return. They arrived at this place on the 3d instant, in good health and spirits." (Id., p. 190.)

Judge Burnet concludes that the expedition, although usually spoken of as a defeat, when correctly and impartially considered will be found worthy of a more honorable name and that the great object of the campaign, the destruction of the Miami towns, had been accomplished. The subsequent efforts to inflict further injury on the enemy proved disastrous as a result of the bad conduct of the militia and their poor equipment, neither of which could be charged to the account of the general or the officers or soldiers of the Federal troops.

Dayton in his letter to Symmes, March 12, 1791, after informing him of the adjournment of Congress without any settlement of the matter of his contract, quotes two members of Congress as saying "that the President of the United States was specially authorized by Congress, just before they adjourned, to set on foot another expedition against the hostile Indians with as little delay as possible, but that it was not yet known whom he would appoint to command it. This was pleasing information to me, and will doubtless be as much, or more so, to you, who are more immediately exposed to the approaches of the savages, who were rather enraged and encouraged than quieted and subdued by the event of the late expedition. It is not doubted that the one now planning will be an effectual and de-

cisive one, and so successful in its operation and consequences as to establish the quiet and safety of your settlements and place you out of all danger of any serious interruption or disturbance in future."

THE EFFECT ON THE SETTLEMENTS.

The feeling at the settlements on the Ohio as a result of this defeat was shown by Judge Symmes' letters written from "Cincinnata," November 4, 1790. After informing Captain Dayton of the presence of Governor St. Clair and Judge Turner who with Symmes were discussing the matter of legislation for the Territory, he says:

"Yesterday General Harmar returned with the army to this town. He has caused several Indian towns to be burned, but for this achievement we have paid much too dear. One hundred and eighty brave men were left dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. But I choose to say very little on this business. We were beaten in detail in two actions—in the first, we had not above two hundred men engaged; in the second, about four hundred of our men fought. The main army lay within eight or ten miles of both actions, and to me it is mysterious that in neither was any attempt made to regain the ground and bury the dead and bring off the wounded. But, perhaps, the whole business may be set right to the public when official letters and accounts are published.

"We have lost about five hundred horses. The army was extremely well supplied. Upward of forty bullocks were brought back to this town, and twelve thousand weight of flour, though the horse of the army had been fed with flour on the retreat. Many persons are much mortified at the issue of the expedition, as the most sanguine expectations were formed of the success of the enterprise."

Judge Symmes' business instincts led him to comment: "It is impossible to describe the lands over which the army passed on their way to the Indian towns. I am told that they are inviting to a charm. This being the case, I conceive the lands in the purchase will sell, even though Congress open a land office, unless they sell at a very low price and suffer their lands to be gutted of all the most eligible spots and situations. I only ask one favor in this business, which is, that Congress will not charge me more for lands than they do purchasers, when they open their land office, either in specie or certificates. This certainly will be but just, and what I hope they never will think of refusing.

"Never had been fairer prospects of speedy sales and settlement of lands in the purchase, than were about the time the army marched. Great numbers were arranging their business to emigrate from Kentucky and the Pittsburgh country, but the strokes our army has got seem to fall like a blight upon the prospect, and for the present seem to appal every countenance. I confess that as to myself, I do not apprehend that we shall be in a worse situation with regard to the Indians than before the repulse. What the Indians could do before, they did; and they have now about one hundred less of their warriors to annoy us with, than they had before the two actions; besides, it will give them some employment this winter to build up new cabins, and repair by hunting the loss of their corn. * * *

"I hope, sir, you will do your endeavor to dissipate the fears which some intended emigrants in Jersey may feel on account of our late losses. I pledge myself to them, that they may be perfectly safe here as to their wives and children. All men, to be sure, are, and must be more or less exposed when abroad. Last week, in attempting to go from North Bend to Capt. Ludlow's station, I got lost, and was two days in the woods alone, and at last found myself near Dunlap's station, on the big Miami. The weather was very dark and rainy all the while. I escaped the Indians, but the wolves had nearly devoured me in the night, as I could make no fire. I expect this incident will give fresh occasion to some to report that the Indians have got me, as some people went from this for Lexington while I was missing. * * *"

Symmes' policy which was to encourage the founding of new stations was of course retarded by the defeat of the army.

"But for the respulse of our army, I should have had several new stations advanced farther into the purchase by next spring, but I shall now be very happy if we are able to maintain the three advanced stations. The settlers at them are very much alarmed at their situation, though I do not think that the houses will be attacked at those stations, yet I am much concerned for the safety of the men while at their work, hunting, and traveling. Unless the President follows his blow with the Indians, I be-

lieve the hundred thousand pounds (if so much) expended in the late expedition may be set down as lost. I hope his excellency will be sensible of this, and have at them again in the spring. I expect that the panic running through this country will reach Jersey and deter many."

Two days later he announces the arrival of the report that at "'Cincinnata," Major Hamtramck (or Hamtramach), who had commanded the detachment up the Wabash River, had been successful. He had destroyed a number of the Indian towns with a loss of but three men who were taken while hunting their pack horses. The Indians flew before them in every quarter and refused to fight as they would not attack the main body and no detachments were made. This success coming so soon after the defeat of Harmar was the more encouraging. "Pretty good prospect of some quiet from the Indians. They certainly must feel sensibly for the loss of so many towns and so much corn in different parts of the country."

One difficulty which seems to have existed at all times in the history of warfare and which played so important a part not only in Harmar's defeat but in many other defeats, is mentioned by Symmes with dread as tending to work injury in future attempts against the Indians: "A most bitter jealousy and reviling has taken place between the regular troops and the militia, and this is not confined to the privates alone. I fear a flame of abuse will ere long break out. As I was not on the expedition, I cannot judge between them, but I much fear the effects thereof."

Lieutenant Denny usually so calm shows in his diary that Judge Symmes knew whereof he spoke. Not only does he attribute the defeat to the ungovernable disposition of the militia but complains of the difficulty of keeping them within bounds on the return trip. All idea of discipline seems to have disappeared and one of the Kentuckians who was a son of a Baptist preacher was punished for violating an order about the discharge of firearms. Denny says that his associates opposed the punishment and he had no doubt that a hue and cry would be raised against Harmar as soon as the militia arrived home. "If he is blamable it is only for being too indulgent to the militia."

The feeling of the regular is shown in his statement of the duties imposed upon him but he concludes with special satisfaction and "the hope never to be employed in a similar situation with such *materials*." The following day Lieutenant Denny left headquarters for the seat of government. He passed through Lexington, the Crab Orchard and over the Wilderness road and after a most inclement ride he arrived at Philadelphia on December 12th, having been detained by "high water and very bad roads" so that he was 35 days on the way. He carried with him most complimentary letters from Governor St. Clair and General Harmar.

General Harmar was keenly sensitive to the criticisms showered upon him and demanded a court of inquiry which sat at Fort Washington in September, 1791. It was presided over by Maj.-Gen. Richard Butler and had for its other two members Lieutenant-Colonels Gibson and Darke; the two former of these officers lost their lives in the St. Clair defeat within six weeks and the third lost his only son at that time. The court of inquiry spent several days in examining the testimony and finally made a report to the commander-in-chief highly honorable to General Harmar. After this, Harmar insisted upon resigning from the army which he did on January 1, 1792.

The soldiers of the fort were called upon from time to time during this year, 1791, to give assistance to the various stations in the neighborhood. In January occurred the attack on the station at Colerain which at that time consisted of 14 inhabitants under the protection of Lieutenant Kingsbury with a detachment of 18 regulars. On the 8th, John S. Wallace, John Sloane, Abner Hunt and Mr. Cunningham, who were exploring the country to the west of the Great Miami, fell in with a large body of Indians by whom Cunningham was killed and Hunt taken; the other two escaped.

On the morning of the 10th, the Indians three hundred in number, appeared before the station and demanded its surrender which was refused. An express was sent to Cincinnati for reinforcements and Captain Trueman with 30 regulars and 33 volunteers reached the station next morning about ten o'clock but before he arrived the Indians departed. Hunt was found a short distance from the station fastened to the ground with his legs and arms extended. He had been scalped, his body was mangled and blazing firebrands placed in his bowels. During the attack the women had made bullets by melting their spoons and plates.

WILKINSON'S EXPEDITION.

The indecisive character of the campaigns against the Indians and the fear that the latter would combine for a general attack led to a determination to carry on another campaign against the savages on a more extensive plan than the last. Up to this time the army of the United States had consisted of but one regiment and an additional force of artillery. A local board of war was appointed by the general government to arrange for bodies of volunteers who should make raids into the Indian country. One of these under Gen. Charles Scott marched to the mouth of the Kentucky River in the month of June, 1791, and attacked the Indian villages on the upper Wabash. The second expedition numbering 525 men, under the command of Brig.-Gen. James Wilkinson, left Fort Washington, August 1st.

Wilkinson first made for the villages on the Wabash and afterwards changed his course to the West and Detroit and a number of towns near the present site of Logansport. A number of Indians were killed and taken prisoners and the growing corn was cut down a second time that season. The laming of his horses necessitated an earlier return than had been desired. This expedition returned to Fort Washington on August 21st, after having marched 450 miles in 21 days.

In the instructions given by General St. Clair to General Wilkinson on July 31, 1791, before setting out on his expedition occurs the following passage:

"I beg you, sir, to oblige the people under your command to refrain from scalping the dead. It is an act which, though it does no injury to the dead carcass, debases the persons who commit it."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONQUEST OF THE INDIANS.

St. Clair Commander-in-Chief—St. Clair's Defeat—Carrying the News to Washington—Burying the Dead—The Consternation of the Settlers—The Death of Trueman and Hardin—Wayne Commander-in-Chief—Camp Hobson's Choice—Fort Recovery—Wayne's Scouts—Fort Defiance—The Battle of Fallen Timbers—The Treaty of Greenville—The Death of Wayne.

ST. CLAIR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Congress had appointed Governor St. Clair commander of the new main expedition which was planned to take place against the Indian towns. He was made a major-general and prepared to conduct the campaign himself. Gen. Richard Butler was selected as second in command and the commander of the new levies. The militia were to be commanded by General Scott. These appointments as is apparent from the correspondence between Denny and Harmar were very unwelcome to the latter, who not only resented the criticisms made upon his campaign and his displacement by the Governor but particularly the promotion of Butler over his head. This is probably one of the principal reasons for his resignation. Preparations began at once for the campaign. The Governor had stopped three days at the fort in January of the previous year, in which time he erected the new county and changed the name of the city but was absent until midsummer. After that time he writes usually from the fort. His residence was on Front street about fifty yards west of Lawrence street down the trace running along the ravine which occupied the present site of Ludlow street.

There seems to have been constant complaint with regard to the delays in the preparation. The troops were not ready and supplies were not forthcoming. The recruiting went on indifferently and as late as September the promised army had not been supplied and the deficiency had to be made up from the militia. The Secretary of War writes to General Butler on August 11th, "that it is considered by the President of the United States as an unhappy omen that all the troops of the campaign had not descended the Ohio." Again the same officer writing to St. Clair on August 25th, says "that the President of the United States laments exceedingly the unfortunate detention of the troops on the upper part of the Ohio, for which no reasons sufficiently strong have been assigned. This detention will undoubtedly retard the commencement of the operations, and will require the highest exertion to accomplish the objects of the campaign. The President reiterates his confidence in your activity, and that every thing will be put in motion on the arrival of the rear of your troops under Major-General Butler."

On the same day he writes to Butler that he is commanded by the President "to inform you that he is by no means satisfied with the long detention of the troops on the upper part of the Ohio, which he considers as unnecessary and improper. And that it is his opinion, unless the highest exertions be made by all parts of the army to repair the loss of the season, that the expenses which have been made for the campaign will be altogether lost, and that the measures from which so much has been expected will issue in disgrace."

The Secretary reports to the President on September 16th St. Clair's complaints at the non-arrival of General Butler and the quartermaster and that he will not be able to move forward with the whole army until the first of September; he expected to move, however, on the following day with the troops that he had, about six miles in advance and there wait for General Butler. On September 18th, St. Clair reports the arrival of Butler with his troops and that upon the arrival of the militia from Kentucky on the 25th he had moved from the camp on the Great Miami. The finding of the committee of the House of Representatives appointed to inquire into the campaigns explained Butler's delay by his being obliged to protect the frontiers and also by the want of supplies and boats. General Harmar in his testimony spoke of the complaints with regard to the absence of the quartermaster and his arrangements which were bad. There was a lack of forage, tents were too small and the pack saddles and other articles of bad quality; the clothing of the levies was miserable indeed; the increased toil of the General was caused by the absence of the quartermaster. Major Ziegler testified very much to the same effect; the tents were infamous and as a result many hundred dozen of cartridges were destroyed and the troops not being kept dry were sick in great numbers; the clothing for the levies was infamous and many arrived almost naked; the powder was extremely weak "and would not carry a ball but a small distance"; the axes were soft and would bend up like a dumpling. "General St. Clair was the first up in the morning, going from shop to shop to inspect the preparations."

Major Ferguson who complained bitterly of the supplies was obliged to arrange as best he could. Fort Washington became an armory. The shells were fixed there as well as the wheels of the carriages and the carriages themselves. Ziegler's conclusion was that he had never seen such a degree of trouble thrown on the shoulders of any other general as on the shoulders of General St. Clair and "in his opinion it was well for the quartermaster that he served in a republican government."

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

By order of the commander-in-chief, the troops had marched to Ludlow's Station five miles from the fort where they remained until September 17th. On this date the army moved to the Big Miami River about thirty-five miles from Fort Washington where they erected a fort named Fort Hamilton. On this expedition a road twenty feet wide and ninety miles long was to be made and two forts were constructed suitable for sustaining a siege. Fifteen days were consumed in building Fort Hamilton, after which time they proceeded on their march forty-four miles farther to Fort Jefferson in what is now Darke County. The number, after deducting the garrisons at Fort Washington and Fort Hamilton, as given by Governor St. Clair, was about two thousand exclusive of the militia. On the 23rd of October two men were taken in the act of deserting to the enemy and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer. All three were hanged upon the grand parade in the presence of the whole army. At this time the congressional finding states that the army consisted of seventeen hundred noncommissioned officers and privates fit for duty and that it was very short of supplies. This deduction of number is accounted for by the fact that the desertions were very heavy by the time Fort Jefferson had been reached. Three hundred militia had deserted and returned to their homes and it became necessary to send back soldiers to prevent the deserters from capturing the supplies that were on the road.

Throughout the whole time St. Clair himself was extremely ill, so much so that he was scarcely able to accompany the army. On the 30th of October his illness was so severe that Denny speaks of the general feeling that he could not proceed. The march was through wet prairie ground made almost impassable by the continuous heavy rains. On the morning of the 4th of November, the army consisted of about fourteen hundred effective men. About a half hour before sunrise, "a general attack was commenced, and, in a few minutes thereafter, nearly the whole army was surrounded by the enemy; the action continued about four hours, during which several charges were made by a part of the army, which caused the enemy to give way, but produced no good effect; the attack was unexpected, the troops having been just dismissed from the morning parade; it commenced upon the militia, who were in advance of the main army, and who fled through the main army without firing a gun; this circumstance threw the troops into some disorder, from which, it appears, they never completely recovered during the action; the fire of the army was constant, but not well directed, and it appears that a part of the troops behaved

as well as could be expected, from their state of discipline and the manner and suddenness of the attack; the Commander-in-Chief appears to have been cool and deliberate in the whole action, and the officers in general active and intrepid; the whole order of march, as far as the committee are capable of expressing an opinion, appears to have been judicious; and the ground for action well chosen; the retreat was disorderly in the extreme; after it was commenced, no orders were obeyed, if any were given, the men having lost all regard to discipline or control; all the precaution seems to have been taken for the safety and comfort of the wounded which the circumstances of the case would admit of." (Report of a Special Committee of the House of Representatives on the Failure of the Expedition against the Indians. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 280.)

The diary of Major Denny gives as fair an account of the events of the St. Clair campaign as can be desired. In his entry of September 1st, dated Fort Washington, he speaks of St. Clair's impatience at the delay or detention of some of the corps and remarks that the preparations for the campaign are very backward. General Harmar who was still in the fort with his family refused to go in the campaign and was determined to quit the service. On the 7th he records General Harmar's demand for a court of inquiry and the appointment of such a court with Gen. Richard Butler as its president. After several days spent in examining the testimony the court made a report to the commander-in-chief highly honorable to General Harmar. The troops left Fort Washington on September 17th, and moved up to a point about twenty-three miles away on the Great Miami where a stockade fort with four bastions and barracks to accommodate one hundred men were built.

The entry in Denny's journal of the fatal day, November 4th, is as follows: "Camp on a creek twenty yards wide, supposed to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee, ninety-eight miles from Fort Washington. The frequent firing of the sentinels through the night had disturbed the camp, and excited some concern among the officers. The guards had reported the Indians to lie skulking about in considerable numbers. About ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was desired to send out an intelligent officer and party to make discoveries. Captain Slough, with two subalterns and thirty men, I saw parade at General Butler's tent for this purpose, and heard the General give Captain Slough very particular verbal orders how to proceed. Myself and two or three officers staid with the General until late, when I returned to the commander-in-chief, whose tent was at some distance on the left, and who was unable to be up.

"The troops paraded this morning at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savges. The poor militia, who were but three hundred yards in front had scarcely time to return a shot—they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise, but did little execution. The Indians seemed to brave everything, and when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire, which they kept up very constant and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard. Our left flank probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encampment, but it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed and were soon repulsed. Was at this time with the General engaged toward the right; he was on foot and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon them back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return, as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the centre, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many, who had quit their posts unhurt, had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out, a very great proportion fell, or were wounded and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. General Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced

officers. The men being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and to save themselves for the moment, abandoned entirely their duty and ground, and crowded in toward the centre of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one, and he badly wounded, and the men almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked. As our lines were deserted the Indians contracted theirs until their shot centred from all points, and now meeting with little opposition, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress too of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived; a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impracticable. The only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice, there was no alternative. It was past nine o'clock, when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing anything, they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line, were soon left behind. At the moment of the retreat, one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased, I was directed to endeavor to gain the front, and if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; pushed forward, but met with so many difficulties and interruptions from the people, that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt, but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly, I halted myself until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one-half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks, cartridge boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single Indian might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men, that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again. In the afternoon Lieutenant Kearsey, with a detachment of the first regiment, met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia, who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

"The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the first regiment and all the levies able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on, were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about nine o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy. Stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Fort Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water

halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At one o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night, when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day, the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached in the afternoon."

Denny records the following comments on the campaign in his entry of November 7th:

"The prediction of General Harmar, before the army set out on the campaign, was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them, totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged, it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise. Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quartermaster and contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him that the commanding general, who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding, with such people, and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing, too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that *both* the general officers were, and had been disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The adjutant-general, Colonel Sargent, an old Revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on the alert; he took upon himself the burden of everything, and a very serious and troublesome task he had. But one most important object was wanting, can't say neglected, but more might have been done toward obtaining it; this was, *a knowledge of the collected force and situation of the enemy, of this we were perfectly ignorant.* Some few scouts out, but to no great distance. The one which left camp on the 20th of October, under direction of Captain Sparks, and composed chiefly of the friendly Indians, had missed the enemy altogether, and on their return to join the army, the morning after the defeat, met an Indian runner who had been in the engagement, of him they got the news which enabled them to escape. When the army advanced from Fort Jefferson, it did not exceed two thousand men; discharges, desertions and the absence of the First Regiment, reduced the effective strength on the day of action to about fourteen hundred. The Second Regiment had but one battalion with the army—it was well appointed, but young in service. The officers and men, however, did their duty; *they*, with the battalion of artillery, were nearly all cut off. The whole loss, as now ascertained by the different returns, is thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing; thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates wounded."

CARRYING THE NEWS TO WASHINGTON.

Denny, who was mentioned in St. Clair's report, was selected to carry the dispatches to the Secretary of War. He left Fort Washington on the 19th, embarked on a 14-oared barge. He reached Wheeling on December 9th, after an extremely hard and tedious passage of twenty days, a journey usually of fifteen days. Here he hired a boy and horses and reached Pittsburg on the 11th and Philadelphia on the 19th, at which time he records the proceedings as follows:

"Waited immediately upon the Secretary of War. Since I left Fort Washington, have endeavored to banish from my mind, as much as possible, every idea of the slaughter and defeat of the army; to talk at all on the subject is an unpleasant task to me, but there are certain persons to whom I must make a full communication. My friends at Pittsburgh, and on to this place, seem to view me as escaped from the dead—astonishment takes place of pleasure; and having in some degree got over those feelings myself, am considered as little better than one of the savages—but all this will soon be forgotten.

"The morning after my arrival here, General Knox, the Secretary of War, called at my quarters and took me to the President's, where we breakfasted with the family, and afterward had much talk on the subject of the campaign and defeat."

The interview with the President has been the occasion of considerable discussion among writers of history. Tobias Lear, Washington's private secretary, gives a version which many have attempted to discredit without any apparent good reason, however. Mr. Roosevelt comments upon Lear's version as the report of an eye

witness and says that Lear could not have been mistaken about Washington's speech. The story is given in Richard Rush's "Washington in Domestic Life," and is worth reprinting:

"Towards the close of a winter's day in 1791, an officer in uniform was seen to dismount in front of the President's in Philadelphia and, giving the bridle to his servant, knock at the door of his mansion. Learning from the porter that the President was at dinner, he said he was on public business and had dispatches for the President. A servant was sent into the dining-room to give the information to Mr. Lear, who left the table and went into the hall where the officer repeated what he had said. Mr. Lear replied that, as the President's Secretary, he would take charge of the dispatches and deliver them at the proper time. The officer made answer that he had just arrived from the Western army, and his orders were to deliver them with all promptitude, and to the President in person; but that he would wait his directions. Mr. Lear returned, and in a whisper imparted to the President what had passed. General Washington rose from the table, and went to the officer. He was back in a short time, made a word of apology for his absence, but no allusion to the cause of it. He had company that day. Everything went on as usual. Dinner over, the gentlemen passed to the drawing-room of Mrs. Washington, which was open in the evening. The General spoke courteously to every lady in the room, as was his custom. His hours were early, and by ten o'clock all the company had gone. Mrs. Washington and Mr. Lear remained. Soon Mrs. Washington left the room.

"The General now walked backward and forward slowly for some minutes without speaking. Then he sat down on a sofa by the fire, telling Mr. Lear to sit down. To this moment there had been no change in his manner since his interruption at table. Mr. Lear now perceived emotion. This rising in him, he broke out suddenly, '*It's all over—St. Clair's defeated—routed;—the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale; the rout complete—too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain!*'

"He uttered all this with great vehemence. Then he paused, got up from the sofa and walked about the room several times, agitated but saying nothing. Near the door he stopped short and stood still a few seconds, when his wrath became terrible.

"'*Yes,*' he burst forth, '*here on this very spot, I took leave of him; I wished his success and honor; "you have your instructions," I said, "from the Secretary of War, I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—beware of a surprise. I repeat it,* BEWARE OF A SURPRISE—*you know how the Indians fight us." He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet!! to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hack'd, butchered, tomahawk'd, by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against! O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! how can he answer it to his country!—The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!*'

"This torrent came out in tones appalling. His very frame shook. 'It was awful,' said Mr. Lear. More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. Mr. Lear remained speechless; awed into breathless silence.

"The roused Chief sat down on the sofa once more. He seemed conscious of his passion, and uncomfortable. He was silent. His warmth beginning to subside, he at length said in an altered voice: 'This must not go beyond this room.' Another pause followed—a longer one—when he said in a tone quite low, 'General St. Clair shall have justice; I looked hastily through the dispatches, saw the whole disaster but not all the particulars; I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice.'

"He was now, said Mr. Lear, perfectly calm. Half an hour had gone by. The storm was over; and no sign of it was afterwards seen in his conduct or heard in his conversation. The result is known. The whole case was investigated by Congress. St. Clair was exculpated and regained the confidence Washington had in him when appointing him to that command. He had put himself in the thickest of the fight and escaped unhurt, though so ill as to be carried on a litter, and unable to mount his horse without help."

The anecdotes of the personal bravery of different individuals throughout the fight as well as during the retreat are numberless. For one time, however, the Indians seemed to fight with even greater courage than the whites. After the battle the scene became a slaughter in which most of the wounded who were left on the field as well as a large number of women who accompanied the army were slain and their bodies treated with the greatest indignities. There

seems to be no record of torture but there was one instance of cannibalism engaged in by the Chippewas. (See Buntin's letter infra.)

St. Clair's own feeling with regard to the battle was of course very deep. He felt that he would be charged with what up to that time was regarded as the greatest disaster the colonists had ever suffered in the Western country. He felt also that he was not properly chargeable with that disaster. He had worked against great odds and harder than any one else to achieve a successful result and in the battle itself he had displayed the greatest courage. During the engagement, although so severely afflicted with gout as to be unable to mount or dismount a horse without assistance he kept continually going up and down the line and endeavored to encourage the troops by his voice and presence. The first horse that he succeeded in mounting, with the assistance of three or four other men, was shot through the head and the boy who held it was shot through the arms. The second horse and the servant who held it were killed. The third horse which was got ready for him was sent towards him with a man and both were killed, and the fourth horse was killed while being brought to him by one of his aides. During the action eight balls passed through his clothes and hat, one of them grazing the side of his face and carrying off one of his large gray locks which flowed beneath his beaver. During the entire action he displayed courage and presence of mind worthy of the best fortune and during the retreat he forced his soldiers to repel the enemy by drawing his pistols and threatening them.

General Butler had his arm broken quite early in the attack, but he quickly removed his coat and had the wounded limb put into a sling. He continued to pass to and fro along the line encouraging the men as best he could until another bullet entered his side which inflicted a mortal wound. He was carried to the middle of the camp, where he sat propped up by knapsacks. Denny, who acted as aide to St. Clair, endeavored to help him, but he refused assistance. While they were speaking a young soldier near by was hit on the knee-cap by a spent ball which of course was harmless and shrieked aloud from terror and shock. In spite of Butler's terrible agony he regarded this as immensely amusing and laughed aloud so as to further injure the wound in his side. The exact circumstances of Butler's death are not known, but it is said that in one of the sudden attacks an Indian jumped in and buried his tomahawk in his brain before he could be stopped. Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory, acted also as an aide as well as a young Frenchman from Gallipolis, Malartie; both were wounded and were specially commended in the report of the action.

Dr. Allison, according to Dr. Drake, was much exposed, and was obliged to leave the wounded and mingle in the fight. His horse received a bullet in the head. It remained imbedded in the skull, and afterwards when the Doctor would be riding his horse through the village it was the favorite joke of his to remark "that his horse had had more in his head than some doctors he had known."

The retreat was even more disastrous than the battle:

"The retreat in those circumstances was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one; it was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned, but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn them off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accouterments, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or to prevent the men parting with their arms, were unattended to." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 264.)

St. Clair's own comment is as follows:

"I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, which is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers, who did everything in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting; but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and, perhaps, ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe that, though composed of so many different species

of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign." (Id., p. 265.)

General Knox in his letter to St. Clair of December 23, 1791, in regretting the misfortune of the defeat reassures him with the statement that "however great the defeat, that both your reputation and the reputation of the troops under your command, are unimpeached. The fact seems to be pretty well ascertained, by way of Detroit, through different channels of communication, that you must have had opposed to you, 2,500 Indians. If this should prove true eventually, a consolation would at least arise that you were beaten by superior numbers."

The statement is made in the life of Joseph Brant that although the Indians at this time were commanded by Little Turtle, he had the council and assistance of another and an older chief, who was no other than Thayendanegea.

St. Clair finally asked of the President that an inquiry into his conduct should be instituted, after which he desired to resign his commission as major-general, but Washington was compelled to decline such an inquiry because of the deficiency of officers of competent rank to form a legal court for that purpose. A special committee of the House of Representatives however investigated the causes of the failure of the expedition, which they found to be the delays in furnishing materials and the gross mismanagements of the quartermaster's and contractors' departments and the want of discipline and experience in the troops. They found with reference to the commander-in-chief that "the failure of the late expedition can, in no respect, be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action; but that, as his conduct, in all the preparatory arrangements, was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct, during the action, furnished strong testimonies of his coolness and intrepidity." In spite of this finding strangely enough the quartermaster, Hodgdon, continued at the head of his department for years.

St. Clair, however, we are told by Chief Justice Marshall retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of Washington, who accepted his resignation just prior to the report of the committee to Congress.

The quartermaster, Hodgdon, became involved of course in quarrels with many of the officers. Major Ziegler resigned because of this and Captain Ford, who had been wounded at St. Clair's defeat and thereby felt that he had suffered from the quartermaster's inefficiency, publicly insulted him and threatened to horsewhip him. Wilkinson, who seemed to stand well in the estimation of General Knox, the Secretary of War, was in constant correspondence with him. He was very free in his criticisms. Sargent was about the only one of whom he speaks well, although he seems to have desired the retention of St. Clair in command. He comments upon the acceptance of Ziegler's resignation in such a way as to leave the inference that the resignation had been requested. Even General Harmar does not escape his innuendos. He criticises him as addicted to drink and a bad disciplinarian. Colonel Darke preferred charges against Major Hamtramck, who with his regiment of regulars was advancing towards the field, and when he heard of the defeat had returned to Fort Jefferson instead of continuing in his movement forward to protect the retreat. Mr. Roosevelt quotes from the "Knox Papers" a most extraordinarily mispelled letter by Darke with reference to this. Hamtramck was tried by court martial and acquitted.

The feeling along the banks of the Ohio after this horrible defeat was that of the deepest consternation. Mr. King in his history of Ohio quotes a ballad entitled "Sainclaire's Defeat," which shows how the popular mind was impressed:

At Bunker's Hill and Quebeck, there many a hero fell,
Likewise at Long Island (it is I the truth can tell),
But such a dreadful carnage may I never see again
As hap'ned near St. Mary's, upon the river plain.

* * * * * * *

Major Butler was wounded the very second fire;
His manly bosom swell'd with rage when forc'd to retire;
And as he lay in anguish, nor scarcely could he see,
Exclaim'd, "Ye hounds of hell! Oh, revenged I will be."

We had not been long broken when General Butler found
Himself so badly wounded, was forced to quit the ground;
"My God!" says he, "what shall we do? we're wounded every man;
Go charge them, valiant heroes, and beat them if you can."

He leaned his back against a tree, and there resigned
his breath,
And like a valiant soldier sunk in the arms of death;
When blessed angels did await his spirit to convey,
And unto the celestial fields he quickly bent his way
* * * * * * *
Alas, the dying and wounded, how dreadful was the
thought!
To the tomahawk and scalping-knife in mis'ry are
brought.
Some had a thigh and some an arm broke on the field
that day,
Who writhed in torments at the stake to close the dire
affray.

BURYING THE DEAD.

In the month of January, 1792, General Wilkinson was detailed to go to the St. Clair battle-ground and bury the dead and bring off the valuable public property which was reported to be still on the spot. He issued a call for mounted volunteers and some one hundred and fifty men from various parts of the country responded. On January 24, 1792, the detachment consisting of two hundred regulars and the volunteers just mentioned left for the scene of the defeat. The weather was bitterly cold and there had been the heaviest fall of snow known within the memory of the whites, which covered the earth to the depth of two feet. The Ohio was frozen and the ice was so thick that above the mouth of the Miami the horses were brought across a road made on the surface. Among the officers accompanying Wilkinson at this time was William Henry Harrison, then acting as ensign. Harrison had but recently arrived at the fort, whereas he tells us in his autobiography he was having a hard time of it socially, because of the jealousy of the other younger officers. It seems that the position to which he had been appointed was desired by the son of the senior captain, who of course was supported by the other officers of the post.

Wilkinson's party took the old trace which had been followed by General St. Clair. On the first night they encamped near Mount Pleasant, where subsequently was Cary's Academy, and on the following night at Fort Hamilton. On the next day they reached Seven Mile creek and a day later Fort Jefferson, at that time the farthest limit of the fortifications. The season was so bitter that Wilkinson was obliged to issue an order here announcing the abandonment of his intended attack upon an Indian town on the branch of the Wabash, fifteen miles below. He therefore sent back the regulars to Fort Washington and proceeded with the mounted volunteers to the battle-ground with a large sled to bring off such of the artillery as might be recovered. Two days later they came on the field of battle.

Judge Matson of North Bend contributed to Mr. Cist the following description of the scene: "On this day's march, and when we were about half way to the battle-field, we arrived where the pursuit had ceased, and on counting the number of dead bodies which appeared to have been dragged and mutilated by wild beasts, I made it seventy-eight, between that spot and the battle-ground. No doubt there were many more who, finding themselves disabled, crawled into the woods and perished there.

"We were ordered to encamp directly where the artillery, etc., had been left, I suppose with the view of beating down the snow to facilitate finding what we were in search of. Here we found the artillery dismounted, except one piece, a six pounder. Some of the carriages had been destroyed, as far as they could be, with fire. We brought off that piece and two carriages, with the irons of the rest, together with several muskets. We previously buried the dead by the fatigue parties digging a large pit, into which as many of the dead were thrown as it would contain. We had not a sufficiency of spades, etc., to do justice to the undertaking, and left great numbers unburied, as we worked little more than the residue of that day. The men had been all scalped, and so far as their clothing was of much value, all stripped. Hardly one could be identified, the bodies being blackened by frost and exposure, although there did not appear any signs of decay, the winter having set in early, and proving very severe. One corpse was judged, by Gen. Gano and others, to have been that of Gen. Richard Butler. They had noticed the spot where he fell during the action, and entertained little doubt as to his identity. He lay in the thickest of the carnage, the bodies on one side actually lying across each other in some instances. The pile in the pit was so numerous that it raised quite a mound of earth above the surface of the ground when we covered it up. The main body had been encamped on a large open flat, and the advanced corps of Kentuckians occupied timbered ground in front, from which they were driven in by a general assault of the savages, who then occupied sheltered ground, to pour in a destructive fire on the Americans. Two ravines, one on each side of the main encampment, put down to the creek,

which were also occupied by the Indians, who were thus enabled to creep under shelter of the edges to attack their enemies.

"We then traveled to Cincinnati, where the public horses were given up, and the troops dispersed home, many of the volunteers being frost bitten on the route.

"Most of the pieces of artillery had been carried off, and of course escaped our search at the time. Several were afterward found in the bed of the creek. One piece, a six-pounder, was plowed up a number of years after, on the battle-ground, by some person who occupied the field, and taken down to Cincinnati and sold for sixty dollars to a Captain Joseph Jenkinson, who commanded a volunteer artillery corps in the place." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 71.)

This certainly seems a sad ending for the gallant Gen. Richard Butler. He was an Irishman who had come to America previous to 1760. He served in the Pennsylvania line in the Continental Army, where he was lieutenant-colonel, and in Morgan's rifle corps in 1777. He served throughout the war and was made agent for Indian affairs in Ohio in 1787. He had previously as we have seen been one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with the Indians, particularly at Fort Finney and Fort Stanwix.

As to the matter of torture the following passage appears in a letter of Captain Buntin to St. Clair: "In my opinion those unfortunate men who fell in the enemies' hands with life were used with the greatest torture and having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm driven through their bodies. The first I observed when burying the dead, and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Dr. Brown."

THE CONSTERNATION OF THE SETTLERS.

Symmes is of course a prejudiced witness. He had as we have seen become involved in a controversy with St. Clair and felt that he had not been treated with proper respect. His interest too in the settlement of the purchase made the defeat touch him in a sore point. In his letter to Dayton of January 17, 1792, he speaks of the condition of affairs at Miami.

"On my arrival in the purchase about the 20th of November, I found the settlers in the greatest consternation, on account of the late defeat. Several had fled into Kentucky, and many others were preparing to follow them, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I prevailed with people to stand their ground. The timely arrival of Mr. Dunlap greatly contributed to this success, as he had the good fortune to prevail with his settlers who had abandoned Colerain to return again with him and re-establish their station. Colerain has ever been considered the best barrier to all the settlements, and when that place became re-peopled, the inhabitants of the other stations became more reconciled to stay. General St. Clair, by much importunity, gave Mr. Dunlap a guard of six soldiers. With these the settlers returned to Colerain. In a very few days after the station was re-settled, the Governor ordered the six soldiers back again to Fort Washington. But the next day General St. Clair set out for Philadelphia, and Major Ziegler came to the command. His good sense and humanity induced him to send the six men back again in one hour's time, as I am told, after General St. Clair left Fort Washington, and he assured Mr. Dunlap that he should have more soldiers than six, rather than the station should break. Majors sometimes do more good than generals."

One strange result of this defeat was the throwing upon the market of a large number of beeves which had been provided by the government contractors and which were made unnecessary by the destruction of the army. The emigration feature, however, is as usual the one which occupies his mind:

"I expect, sir, that the late defeat will entirely discourage emigration to the purchase from Jersey for a long time. Indeed, it seems that we are never to have matters right.

"What from the two succeeding defeats of our army, and the Governor's arbitrary conduct towards the settlers, still more discouraging at the time than even the defeats, many settlers became very indifferent in their attachment to the purchase, and numbers had left it on account of the Governor's conduct before his unparalleled defeat. Of this shameful defeat by less than half their number of Indians, as is supposed, I have treated a little in my address to Doctor Boudinot. It is an event on which I could write a folio, and the subject not then exhausted; but I cannot, with any degree of patience, reflect thereon. You will therefore excuse me, sir, that I am now silent on the overthrow of our army. I am extremely anxious to hear how the dreadful news was received by

Congress. From the ample provision made by Government I think the news must have been very unexpected at Philadelphia. But the whole has been retrograde in this country."

His estimate of the new commander of Fort Washington is of interest, especially in view of subsequent events: "I flatter myself that the nation will find a valuable officer in Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson, who is appointed to the command of the 2d Regiment—he now commands in Fort Washington. I take him to be a temperate man of considerable military talents. He has youth, activity, ambition, bravery, of clear understanding, and, ever since I have been in this country, he has always intimated to me that a military life was what he was ever anxious to attain to. He has one advantage beyond many other men who might be appointed to the command in this country. In him are found those talents which will render him agreeable to the regular troops, at the same time that his familiar address and politeness render him very pleasing to the militia of Kentucky, by whom he is much respected and loved, and on this body of militia the United States must very much depend in their future operations against the Indians; they are nigh at hand, and they are mostly riflemen."

Two days later Symmes records that no mischief had been done in the purchase by the Indians since the defeat and scarcely a track had been seen by hunters. He announces Mr. Ludlow's intention to go as far as the battle-ground in his surveying if he meets no Indians while he is out.

St. Clair's defeat was a great shock not only to the settlers of the West but to the whole United States. The nation was as yet but loosely knit together and the public interest in the West was not general, but the feeling was strong that the Western settlements were not worth the blood and money that they were costing. The Indians on the other hand had been much encouraged and began to feel and hope that they might drive the whites back across the Ohio. The first consequence of the defeat, the lack of interest in the East, was an effort to make peace with the Indians.

THE DEATH OF TRUEMAN AND HARDIN

In April, 1792, Major Trueman was appointed by the President to negotiate with the Western Indians. Upon Trueman's arrival at Fort Washington, Colonel Wilkinson, who had been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general and who was in command, associated Colonel Hardin with Trueman. Hardin and Trueman left the fort some time in June, accompanied by Isaac Freeman, and proceeded to the Indian towns. The forebodings of Wilkinson are indicated by him in a letter of May 24, 1792, to Capt. John Armstrong, in which he says: "Hardin and Truman left us day before yesterday, the former for Sandusky, the latter for the Maumee, I think it is equivocal, what may be the event, but do not expect they will return."

The event, so far as Trueman was concerned, was indicated in a letter written by Armstrong to the General on July 13, 1792:

"One man taken prisoner on the 19th October 1791, belonging to the detachment of Federal troops, then under my command, and one taken the 4th of November, 1791, in Gen. St. Clair's defeat, are also here. They made their escape from an Indian village 50 miles above Miami on the St. Joseph's, passed that village the second day, and on the morning of the third, reached Fort Jefferson. They came through the field or place where our army was defeated, and say that their different Flags from us have been received at the Auglaize River, and the messengers were then tomahawked—that the last was a Captain —poor Truman."

The news had been brought on the 3rd of July from Vincennes to Cincinnati by Colonel Vigo. The story was that four white men who were approaching the Indians under a flag of truce had been fired upon. Three of them were killed at once and the fourth, who was bearing the flag and had on his person the credentials and other papers of the expedition, was held as a prisoner for a day and murdered with great barbarity on the following day. The prisoners escaping from the Indians soon made clear that this party was that of Trueman and Hardin. The third member of the party was Isaac Freeman, who had made so many expeditions on friendly missions to the Indians. Hardin seems to have felt that he would not return alive, as he was assured that his presence would prompt the savages to attack the whole party. The exact details of the attack were never known, nor was it known whether the outrage was simply from pure wantonness and without prearrangement, or whether it was the result of orders given by one of the councils. When the chiefs wrote to Washington they spoke with great indifference without expressing regret for the occurrence: "You sent us at different times different speeches, the bearers whereof our foolish young men killed on their way."

Various stories have been told about Trueman's death. One recited by William May in his deposition taken by General Wayne at Pittsburg was to the effect that in order to allay the fears of two Indians whom he fell in with on his journey he permitted them to tie him and the others during the night and as a matter of course was murdered in the morning. This story, however, does not have the air of probability. According to Judge Burnet, Hardin stated to his friend, Capt. James Ferguson, prior to his departure that he was convinced that the Indians would violate the flag and assassinate him, and assigned as a reason that they had long feared and hated him.

Rufus Putnam aided by the Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Wabash and Illinois tribes in the fall of 1790, and in the spring of the following year three commissioners met various chiefs headed by Brant in an effort to conclude a peace. The Indians, however, supported by the British, insisted upon the Ohio as a boundary and would accept no other terms and the mission ended in failure. Strangely enough the commissioners sent home a remonstrance against the activity displayed by the new commander on the Ohio, General Wayne, whose conduct had angered the Indians and was considered by the British unfair and unwarrantable. Says Mr. Roosevelt: "This was a preposterous complaint; throughout our history, whether in dealing with Indians or with other foes, our Peace Commissioners have invariably shown to disadvantage when compared with the military commandants for whom they always betray such jealousy." (The Winning of the West, Vol. IV, p. 55.)

WAYNE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

General Wayne had been appointed major-general in command of the army in April, 1792, and had accepted the command "with the expressed stipulation that he should not be required to march into the wilderness until the army was full and so far disciplined as to justify him in assuming the responsibility to which such a movement would subject him. The misfortunes of those who preceded him were known. He had investigated their causes and ascertained that they were occasioned principally by want of discipline and want of material necessary for an army. He had seen two of his Revolutionary associates censured, the one for a total defeat, and the other for heavy losses under circumstances which neither skill nor bravery could have prevented. With these lessons before him he determined to avoid the rock on which they had made shipwreck and therefore accepted the appointment on the condition before stated. A few days after this appointment James Wilkinson, then a lieutenant-colonel in the army, was promoted to the rank of brigadier and became the second officer in command. This organization having been made, measures were immediately commenced to recruit the army and perfect the arrangements necessary for the approaching campaign." (Burnet's Notes, p. 133.)

The Indian ravages became more severe than ever. The English supplied the red men with arms, besides paint and tobacco, of which they made good use. After one skirmish with the Americans, a party of Delawares and Shawanees brought in to the British agent six scalps, which were received with gratification. Boats were waylaid as they descended the Ohio and the settlements in all directions were scourged by the red men.

Anthony Wayne was a Pennsylvanian by birth, the grandson of a Yorkshire man who had removed first to County Wicklow in Ireland, where he had fought at the battle of the Boyne and had emigrated in 1722 at the age of 63 to this country. His son Isaac took part in the colonial wars and was a member of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania. Anthony Wayne was born January 1, 1745, in Easton. It is recorded of him that in his early days his uncle, who was educating him, complained to his father: "One thing I am certain of and that he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier; he has already distracted the brains of two-thirds of the boys under my direction by rehearsals of battles and sieges; * * * some laid up with broken heads, others with black eyes. During noon, instead of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing," etc. Anthony became a surveyor and at the age of 20 he was selected by Benjamin Franklin and associates to lead a band of settlers to Nova Scotia, where the great philosopher had become involved in a land speculation. The difficulties with England stopped emigration and Wayne returned to take part in the conventions and assemblies that led up to the Revolution. He was provincial deputy in his own State in 1774 and 1775. His record in the Revolutionary War is well known. No other general, American,

British or French, says Mr. Roosevelt, "won such a reputation for hard fighting and for daring energy and dogged courage. He felt very keenly that delight in the actual shock of battle which the most famous fighting generals have possessed. He gloried in the excitement and danger, and shone at his best when the stress was sorest; and because of his magnificent courage his soldiers had affectionately christened him 'Mad Anthony,' but his head was as cool as his heart was stout. He was taught in a rough school; for the early campaigns in which he took part were waged against the gallant generals and splendid soldiery of the British King. By experience he had grown to add caution to his dauntless energy." (The Winning of the West, Vol. IV, p. 67.)

At the end of the war, Wayne had made a successful campaign against the Creek Indians in Georgia. He afterwards attempted to enter Congress from that State, but lost his seat upon a contest.

CAMP HOBSON'S CHOICE.

Immediately after his appointment, Wayne began his preparations. He went to Pittsburg in June, 1792, where just below the old Logs Town at a place now called Legionville, he began the training of his soldiers. The army when organized was to be known as the "Legion of the United States." Wayne began immediately to recruiting the men to fill up the deficiency and to drilling them for action. Some of the men under his command are reported as being so terrified with the name Indian that on one occasion one-third of the sentries deserted their posts upon the mere rumor that savages were in the neighborhood. By St. Patrick's Day he had to a large extent brought order out of chaos, and in May, 1793, he dropped down the Ohio with his legion to Fort Washington. He located his soldiers at a point a little below the fort on the banks of the Ohio, between the village itself and Mill creek. To this encampment, which occupied the place about where the present gas works are located, he gave the name "Hobson's Choice," it being the only place in the vicinity suitable for the purpose.

Judge Burnet tells the following story as to the origin of the name: "On the arrival of General Wayne at Cincinnati with the troops from Legionville, late in 1793, he ordered the quartermaster, with two or three of his officers, to make a careful examination of the grounds adjoining the town and select the most eligible spot for the construction of an encampment. After a careful execution of the order they reported that there was no situation near the town on which the army could be conveniently encamped; and that the only ground which was in any degree calculated for the purpose was on the river bank between the village and Deer creek. The General replied, 'if that be so we have Hobson's Choice and must take it.' From that expression the place selected was immediately called Hobson's Choice and has been known by that name ever since." This statement disposes of the story that the name has any connection with the present Cincinnati Gas & Electric Company. General Wayne placed a sentry box on the top of the mound which was near by and from which a view of the entire plain could be had. This was the mound at the northeast corner of Fifth and Mound streets. Here he waited the result of the negotiations already spoken of which were then in progress. As soon as he received information of General Knox that "every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword but the efforts have failed under circumstances that leave us nothing to expect but war," he replied from Camp Hobson's Choice, "I will advance to-morrow with the force I have."

On October 7th he broke camp and by the 13th his army was encamped on a branch of the Miami, eighty miles north of Cincinnati at a spot to which Wayne gave the name Greenville in honor of his commander and friend, General Greene. It is the site of Greenville in Darke County. His march was by an old Indian trail up Mill creek by Ludlow's Station, thence to White's Station at the third crossing of Mill creek and on to Cunningham's and thence to Runyan's, and was known afterwards as the old Wayne trace or Wayne road. Down this trail the Miamis had passed on their way to Kentucky and afterwards a part of General Clark's army took this trail in 1780. In 1790 General Harmar's left wing marched by this route and the following year, in 1791, a portion of General St. Clair's army passed over it. Over this road too was carried the body of Col. Robert Elliott on its way to Fort Washington. Mr. Olden's "Reminiscences" say: "General Wayne left Camp Hobson's Choice at Cincinnati on the 7th day of October, 1793, and followed the general course of the old track running along the Mill creek valley and which had previously been

opened as a great road as far as White's Station. He camped for the night on the grounds lately occupied as a race course and known as the Buckeye Club grounds near the present village of Elmwood. The following day he passed through White's Station and along what is now Wayne avenue through Maplewood and Lockland; thence through Tucker's Station, and where the town of Springdale now is, to Fort Hamilton, where he encamped the second night." It is said that along this trail, just above White's Station about the year 1780, a great battle was fought between two hostile Indian forces and that afterwards when the pioneers came to build a station they found Indian bones thickly scattered over the ground intermingled with battle axes, arrows and other implements of savage warfare. The number engaged in the battle is said to have been almost four thousand. Wayne passed the winter at Fort Greenville, which was about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, which had been built by St. Clair in October, 1791.

FORT RECOVERY.

About Christmas Day he sent out a large detachment to St. Clair's battle-ground, where he built a fort called Fort Recovery. His idea was that it was inconsistent with success and with the dignity of the nation to give up an inch of ground. On October 17, 1793, Lieutenant Lowery, with a command of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge military stores, was attacked near Fort St. Clair by a much superior force. Lowery and 13 others, who had been abandoned by the greater part of the escort, were killed after an obstinate resistance and the savages carried off seventy pack horses. Lowery was from New Jersey and had served under St. Clair in the previous year, and for good behavior in that campaign had received his commission in the regular army. After the construction of the fort at Greenville, however, no further fears were felt for the safety of the army as the place was so commodious and so strongly fortified as to defy any assault that could be made upon it. Wayne occupied himself in instructing and improving the troops in military tactics. On June 26th, General Scott arrived with sixteen hundred mounted Kentuckians, among whom was William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark and later known for his passage of the Rockies. The Indians were constantly lurking about, however, and would attack any party that ventured any distance from a fort. The commander at Fort Jefferson and his orderly were killed and scalped about three hundred yards from his command. A predecessor, while hunting in the same neighborhood, had been attacked, and although he escaped his son and a soldier were killed. Near the same fort a dozen men were surprised while haying, of whom four were killed and eight captured. Four of the captives were afterwards burned at the stake.

At Fort St. Clair not only had Lowery's party been attacked, but in November of the previous year a party from Kentucky, of mounted riflemen under Major Adair, who were convoying a large number of pack horses, were assaulted by the Indians just at dawn. Most of the horses were driven off or killed and the men driven to the fort, but a number of them rallied and drove off the Indians. In this engagement Adair lost six men killed and five wounded. Fort St. Clair was about 26 miles south of Greenville, near where Eaton now stands.

In May, 1794, Capt. William Clark, just mentioned, was sent from Fort Washington with twenty dragoons and sixty infantry to escort pack horses to Greenville. When he had advanced but 18 miles on his way, he was attacked by Indians, but he succeeded in putting them to flight; two of his men were killed, however. On the last day of June a severe and bloody battle was fought under the walls of Fort Recovery between the detachment of American troops consisting of ninety riflemen, fifty dragoons commanded by McMahon and a very numerous body of Indians and British, who rushed on the detachment and assailed the fort on every side. Over two thousand warriors had been gathered by the efforts of the Indian agents at the Miami and their attack upon the fort was intended to be a surprise. With them were a number of French and English rangers painted and dressed like Indians. McMahon's party had escorted pack horses from Greenville the day before and were encamped outside the walls, but could make no resistance to such overwhelming numbers. They rushed for the fort after losing 19 officers and privates and two pack horsemen killed and three captured. An effort to storm the fort was unsuccessful, but the attack was kept up all day and at night they took off their dead. The next day they withdrew, after having suffered heavy loss and much discouraged at the failure of the largest expedition the Indians had undertaken. The exact extent of the loss

was never known, but it must have been very large, as it became apparent at the treaty at Greenville that the chiefs had never ceased to mourn the distressing loss of that occasion. There seems to be no question that the Indians were accompanied by a number of whites. From statements made afterwards by Americans who had been prisoners among the Indians and had escaped, and by Indians who were captured it was apparent that this effort to crush the fort, which was the farthest advance yet made by the whites into the Indian territory, was regarded by the Indians as a supreme one and for that reason they fought with the greatest desperation and lost twice as many men in the attack as had been lost at St. Clair's defeat. They had been led to believe that the British who were at Detroit were about to join them with field pieces and fifteen hundred troops.

Among the wounded at this battle was Lieutenant Darke of the "Legion," who fought with extraordinary bravery, even to the point of recklessness. He was in charge of the infantry, and although severely wounded insisted upon being the last to enter the fortification. Lieutenant Darke some time previous had been insulted by a brother officer at Fort Washington, but from conscientious scruples against dueling had refused to call him out. This had subjected him to considerable criticism, some even going so far as to imply that it was due to lack of courage that he refused to fight the duel. His conduct on this day vindicated him in this respect.

Wayne continued his daily drills and the exercise of his men with saber and bayonet, until Greenville from morning till night had the appearance of a military school. He certainly did not bear out at this time Washington's written estimate of him that he was "more active and enterprising than judicious and cautious. No economist it is feared. Open to flattery, vain; easily imposed upon and liable to be drawn into scrapes. Too indulgent to his officers and men." If this was ever a just characterization of him, the circumstances were such as to change him completely and justify the hope expressed by Washington to Lee that "time, reflection, good advice and above all a due sense of the importance of the trust will correct his foibles or cast a shade over them." He seemed fully to realize the importance of his trust as well as the dangers that were to be guarded against. His discipline was very severe, but although Wilkinson, the senior officer in command under him, had been spending much of the previous year in cultivating an unfriendly feeling against him among the officers, he succeeded in retaining in the main their friendship and gained the affection of his men. As a result of the constant drills he turned his force, which was originally not of a promising character, into a perfect fighting machine of a compact organization. One of his militiamen from Tennessee wrote home that Wayne's riflemen were as good shots as any of the marksmen he had seen contesting in the matches at home, and spoke in the highest praise of the handling of their horses and swords by the cavalry. Wayne, as is well known, was a great believer in cold steel and gave particular attention to the use of the saber and the bayonet.

WAYNE'S SCOUTS.

Another matter to which he gave great attention was that of spies and scouts. He had a large number of these, almost fifty under his command, some of whom were Chickasaw or Choctaw Indians. The scouts and rangers were under the command of Ephraim Kibby of Columbia. The commander of the spies, of whom there were seven or eight, was the well known William Wells. Wells had been captured by the Miamis when a young boy and had grown up amongst them. He married a sister of Little Turtle, and was known among the Indians as Black Snake. This name, by the way, was a name given at first by the Indians to Wayne because of the tortuous course of his advance, but afterwards when his methods developed the qualities and resembled that of a tornado he was called Big Wind. Wells had fought against Harmar and St. Clair by the side of Little Turtle and at the defeat of the latter had killed several soldiers with his own hand. Strangely enough this fact preyed upon his mind and, moved by the fear that he might have slain some of his own kins-people, he resolved to return to his own race. He left his Indian wife and half-breed children at the town, after giving notice of his purpose to Little Turtle, and joined Wayne. He was placed at the head of the scouts and gave very loyal and valuable service. After the peace he was joined by his wife and children, but was finally slain by the Indians at Chicago in 1812. His children became respected citizens in the community.

Another one of the spies was the celebrated Robert McClellan, immortalized by Irving by reason of his adventures in later years as a Rocky Mountain explorer. Two others were the Miller brothers, William and Christopher. They had been captured by the Indians when young and had grown to manhood among them. The elder, William, rejoined his own people. During the Wayne campaign, Wells, McClellan and Miller were on a scout searching for an Indian whom they could bring in captive to Wayne, who desired information. They came upon three Indians crouching about a fire. The agreement was made that Wells and Miller should fire at two of the Indians, while McClellan as they fired should dash in and endeavor to overthrow the third. The scheme succeeded. To the surprise of the party, after McClellan and the Indian whom he had assaulted ceased struggling, the prisoner turned out to be Miller's brother Christopher. After a show of reluctance he joined Wayne's scouts and also acted as interpreter.

Another one of the scouts was a man named May, who lost his life, however, as a result of a foolhardy expedition in which he was accompanied by Wells, McClellan and another scout. From pure deviltry, dressed and painted as Indians and speaking the Indian tongue, they rode into an Indian camp and began firing. When they had discharged their weapons they turned and ran, but May was captured because of an accident to his horse. He was recognized as having been a former adopted brother of their tribe and was shot to death the next day. The adventures of these spies seem numberless and Mr. King well says that "by their feats and hairbreadth escapes they became the very paladins of early Ohio romance."

Another expedient adopted by Wayne to mislead the Indians as to his plans was the cutting of roads in various directions which left the savages in complete uncertainty as to which road he was liable to take with his army. By such devices as these and the assistance of scouts and pioneers, he was able not only to learn with considerable accuracy the proceedings of his enemies, but to keep them uninformed as to his own intentions. When he did move he moved with great celerity with troops in open order and ready for battle at all times and the scouts well out so as to avoid an ambush or surprise. He surrounded his camps at night by breastworks of fallen trees. The Indians who watched his march reported that he went twice as far in a day as St. Clair, and that he never slept. In order to deceive the Indians shortly after the affair of Fort Recovery, he turned his march to the westward as far as Girty's town at the crossing of St. Mary's River, 24 miles from Greenville. Here he halted long enough to build a fort, which he called Fort Adams.

FORT DEFIANCE.

In July he turned to the eastward and marched seventy miles to the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee. Here began the hostile Indian villages and here were their immense fields of corn stretching for miles. The savages had been taken by surprise and fled without offering fight. On August 8th, Wayne halted here and spent a week building a strong long stockade with four large blockhouses, which he called Fort Defiance. This point was within sixty miles of the British fort at the rapids of the Maumee, which Simcoe had erected in American territory as an outpost of Detroit. The erection of this fort had aroused Washington's indignation and he called it the most open and daring act that the British had attempted, and Wayne's instructions were modified to the extent that if it became necessary to dislodge this garrison he should do so. The soldiers delighted in the immense quantities of fresh vegetables and roasting ears which they found in the Indian fields and for the time that they remained there they enjoyed a continuous feast. From Fort Defiance, Wayne sent a letter to the Indians offering to treat with them. This letter was carried by Christopher Miller and conveyed the warning that if Miller was injured Wayne would put to death seven Indian prisoners that he had with him. Wayne appealed to the Indians that "they should be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises of bad men, nor shut their ears to this last overture for peace." He did not wait for an answer, but proceeded on his advance towards the British fort, and on his way met his ambassadors returning with a request for delay. It seems Little Turtle was inclined to have the Indians accept the offer of peace. He had been alarmed at the sleepless vigilance of Wayne and the inability of his own spies to break the line of American scouts.

THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS.

On August 15th, the "Legion" moved forward towards the foot of the rapids and in the direction of the British fort, which was constructed

on the most approved principles of modern military architecture and was supplied with artillery and strongly garrisoned. Wayne himself was suffering from gout and sat his horse swathed in flannel. On his staff as aide was William Henry Harrison, who so feared the impetuosity of his chief when in action that he asked for orders in advance for fear they would not be given after the fight had been begun. The army itself was full of confidence, both in its own prowess and training and in its commander. It numbered about three thousand men, of whom two thousand were regulars. Opposed to them were the Indians, including the Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and the Iroquois, between fifteen hundred and two thousand in number, and some seventy rangers from Detroit under Captain Caldwell. The scene of the battle was at a place called Fallen Timbers, because it was covered with a large number of dead forest trees which had been overturned by a whirlwind. It was in sight of the British fort. The Kentucky militia of mounted volunteers marched in front down the left bank of the Maumee. Next to the river on the right was the regular cavalry. The infantry were stretched in two long lines; at the left of the first line were the regular riflemen and light troops. The Indians were stretched in a long line for almost two miles, lying behind the logs and concealed by the woods and high grass.

As Wayne's force advanced they were received by a heavy fire which disconcerted for a moment the horsemen struggling over the trees. The first line of infantry with the other cavalry immediately came to their support. Their orders were to fire, charge and continue firing as they ran. They were to advance with trailed arms so as to arouse the savages from their cover before firing for the first time. At the first assault two captains in command of the squadron were shot down, but after the first charge of the militia the battle was over. The Indians delivered a volley and they were then poked out of their hiding places by the bayonets and as they fled they were shot down and driven so hard that they were unable to halt or reload. Only the first line of regulars was able to take part in the fighting, "there not being a sufficiency of the enemy for the Legion to play on." The entire action was less than forty minutes in length and more than one thousand Americans were engaged in it. The cavalry and infantry scrambled over the trees in full pursuit of the enemy and drove them two miles to the very walls of the fort. As they approached the fort, there were no signs of any relief being offered to the Indians by the English, who realized at last that their game was up. As in the past the English who goaded the Indians to desperation and prevented them from making peace deserted them when their aid was needed.

Wayne's loss in killed and wounded was a little over one hundred. It is supposed that the enemy's loss was more than twice as many. Many dead bodies were found on the field and the woods were strewn for some distance with them. It was denied that there were any white men assisting them. A number were found among the dead and one white ranger was captured. Eight Wyandot chiefs were killed, and the defeat was the most severe ever inflicted upon the Northwestern Indians during the forty years fighting, of which it was the end.

Wayne took occasion after the battle, in company with General Wilkinson and Lieutenant Harrison and several others of his officers, to approach the British fort closely and examine it critically. This led to a very ridiculous correspondence between him and Major Campbell, commanding the fort. Major Campbell wrote General Wayne on the next day "that an army of the United States of America said to be under your command have taken post on the banks of the Miami for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort. Being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself as speedily as possible in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison."

To this polite missive General Wayne responded on the same day calling attention to the fact that his army was in the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States but that he thought he might without breach of decorum observe "that were you entitled to an answer the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning in the action against the hordes of savages in the vicinity of your post which terminated gloriously to the American arms." He further intimated that had the Indians been driven under the English guns, the progress of his victorious army would not have been much impeded.

Major Campbell on the following day replied that Wayne's letter fully authorized any act of hostility on his part but that he had forborne for two days to resent the insults to his flag by approaching within pistol shot with arms and that he did not desire to wage war with individuals but that if Wayne's threatening manner continued he should be obliged to have recourse to measures which would be regretted by thousands of both nations. Wayne's response was a demand that he should withdraw his troops, artillery and stores from the territory of the United States. Campbell referred Wayne to the ambassadors of the two nations and refused to withdraw until he had received orders from his superiors. Wayne paid no further attention to Campbell but contented himself with destroying the traders' huts and all the Indian supplies and everything of value within view of the fort up to the muzzles of his guns. After spending three days in this work, he marched slowly up the river destroying corn fields for fifty miles on each side of the stream. Upon arriving at Fort Defiance he strengthened that post and then marched up the Maumee and to the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, which he reached on September 17th, where by the 22nd he had completed Fort Wayne which he left in charge of Major Hamtramck. Wayne reached Greenville on November 2nd, and went into winter quarters. He had completed an arduous tour of 97 days during which they had marched upwards of three hundred miles through the heart of the enemy's country and had cut a wagon road the whole way and erected three forts. This campaign may well be credited as being the final and completing act in the winning of the West.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

The Indians began sending in messengers indicating their desire to make terms of peace. The English emissaries tried for a time to stir up a new confederacy but they were unsuccessful. The terrible shifts to which they were driven by the destruction of all their crops and stores made the hard winter very difficult for the Indians to bear. As a result arrangements were made for the gathering at Greenville in the summer of 1795.

On Wednesday, July 15th, the council met at that fort for the purpose of concluding a treaty. There were present chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, Wabash and Pottawattamies. Wayne opened the proceedings by reading his commission and stating generally the preliminary requirements. On Saturday, July 18th, the council met again and Little Turtle responded. He expressed entire ignorance of the provisions of the treaty of Fort Harmar which the Indians had always maintained had not been made with proper representatives of their race. Other chiefs stated that they had never heard of it. Finally on the 20th of July, Wayne read to them the treaty of Fort Harmar and explained its provisions and called attention to a number of chiefs present who had been present at the signing of the treaty. The speeches continued for a number of days, Little Turtle taking the leading part. Throughout the conference, the reluctance of the Indians to surrender their lands was no more marked than the interference of the English. For example, the Crane spoke as follows: "I view you lying in a gore of blood. It is me an Indian who has caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head—the English gave it to me to place there." On the 27th, Wayne read to them his proposed treaty and on the 30th he received the approval of all the nations present calling upon each in turn. The tribes again assembled on August 3rd, to receive the necessary copies of the treaty. A parchment copy was given to the Wyandots and a paper copy to each tribe. The speeches throughout the whole conference were remarkably eloquent and characteristic of the manner of the Indians in such gatherings. A very large number of tribes were represented, there being not less than eleven hundred and thirty Indians present at the treaty grounds. Innumerable strings, belts and road belts, some white and some blue and some blue and white and some mixed and one with a man and a house upon it, another with nine white squares and in fact every possible variety of wampum strings were exchanged. The relationships of the various tribes to each other were commented on at length and the chiefs took great pains to explain their relative position in their communities. The United States on its part distributed a large number of silver commemorative medals. The line agreed upon, which was afterwards marked by Ludlow, gave to the whites some twenty-five thousand square miles south of it between it and the Ohio. It began at a point on the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, running northerly to Fort Recovery and thence eastwardly to the upper Muskingum from which point it extended along the portage of the "Cayuhoga" to Lake Erie. West of the line there were 16

reservations each a few miles square including the one at Fort Wayne and that of the portage of the Maumee and Wabash near by, the one at the mouth of the Chicago River and the grant which Virginia had made to George Rogers Clark at Louisville. Mr. King in his history says: "To the bold spirit of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, it is due presumably that the people on the Mississippi Valley are not to-day Canadian French. Next in honor with the people of the Northwest as among their founders might well be placed the hon hearted Anthony Wayne, who opened the glorious gates of the Ohio to the tide of civilization so long shut off from its hills and valleys." Again he says: "As a settler's guide to the Northwest the Ordinance of 1787 has been compared to the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night. It might be added that it was by General Wayne and the treaty of Greenville that they were brought into a promised land. Till then the Indians never for a moment relaxed their hold upon the Ohio so solemnly pledged to them at Fort Stanwix by the King with the acquiescence of the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania. And never after that treaty to their honor be it remembered, did the Indian nation violate the limits which it established. It was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at Greenville ever again lifted the hatchet against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who took sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the War of 1812 perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still. It was a year or more before the Western people could believe there was peace. The Indians coming and crossing the line to hunt and trade, as the treaty allowed, assured them of it. 'The siren song of peace and agriculture' in the figure of a Kentucky historian was heard through the land. Plowmen and churchgoers no longer carried their rifles. Surveyors might now camp by the fire and sleep without hiding away from it, a luxury unknown to hunters and trappers aforetime. The vocation of the ranger and scout was gone. After twenty years of this daring life of border warfare these men generally poor and little used to farming or traffic beyond the mere bartering of their peltries were now to drop into insignificance or disappear among the new comers, with their dexterous arts of land speculating and money getting." (Ohio, pp. 261-263.)

Several things occurred during the negotiations to mar the tranquillity of affairs. Massie was contemplating the erection of a town on the Scioto which afterwards became Chillicothe. A number of people who were from Kentucky, who were removing because of the dislike of slavery, including Rev. Robert W. Findlay and others, being a party of sixty, while crossing the country from Limestone to the Scioto in June, 1795, came upon the Indian encampment on Paint creek. The Indians were attacked but the next morning they fell upon the whites who were able to beat them off and escape to Kentucky. As a result the Indians, sixty or seventy Shawanees under Pucksekaw one of the chiefs, started on a raid towards the river. Wayne's complaint to Governor St. Clair that "if the real object of Parson Findlay and Mr. Massey and their party was to form a settlement on the Scioto they took a very improper mode to effect it by attacking and plundering the Indians who were in a peaceable hunting camp in place of gaining their friendship and confidence by acts of kindness and hospitality. This Mr. Findlay cannot be a disciple of the meek Jesus, otherwise he would not thus wantonly bring war and desolation upon the innocent by the sinful aggressions of his guilty hordes of plunderers." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 375.)

St. Clair replied that the savages would not answer to Wayne's description and that "a part of them were at that time in Kentucky for the express purpose of stealing horses and killing one man, as a prisoner (whom they had taken not long before) who has escaped from them has given information." In his letter he complains, too, of the fact that Wayne has not given him any information on the subject of the armistice which had taken place between Wayne and the savages. Wayne in the meantime had sent Blue Jacket in pursuit of the wandering band. St. Clair wrote to Governor Shelby complaining of the attack and calling his attention to the serious consequences of disturbances at that time.

St. Clair also wrote to Wayne telling of his complaint to the Governor of Kentucky and of his intention to prosecute Massie in case he was able to collect sufficient evidence. The termination of the affair is indicated in a letter from Wayne to St. Clair of August 10, 1795, in which after stating that all the mischief done up the Ohio for some time past was done by this party of Shawanees in retaliation for Massie's aggres-

sion, he announced that the Shawanee chiefs at Greenville had solemnly promised to call the party to a severe account and that the other nations had determined to assist in their total extermination should they continue hostile. He also announced that Blue Jacket had left Greenville in pursuit of the party for the purpose of directing them to cease hostilities. On September 9th, the hostile band of Shawanees headed by their chief Pucksekaw or Jumper arrived at Greenville with four prisoners whom they delivered up. They pleaded ignorance of the good work which had been going on and alleged that during the preceding spring while hunting peaceably their camp on the Scioto was robbed. "We are very poor and the mischief which has since been done was in retaliation for the injuries which were then received. * * * I hope that for the future we shall be permitted to live and hunt in peace and quietness. We were poor ignorant children astray in the woods, who knew not that our nation and all the other tribes of Indians had come in and made peace with you."

Another episode that at the time caused a little friction was the fact that Wayne in his negotiations with the Indians acted independently of St. Clair, the Governor of the Territory. This was resented by St. Clair who was very sensitive in such matters but finally proper information was given to the Governor and on August 25, 1795, he issued at Cincinnati a proclamation to the effect that the Indian war was over.

Wayne on February 22, 1795, without any notice to the Governor of the Territory had issued a proclamation, as "Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America for establishing a permanent peace with all the Indian tribes and nations northwest of the Ohio." In this, after reciting his preliminary articles with the various tribes of Indians and the arrangement for the holding of a general treaty in June, he proceeded: "Wherefore I do hereby in the name of the President of the United States, prohibit and forbid all and every person and persons from killing, insulting or injuring any Indian or Indians belonging to the aforesaid tribes or nations, or either of them (unless in their own defense). And I do hereby, also forbid any party or parties, citizens of the United States or either of them, from entering the Indian country northwest of the Ohio with hostile intentions (without permission from the proper authorities first obtained) between this period and the end of the pending treaty, as they will answer a contrary conduct at their peril."

The Secretary of War wrote of this to St. Clair on March 25th, assuming knowledge of it on St. Clair's part. This letter St. Clair said was his first information concerning the matter and as a result of it he immediately gave orders relative to the dismissal of the militia with the exception of the scouts.

The ratification of the Jay Treaty was followed by the abandonment by the British of the various posts which had been held by them since the peace of 1783. Wayne visited Philadelphia where he received the honor and triumphs of a conqueror and was mentioned in the speech of the President in eulogistic terms. He returned to the frontier with the combined powers of a civil commissioner and a military commander and on August 13, 1796, he reached Detroit. Just prior to his arrival, Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory and acting Governor in the absence of St. Clair, had erected the county of Wayne extending from the present site of Cleveland south of Fort Laurens thence westward through the sources of the streams flowing westward into Lake Michigan and the national boundary line of Lake Superior.

St. Clair was obviously vexed at this exercise of authority in so important a matter but he considered it wise to give his approval to the act, although disapproving of the proceedings generally which led to rather a sharp correspondence between St. Clair and Sargent.

Wayne was received with great enthusiasm at Detroit both by the garrison and the inhabitants and by the numerous tribes of Indians through whose lands he passed. The Indians welcomed him as their father "by repeated volleys of musketry and yells and friendly shakes of the hand and other demonstrations of joy agreeable to the customs and shouts of those hardy sons of this wilderness." Some twelve hundred Indians were in the place at the time.

THE DEATH OF WAYNE.

Wayne remained at Detroit until November 17th, when he set sail on the lake, intending to go to Presqu' Isle. His purpose in hastening eastward was to meet the criticisms which had been aroused by Wilkinson's machinations. The roughness of the voyage brought on a re-

currence of his gout in a violent form and he was removed from the vessel to the blockhouse. In spite of the most devoted attention he died December 15, 1796. His body was buried at this point and over it was erected a log blockhouse a copy of the one erected at the same spot by him in 1790. In 1809 his remains were removed to the churchyard at Radnor, Pennsylvania, in his native county.

He was succeeded sadly enough as commander-in-chief by his traducer General Wilkinson of whom Mr. Roosevelt says that "in character he can only be compared to Benedict Arnold, though he entirely lacked Arnold's ability and brilliant courage. He had no conscience and no scruples; he had not the slightest idea of the meaning of the word honor. He betrayed his trust from the basest of motives and he was too inefficient to make his betrayal effective. He was treacherous to the Union while it was being formed and after it had been formed; and his crime was aggravated by the sordid meanness of his motives, for he eagerly sought opportunities to barter his own infamy for money. In all our history there is no more despicable character." (The Winning of the West, Vol. III, p. 124.)

It is not necessary to make any allowance for Mr. Roosevelt's striking manner of saying things in approving this characterization of the United States commander at Fort Washington.

The matter of the difficulties between Wilkinson and Wayne is discussed at length by Judge Burnet in the 13th chapter of his "Notes."

1 Geo. 4, c. 3	Repealed by 1 Geo. 4, c. 3 (Revocation of Acts Act, 1820).
1 Geo. 4, c. 4	Repealed by 1 Geo. 4, c. 4 (Revocation of Acts Act, 1820).
1 Geo. 4, c. 5	Repealed by 1 Geo. 4, c. 5 (Revocation of Acts Act, 1820).
1 Geo. 4, c.

parade—and informed the chief, that these were the warriors which the thirteen fires kept in constant pay to avenge their quarrels, and that though the United States were desirous of peace with them, yet they were able to chastise any aggressor who should dare to offend them; and to demonstrate this, I showed them the seal of my commission, on which the American arms were impressed, observing, that while the eagle held a branch of the tree, as an emblem of peace, in one claw, she had strong and sharp arrows in the other, which denoted her power to punish her enemies. The chief, who observed the device of the seal, with great attention, replied by the interpreter, that, 'he could not see any intimation of peace from the attitude the eagle was in, having her wings spread as in flight, when folding her wings denoted rest and peace. That he could not understand how the branch of a tree could be considered as a pacific emblem, for rods designed for correction were always taken from the boughs of trees. That to him the eagle appeared, from her bearing a large whip in one claw, and such a number of arrows in the other, and in full career of flight, to be wholly bent on war and mischief.' I need not repeat to you my arguments to convince him of his mistake; but I at length succeeded, and he appeared entirely satisfied of the friendship of Congelis (for so they pronounced Congress) to the red people. Captain Blackbird—for so the chief was called—assured me, that I need be under no apprehensions of mischief from the Shawanese nation. He even asked me permission, to come down with his tribe and settle on a prairie or plain in the purchase, about thirty miles from this place up the Great Miami, which I assented to. After they had sold to me all their furs and skins, which were several hundred, and almost stripped me of all the linen and cloth that I had brought out for the use of the surveyors and my workmen, which almost ruined me as to those articles, so much were wanted, and having lived chiefly at my expense (nor was it a very small one, as they had whiskey at their pleasure gratis) for about four weeks, they took leave in a most friendly manner, promising to return to Northbend again by the third new moon, which is already some days past."

Although Symmes used every effort within his power to conciliate the Indians into whose country he had moved and showed in every means his peaceful intentions he was hampered by the conduct of other settlers and the tradesmen who used no restraint in dealing with the savages. A number of incidents are given which show the injustice with which the white man treated his red neighbor which naturally resulted in reprisals. A trader on the way down the river stopped at Columbia in his boat. Here he met a party of Indians who purchased a barrel of whiskey from him. The whiskey froze in the barrel before they reached their camp. The same trader sold the Indians a rifle for thirty buckskins, or as the Indians told the story forty buckskins (which were worth one dollar apiece), and a horse worth £15. A worthless gunsmith "who undertook to put a new chop—worth one and six pence—for the flint, to the cock of an Indian's rifle made the Indian leave two bucks for the work, before he would undertake it; another Indian calling for the gun, was forced to pay two bucks more before the smith would give up the gun." (Symmes to Dayton.)

THE CAPTURE OF FLINN.

The Indians naturally were very bitter about this treatment and as they considered the whites one people, each member of which was responsible for the misdoings of all other members, they began a series of reprisals. The Indians who had met Stites at the time of his landing at Columbia finally moved back into the country and shortly after their departure several of the horses were stolen. This was repeated and finally for a third time the horses were stolen from Columbia. A party under the command of Lieutenant Bailey was sent in pursuit of the thieves; they followed the trail of the horses about eighty miles and came upon signs that showed that the Indians were very near. A man named Flinn went forward to reconnoiter. He soon came in sight of what he thought was an Indian camp and was creeping along very softly in order to get nearer. He did not perceive however that three Indians were creeping along behind him with equal stealth until one of them clapped him on the shoulder crying out "Yo ho! Yo ho!" Flinn much dismayed and perfectly helpless yielded himself without any resistance and was taken to their camp where they tried to converse together but as there was no interpreter there this was found to be impossible. They placed their guns, together with Flinn's, against a tree and presently one of them started to get some tugs or straps of rawhide. Flinn supposing of course that they intended to bind him and being a man of great agility,

sprang from them and flew for his life; the Indians did not fire at him. He reached his party and the whole number taking five horses belonging to the Indians made as quickly as possible for Columbia; their only loss was Flinn's gun. Shortly after their return to Columbia the same party of Indians, who were Wyandots, came there with their squaws bringing back Flinn's gun. They assured Mr. Stites that they were innocent of the robbery of the horses in Columbia and demanded the horses which were taken by Bailey's party. Some of the Indians were of the number who had been at Columbia before and the matter was soon settled by a compromise and the horses restored. One of these same Indians, a chief of the Wyandots, although protesting against the responsibility for the horses stolen by other Indians, demanded that Stites should pay him twenty dollars which Colonel Morgan on his way to Mississippi had promised to pay him for carrying letters from the Miamis to Muskingum and Sandusky. Morgan had promised the Indian forty dollars but a Mr. Magee at Sandusky had paid him twenty and he demanded the other twenty of Stites. Stites took the chief over to see Symmes on the 30th of April. The Judge endeavored to convince him that he was not responsible for the promise of Colonel Morgan. He gave him however a new calico shirt with a statement by the interpreter that as he had worn out his shirt in the service of Colonel Morgan, Symmes would replace it with a new one.

"He seemed dissatisfied that he was not likely to get his twenty dollars, and could not be made otherwise sensible, but that what one white owed an Indian, every white was bound to pay until that debt was discharged. I informed him that I could not part with money; he replied that he would take the value thereof in whiskey, which I agreed to give him whenever he might call for the same. He had left his horses at Columbia, and came down by water with Mr. Stites. On his return to that place, they freighted their horses with whiskey, and set out for their towns, leaving behind the whiskey I told him I would pay for Colonel Morgan; since which I have not heard one syllable from them."

The episode of the attack on a surveying party in the neighborhood of Mad River was one that excited much apprehension, being the first in the purchase, according to Judge Symmes, after the death of Filson in the preceding September. The party included John Mills and five others. As they were rising from their camp early one morning they were fired upon by a number of Indians, of what tribe was never learned, and a man named Holman of Kentucky and one named Wells of Delaware were killed. Mills and the other three escaped unhurt. Of course the Indians who came in after the tragedy were entirely innocent of the matter and ignorant concerning the circumstance.

THE WOUNDING OF MILLS.

Mr. Mills seems to have been unfortunate, for on May 21st, he was in Mr. Luce's party at the time it was fired on while escorting several citizens up the Ohio about seven miles from North Bend. This party was on its way to the new town of South Bend. This time the soldier by the name of Runyan, it will be remembered, was killed and six others of whom two were citizens were wounded. The citizens who were wounded were John Mills and William Montgomery. Mills received the first shot which entered his back under the right shoulder blade and came out near his right breast. It was thought at first that his wound was mortal but by the management and care of some squaws he recovered. The wounded soldiers were taken to the garrison at the falls where there was a surgeon. Grey, one of the soldiers, died from the effect of the wounds. (Field Notes of John Dunlap.)

The disastrous effects of these attacks upon the settlement are elsewhere referred to. The settlement at South Bend was entirely abandoned for the time and fifty people left North Bend within the next few days. About this time Symmes relates the arrival of Colonel Shrieves from Mississippi with complaints of Colonel Morgan's conduct in that country. Shortly before the attack on Mr. Luce's party, Colonel Patterson with a party of Lexington light horse had brought to North Bend a number of Indian prisoners, squaws and boys. These had been sent by the authority of Kentucky to the commanding officer of the garrison at North Bend, "with the request that they might be, by some means or other, forwarded to the Indian towns, or turned at liberty into the woods to find their way home or starve, which ever might happen."

THE MISSION OF FREEMAN.

One of the Indians that had gone down with Colonel Morgan happened to be in the party of Colonel Shrieves. He was prevailed upon to stay at the Bend until such time as a message could be prepared to inform the Shawanees that ten of their women and children were there ready for exchange and to direct them to bring in their white prisoners for that purpose. Symmes wrote a letter concerning the matter to the Shawanee chiefs, one of whom he knew as the Indian had spent some time at the Bend during the past winter. As an evidence of good faith and for the purpose of convincing the Indians of his peaceable intentions, he concluded to send a young white man with the Indians to the Shawanee town. From a number of volunteers he selected Isaac Freeman, "a young man whose father lives near Quibble Town, as proper a person as any I had; both from his approved courage and activity, and a certain manner of address which is pleasing to the Indians. But as Mr. Freeman could speak no Indian, and the Indian could speak no English, a third person became necessary to serve as an interpreter; to supply which I sent along with them the oldest Indian boy, about fifteen years of age, who retained well his mother tongue, yet spoke very good English, which he had acquired while a prisoner in Kentucky." The party took with them from the Bend twenty days' provisions on a pack horse with one rifle and plenty of ammunition, though the Indian informed Symmes by one of the squaws, who was in fact a white woman who had lived among the Shawanees, that the trip should not take over eight days in good weather. Symmes was not entirely disinterested in sending out this embassy and he gives as his reason for sending a white man to the Indian towns that in this way he would gain some information on his return if he lived to come back, "with regard to the quality of the country between the Miamis, and above the place where any have already explored; for this purpose I directed him to go out and come in between the two Miami rivers. And should we hereafter find it necessary to invade their country, the United States will, in this case, have a good guide to their army, who will be able to point out the most eligible way that leads to the Indian towns, and what Indians are the hostile ones. Freeman's going to the Shawanese will reduce to certainty whether they mean to be our friends or enemies; and I think that putting the worst, they will only sell him to the English traders as they do other prisoners, for it is not probable that they will put him to death, as they had none killed in captivating of him, and especially, as we have so many of their women and children now in our power." (Symmes to Dayton, May, 1789.)

The uneasiness of Judge Symmes about the Indians is shown in almost every letter. He soon records the building of a stockade against the event of a failure of Freeman's expedition. "Should the Indians prove hostile, or should the Indians come in with Mr. Freeman, for their friends with us, if we remain then as defenceless as now, I fear our weakness may tempt them to make war upon us. But there is another benefit I promise myself from a good large stockade: this is, that it will embolden many a citizen to settle in this town, whose nerves would not bear the thoughts of sleeping out of a fort. Had we had a good stockade on the 21st ultimo, I do not believe that half so many, if any, indeed, would have fled the place. This work Captain Kearsey, with his forty-five men, should have done; but he did nothing. Mr. Luce has a small blockhouse, yet large enough for the few troops with him, but this is all, not a citizen can be admitted in case of an attack. The citizens must provide for their own defense, which is peculiarly hard on them, to be obliged to leave their corn-planting and clearing,—late in the season as it is,—in order to make some place where they may deposit their wives and children in safety, while themselves rest from the hard labor of the day." (Symmes to Dayton.)

On June 15th, he notes the receipt by General Harmar of an express from Major Hamtramck at Post Vincennes, speaking of the hostilities of the Indians on the Wabash where many boats had been taken and a number of Indians killed. The Major also in a letter to Luce gives the opinion that the Miami and Wabash Indians have determined to attack the settlements in the purchase during the summer. As to this Symmes says: "We are very defenceless and know not of any troops coming to our assistance. Captain Henry sets out in the morning, and with him go to Louisville sixteen or eighteen men, who do not expect to be here again till fall."

THE SPEECH OF THE MIAMIS.

On July 17th, Freeman's return from his expedition is noted by Symmes. With him he brought a speech from the chiefs and warriors of the Maumee towns:

"MAWME, July 7, 1789.

"Brothers! Americans!—At the Miami—Warriors!—listen to us warriors, what we have to say.

"Now Americans! Brothers,—We have heard from you, and are glad to hear the good speech you sent us. You have got our flesh and blood among you, and we have got yours among us, and we are glad to hear that you wish to exchange; we really think you want to exchange, and that is the reason we listen to you.

"As the Great Spirit has put your flesh and blood into our hands, we now deliver them up.

"We Warriors, if we can, wish to make peace, and our chiefs and yours will then listen to one another. As we warriors speak from our hearts, we hope you do so too, and wish you may be of one mind as we are.

"Brothers, Warriors,—When we heard from you that you wished to exchange prisoners, we listened attentively, and now we send some, as all are not here, nor can be procured at present, and therefore, we hope you will send all ours home, and when we see them, it will make us strong to send all yours which cannot now all be got together.

"Brothers, Warriors,—When we say this, it is from our hearts, and we hope you do the same but if our young men should do any thing wrong before we all meet together, we beg you will overlook it; this is the mind of us warriors, and our chiefs are glad there is hopes of peace. We hope, therefore, that you are of the same mind.

"Brothers, Warriors,—It is the warriors who have shut the path which your chiefs and ours formerly laid open, but there is hopes that path will soon be cleared; that our women and children may go where they wish in peace, and that yours may do the same.

"Now Brothers, Warriors,—You have heard from us; we hope you will be strong like us, and we hope there will be nothing but peace and friendship between you and us."

The following prisoners came in with Isaac Freeman, viz.: John White, taken from Nelson County, Kentucky; Elizabeth Bryant and her child, and a child named Ashby, who were taken from a boat at the mouth of the Kentucky River—all its friends said to have been killed at the time. Two others who were intended to be sent in ran off the night before Freeman left their towns, to avoid returning to the whites. Of those who would be sent in thereafter, was a Mrs. Bilderback, whose husband was killed at Mingo Bottom, at the time she was made prisoner; also, a soldier in Captain McCurdy's company, named Brady,—he was with a party guarding a surveyor, when made captive. Seven soldiers and several of the inhabitants were killed in the attack.

Freeman lost his life on a later mission to the Indians, being fired on while bearing a flag of truce. He brought back at this time terrifying accounts of the warlike preparations making at the Indian towns which raised fresh commotion in the village and induced many of the families to leave for the falls. Symmes writes that he is not terrified by the report of Freeman:

"I am by no means terrified by the report of Mr. Freeman but I am indeed mortified to see people running away from these settlements, merely because no care is taken by their superiors to save them and their families from the rage of the savages. They feel themselves abandoned to destruction, and whether the danger they apprehend is real or imaginary, 'tis the same thing to them. One family flying from the purchase causes more detriment to the settlement than fifty staying away, when they are away."

A number of the things observed by Freeman while at the Indian towns reflect upon the condition of affairs among the savages generally. He lodged at the house of a chief, Blue Jacket. While there he saw pack horses bringing to the house five hundred weight of powder and an equivalent amount of lead with one hundred muskets. The same amount of ammunition he saw deposited at the house of another chief in the same town and a like quantity was sent to every chief through all their towns. Upon the arrival of these stores which came from Detroit, British colors were displayed upon the housetop of every chief. A prisoner among the Indians, who had gained their confidence and had attended their council house by means of an artifice, succeeded in conversing with Freeman. He assured him that the Indians were determined to destroy the Miami settlements and would have attempted it before this time had it not been for the lack of military stores. These had now arrived and they only awaited

the return of a Mr. Magee (?) with two pieces of artillery from Sandusky or Detroit to proceed without delay on their expedition to the Ohio.

Freeman's report was also corroborated by the letter which Luce had received from Hamtramck and also by way of Pittsburg. On the evening of Freeman's return a Shawanee Indian came on the hill back of the town and hallooed to the Indian who had come back with Mr. Freeman. This naturally caused considerable alarm. The women and children rushed to Symmes' house and the men paraded with their arms. The friendly Indian however went up to the hill to the stranger and brought him in. He stated that he was alone and was from the Indian towns having spent but five days on the road. In view of these rumors it is not surprising that Judge Symmes should write:

"What will be the issue, God only knows. I shall however maintain the ground as long as is possible, ill-prepared as we are. I can but perish as many a better man has done before me. It will be but just, however, if we are to have no assistance, to advertise me thereof immediately, that we may all resort to one station, which will be put in the best posture of defense that we are able to fortify." (Symmes to Dayton, July 17, 1789.)

THE SEWARDS.

On September 20, 1789, there came the attack on the Seward boys, the sons of a pioneer from New Jersey, named James Seward. Seward owned a lot in Turkey Bottom, which, as has been stated, had been originally an Indian clearing, planted in corn for many years by the aborigines, and had been leased by Stites to the various settlers. Seward's house was on the side of the hill near Columbia and his farm lot was reached by a path about two miles in length.

Abel Cook, one of the party that first landed at Columbia in a search for nuts had cut down a large hickory tree which lay across the path and near the outside of the fence. Seward's two sons, Obadiah and John, aged 21 and 15 respectively, had in charge the cultivation of this field. On the afternoon referred to, the boys on their way to the clearing had just leaped over the hickory tree when two Indians sprang upon them. They had been concealed in a treetop and one slid down each side of the tree so that an Indian was in front and another behind the boys, who were unarmed as at that time no danger was feared from the Indians. Obadiah, the elder, surrendered at once and was fastened with twigs by the Indians. John the younger, made a dash for home. The Indian on his side of the tree followed him and soon came within striking distance when he hurled his tomahawk after him. This brought the boy to the ground as it clove his skull just behind the right ear. The Indian then overtook him, struck him again on his head and scalped him and left him for dead with his brains oozing from his head. He was found the next day by some of his neighbors and his own family, and was carried home on the back of John Classon. When he was found it was discovered that although so terribly injured he had retained sufficient strength to endeavor to crawl away; being unable to lift his head and probably unconscious of what he was doing, he crawled round and round in a regular circle until he had made a deep track with his hands and knees and feet. He lingered 39 days during which time he became conscious and was able to give an account of the attack. In spite of every thing that could be done for him he finally died.

Obadiah's fate was unknown for some time but it was finally learned from another man, Ned Larkins, a hired man in the service of John Phillips. On the day of the attack upon the Seward boys as is stated in one account and ten days later as is stated in another, he had been at work engaged in topping corn for fodder when he was suddenly assailed by two Indians. One grasped him by the arm and the other treatened him with his tomahawk. His screams for assistance were stopped by the threats of his captors, made partly by signs and partly in broken English, that they would kill him at once if he did not keep quiet. After being tied he was taken away along an Indian trail until they came to the trail leading from Pittsburg to Detroit. Larkins was taken to Detroit and there sold to a Frenchman for a small trifle. The Frenchman tiring of him set him at liberty and he made his way with a number of other whites who had been redeemed from captivity to Pittsburg, from which point he returned to Columbia without difficulty. He brought the first news of the fate of the elder Seward boy.

The boy had been ordered to drive the pack horses carrying the plunder of his captors. When they reached the road from Pittsburg just mentioned, they met another party of Indians and all indulged in a general carouse. After this they started on their way with young Seward

driving the horses ahead. At a fork of the road Seward made a mistake and took the wrong fork and one of the drunken Indians sent a ball after him which killed him. The Indian afterwards claimed that he did not know the gun was loaded and fired merely for the purpose of frightening him, but his head was cut off with part of the skin of the breast adhering to it and was placed on a stake alongside the road. Here Larkins, who had been quite intimate with Seward, saw it and recognized it.

Young Seward is said to have felt a presentiment that he would be killed by Indians and to have had the intention of returning to New Jersey as soon as he should become of age, which would have been in a few months. The father moved to the neighborhood of Springdale, where he lost another son by a fall of a tree. He lived in that neighborhood well into the next century.

HILLIERS.

On December 12, 1789, a son of John Hilliers of North Bend while going out in the morning to bring home the cows about a half mile from the garrison was attacked by Indians who tomahawked and scalped him in the most surprising manner and took away his gun and hat and left him lying on his back.

VANEMAN AND LAFFERTY.

On December 17, 1789, two young men, Andrew Vaneman and James Lafferty, crossed the river from North Bend for the purpose of hunting. They encamped at night and made a fire when they were surprised by the Indians who shot at them from the woods as they sat by the fire. The first fire killed them. They were shot through the back between the shoulders; the bullet in each case came out under their right arms. They were afterwards tomahawked and scalped in a most barbarous manner. Their clothes were stripped from them and they were left lying on their backs quite naked without as much as one thread on them. The next day a party including John Dunlap, the surveyor, and six others went over and buried them in one grave. (Field Notes of John Dunlap.)

It is not surprising that after such episodes as this, Symmes should write: "Things were prosperous, considering the mischief done there this spring by the Indians. They plant considerable corn, though much more would have been planted if no mischief had been done. Many fled on those occasions—two men have been killed. The Indians are universally hostile and the contrary opinion is illfounded."

Symmes' confidence is shown as usual in the same letter: "And while settlers are hovering along the Ohio's banks, fearful to go farther back into the country, we should embrace the opportunity to settle our township well. For when it is once safe for settlers to go so far back as the level country, which is much more inviting, we shall find it difficult to persuade them to stop with us. Now, is therefore the time to prevail with them to accept the fee of a small spot—they will afterwards hardly leave it." (Symmes to Dayton, May 28, 1790.)

WETZEL.

On October 27, 1790, a hunter Jacob Wetzel was returning from a successful day in the chase. Near the crossing at the mouth of Deer creek he sat down on a decayed tree trunk in the midst of a forest of beech and maple surrounded by a heavy undergrowth of grape vines and shrubs. Hearing a noise in the woods near him and alarmed by the growl of his dog, he glanced up just in time to see an Indian pointing his rifle at him from behind a large oak tree. Wetzel sprang behind another tree and he and the Indian discharged their guns simultaneously. The Indian's shot missed but Wetzel hit his enemy in the left elbow. Before either could reload, Wetzel dashed upon him with his hunting knife and the Indian drew his own. Wetzel's first blow was parried and his knife knocked from his hand to a distance of some thirty feet from him. He immediately seized the Indian about the body and threw him to the ground, holding the arm with the knife under him. The two men rolled about locked in deadly struggle until the Indian succeeded in getting the uppermost and was about to finish Wetzel with his knife. At this moment the dog suddenly sprang at the Indian's throat with such fury as to cause him to drop his knife. Wetzel seized it at once and stabbed his opponent to the heart. After he had taken his enemy's spoils and started to his home, he heard the war whoop of a number of other savages. He ran hastily to the river and escaped to the cove known as Yeatman's Cove at the foot of Sycamore street. The Indian who was killed was regarded as one of the bravest of his tribe.

Another account places this episode at the road along the Ohio River leading to Storrs and Delphi, some four hundred feet below the junction of Front and Fifth streets.

WALLACE.

In May, 1791, John S. Wallace, a celebrated pioneer, in company with his father and another boy were hoeing corn in a lot which was immediately north of where the Cincinnati Hospital now stands. In the neighborhood near the corner of what is now Central avenue and Clinton street two men named Scott and Shephard were plowing. They had drawn but a few furrows across the lot when five or six Indians suddenly jumped the fence with a terrific yell and started after the plowmen. These took to their heels and were able to escape their pursuers who followed them as far as the corner of Fifth and Race streets. Wallace, who it will be remembered was fined for not carrying his rifle to church, had it with him on this occasion. He snatched it up and started into the neighboring lot where he discovered an Indian about eighty yards away about to enter the bushes. He fired at him but did not seem to hit him as the Indian escaped. Two other Indians had mounted the plow horse and were making away at the top of their speed. They left behind them eight blankets and blanket capots together with a leg of bear meat, a horn of powder and some other trifles. The alarm was given and 11 of the best woodsmen and hunters started on foot in pursuit, followed by 11 others on horses, which took all the horses in the place. The horsemen carried some corn pone and venison wrapped in their blankets for the horsemen and footmen. At sunset they were overtaken by a heavy thunder storm and rain and the party encamped for the night, fastening their horses to the trees. In the morning they took up the trail and found that the Indians had spent the night in a prickly ash thicket and that they had eaten part of a fawn raw, leaving the rest. The chase was continued as far as a point on the Great Miami just above where Hamilton now stands. Here the river was bank full, owing to the tremendous rain, and the pursuers gave up the chase and returned home.

CUTTER.

The same spring (May 21, 1791), Col. John Riddle and his father-in-law, William Harris, were clearing ground for a corn field at a spot where Byington's Rolling Mill was afterwards located on Plum street south of the corporation line (Liberty street); this was in the neighborhood of the site of the present Cincinnati Hospital. While they were resting from their work they heard a slight rustling in the spicewood bushes and started the dog who was with them into the bushes to see if there were Indians there. He soon returned with his tail and ears down and showing every evidence of fear. The men immediately made a circuit through the bushes to get around the Indians if any should be there.

When they struck the path just below where they had been, they heard the Indians crossing at the spot where they had been sitting. They hurried into Cincinnati and found that Benjamin Van Cleve had been shot at and Joseph Cutter, who was clearing one of the out-lots, captured and carried off by the Indians. A rescue party was made up at once and accompanied by a dog it started in pursuit. The trail was easy to follow as Cutter had lost one of his shoes so that the marks of his feet were very plain in the marshy bottoms and along the water course. The pursuit was kept up until dark when it was abandoned for the night and resumed on the next day. It was afterwards ascertained that the savages had halted two miles beyond the point where the pursuit had been given up for the night and had encamped there. Cutter was never afterwards heard from.

VAN CLEVE.

Shortly afterwards, June 1, 1791, Van Cleve was working with two other men on the same out-lot in the neighborhood of the present 14th street and the canal when the Indians again assailed them. The party started to run for the settlement and two escaped, but Van Cleve, who had passed the others and was some three hundred yards or more in advance, was intercepted by an Indian who sprang at him from an ambuscade in the top of a fallen tree. Van Cleve grappled with his antagonist and threw him but the Indian arose quickly and plunged his knife two or three times into Van Cleve's side. He then quickly stripped off his victim's scalp and made his escape before the other two men caught up with Van Cleve who was entirely lifeless.

Benjamin Van Cleve, a son, gives the following account of these events:

"The Indians had now become so daring as to skulk through the streets at night and through the gardens around Fort Washington. Besides many hair-breadth escapes, we had news daily of

persons killed on the Little Miami or on the Great Miami, or between the settlements. One morning a few persons started in a pirogue to go to Columbia, and the Indians killed most of them a little above the mouth of Deer creek, within hearing of the town. David Clayton, one of the killed, was one of our family.

"On the 21st of May, 1791, the Indians fired on my father, when he was at work on his out-lot in Cincinnati, and took prisoner Joseph Cutter, within a few yards of him. The alarm was given by hallooing from lot to lot until it reached town. I had just arrived from Leach's Station. The men in town were running to the public ground, and I there met with one who saw the Indians firing on my father. I asked if any would proceed with me, and pushed on with a few young men without halting. We, however, met my father after running a short distance, and got to the ground soon after the Indians had secured Cutter. While we were finding the trail of the Indians on their retreat, perhaps fifty persons had arrived, most of whom joined in the pursuit. But by the time we had gained the top of the river hills we had only eight. Cutter had lost one of his shoes, so that we could frequently distinguish his track in crossing watercourses, and we found there was an equal number of Indians. We were stripped, and a young dog belonging to me led us on the trace, and generally kept about a hundred yards ahead. We kept them on the full run until dark, thinking we sometimes discovered the shaking of the bushes. We came back to Cincinnati that night, and they only went two miles farther from where our pursuit ceased. The next day they were pursued again, but not overtaken.

"On the first day of June my father was killed by them. He was stabbed in five places, and scalped. Two men that were at the out-lot with him, when the Indians showed themselves, ran before him towards the town. He passed them at about three hundred yards, the Indians being in pursuit behind; but another, as it was supposed, had concealed himself in the brush of a fallen tree-top between them and the town. As my father was passing it, a naked Indian sprang upon him. My father was seen to throw him; but at this time the Indian was plunging his knife into his heart. He took a small scalp off and ran. The men behind came up immediately; but my father was already dead."

These attacks are said to have been the last instances in which a rifle was fired by savages within the limits of the original city. Many depredations were committed after that time and the Indians often came down so far as to the fields surrounding Fort Washington where they frequently killed the cattle or drove them away. In these attacks the bow and arrow were used which enabled them to prowl through the streets at night without making any noise which would alarm the garrison or inhabitants. On one occasion an Indian is said to have shot an arrow with a stone head into an ox with such force as to cause it to pierce the entire body of the animal.

The defeat of Harmar had given great assurance to the savages and they seemed for a long time to have no hesitation in attacking any straggling parties near the settlements. As St. Clair's army began to gather they became more cautious and from that time the immediate neighborhood of the fort was not in such great danger. The attacks upon the outskirts and at a little distance from the principal settlements continued.

FULLER.

In August, 1791, a man by the name of Fuller and his son William, who was a boy about 16 years of age, together with John Matson and George Cullum went to the Big Miami about two miles from North Bend and built a fish stand. At night Fuller sent his son to take the cows home and nothing more was heard of the boy for some time. The neighborhood turned out to hunt him up, naturally attributing his disappearance to the Indians. No trace of him was however obtained or any information about him received until the time of Wayne's treaty four years later. The father in the hope of learning something about his son went with a party to Fort Greenville where he spent a week making inquiries among the Indians. Here he learned by a conversation with one of Wayne's spies, Christopher Miller, who had been taken captive himself when young and who had been raised among the Indians, that his son was still alive and among the savages. He was finally restored to his father and taken home.

Miller's story was that two Indians were scouting on the Miami when a boy who was looking for the cows came quite near to them before he observed them. He started to run and Miller called out "Don't run." In response to the boy's question as to who he was he said his name was Miller. Young Fuller supposed him

to be a neighbor and allowed him to approach near, being quite lame and unable to make any resistance to his capture. He was taken across the Miami and finally to an Indian town. Fuller was lame and cross-eyed and as a result the Indians were in favor of tomahawking him but Miller saved him on the ground that he was his own personal captive. After his return he fell into bad company and became one of a gang of horse thieves.

SPENCER.

One of the most interesting incidents connected with the relations of the Indians to the settlers was the capture of Oliver M. Spencer, a son of Colonel Spencer, one of the most prominent of the early settlers. This occurred July 7, 1792, on the river between Cincinnati and Columbia about four miles above Broadway.

Mr. Cist gives the following account of this episode:

"The scenery of the Ohio between Columbia and Cincinnati was in those days truly romantic; scarcely a tree had been cut on either side, between the mouth of Crawfish and that of Deer creek, a distance of more than four miles. The sand-bar now extending from its left bank, opposite to Sportsman's Hall, was then a small island, between which and the Kentucky shore was a narrow channel, with sufficient depth of water for the passage of boats. The upper and lower points of this island were bare, but its centre, embracing about four acres, was covered with small cottonwood, and surrounded by willows extending along its sides almost down to the water's edge. The right bank of the river crowned with its lofty hills, now gradually ascending, and now rising abruptly to their summits, and forming a vast amphitheatre, was from Columbia, extending down about two miles, very steep, and covered with trees quite down to the beach. From thence, nearly opposite the foot of the island, its ascent became more gradual, and for two miles farther down, bordering the tall trees with which it was covered was a thick growth of willows, through which in many places it was difficult to penetrate. Below this, the beach was wide and stony, with only here and there a small tuft of willows, while the wood on the side and on the top of the bank was more open. Not far from this bank and near the line of the present turnpike, was a narrow road leading from Columbia to Cincinnati, just wide enough for the passage of a wagon, which, winding round the point of the hill above Deer creek, descended northwardly about four hundred feet, and crossing that creek and in a southerly direction ascending gradually its western bank, led along the ground, now Symmes street, directly toward Fort Washington, and diverging at the intersection of Lawrence street to the right and left of the Fort, entered the town.

"The river between Columbia and Cincinnati is thus minutely described, not only to give an idea of the former appearances to those who have come to reside here since, but also to explain the statement which Mr. C. gave me. [The statement to Cist is by Mr. Coleman.]

"Spencer, as he tells us in his own narrative, had got on board a canoe at the bank in front of Fort Washington, which was just ready to put off from the shore on the afternoon of the 7th of July. It was a small craft, and hardly fit to accommodate the party, which thus consisted of a Mr. Jacob Light, a Mr. Clayton, Mrs. Coleman, young Spencer, a boy of 13, and one of the garrison soldiers, which last individual, being much intoxicated, lurched from one side of the canoe to the other, and finally by the time they had got a short distance above Deer creek, tumbled out, nearly oversetting the whole party. He then reached the shore, the water not being very deep at the spot. Spencer did not know how to swim, and had become afraid to continue in the canoe, and was therefore at his own request put on shore, where they left the soldier, and the party in the boat and Spencer on shore proceeded side by side. Light propelled the boat forward with a pole, while Clayton sat at the stern with a paddle which he sometimes used as an oar, and sometimes as a rudder, and Mrs. Coleman a woman of fifty years, sat in the middle of the boat. One mile above Deer creek, a party of market people with a woman and child, on board a canoe, passed them on their way to Cincinnati. Light and the others had rounded the point of a small cove less than a mile below the foot of the island, and proceeded a few hundred yards along the close willows here bordering the beach, at about two rods distance from the water, when Clayton looking back, discovered the drunken man staggering along the shore, and remarked that he would be 'bait for Indians.' Hardly had he passed the remark when two rifle shots from the rear of the willows struck Light and his comrade, causing the latter to fall towards the shore, and wounding the other by a ball glancing from the oar.—The

two Indians who had fired instantly rushed from their concealment, to scalp the dead, and impede the escape of the living. Clayton was scalped, and Spencer, in spite of all his efforts to get off, was made prisoner, but Light soon swam out of reach of his pursuers; and Mrs. Coleman who had also jumped out, preferring to be drowned to falling into the hands of Indians, floated some distance off. The Indians would probably have reloaded and fired, but the report of their rifles brought persons to the opposite shore, and fearing to create further alarm, they decamped with their young prisoner in haste, saying 'squaw must drown.' Light had first made for the Kentucky shore, but finding himself drifting under all the exertions he could make in his crippled state, directed his way out on the Ohio side. Mrs. Coleman followed as well as she could by the use of her hands as paddles, and they both got to shore some distance below the scene of these events. Light had barely got out when he fell, so much exhausted that he could not speak, but after vomiting blood at length came to. Mrs. Coleman floated nearly a mile, and when she reached the shore, walked down the path to Cincinnati, crossed Deer creek at its mouth, holding on to the willows which overhung its banks—the water there in those days flowing in a narrow current that might almost be cleared by a spring from one bank to the other. She went direct to Captain Thorp at the artificers' yard, with whose lady she was acquainted, and from whom she obtained a change of clothes, and rested a day or two to overcome her fatigue." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 261.)

Mrs. Coleman lived for almost fifty years after this episode.

SPENCER'S CAPTIVITY.

Spencer was captured by a Shawanee Indian and he was soon turned over to one White Loon, the son of a Mohawk chief and was taken to the confluence of the Auglaize and the Maumee, where the Indians sold their furs to a British Indian trader. They crossed over the Maumee to a small bark cabin where Spencer was left in charge of an old squaw, the mother-in-law of his master. The Indians then departed for their homes at a Shawanee village on the river about a mile below. The squaw whose name was Cooh-Coo-Cha, was the priestess of the Iroquois tribe. She was esteemed a great medicine woman and was consulted by the Indians on all occasions before going upon any expeditions.

The prominence of his father, Colonel Spencer, who was an intimate friend of the President, caused every effort to be made to recapture him. The very day of the capture, General Wilkinson wrote to Captain Armstrong at Fort Hamilton as follows:

"I send out to apprise you that, this day about noon, a party of savages fired on a party consisting of two men, a woman and Col. Spencer's son—about one and a half miles above this, and on this side of the river—one man killed, the other wounded but not mortally, and poor little Spencer carried off a prisoner. I sent out a party who fell in with their trail in Gen. Harmar's trace about six miles from this, and followed it on the path about two miles farther, when the men failing with fatigue, the Sergeant was obliged to return—master Spencer's trail was upon the path—this is a farther answer to the pacific overtures, and makes me tremble for your hay. I pray you if possible to redouble your vigilance, and on Monday morning early Captain Peters will march with his company and six wagons to your assistance—send me twenty horses the moment Peters reaches you, and I will be with you next day—in the meantime, your cavalry should scout on both sides of the river, and your rifle men be kept constantly in motion —adieu."

Spencer was subsequently redeemed from captivity on the last day of February, 1793, through the solicitation of the President to the Governor of Canada. The latter instructed Colonel Elliott, the Indian agent, to interpose for his release. He was taken down the Maumee in a pirogue and paddled by two squaws in a canoe along the shore of Lake Erie to Detroit. Here he was taken in a vessel to Erie, Pennsylvania, thence to Forts Chippewa and Niagara, across the wilderness of New York State to Albany, down the Hudson to New York, and from there by way of Pennsylvania to Cincinnati. The distance traveled by him was over two thousand miles, and the journey occupied two years. Nothing but the prominence of Spencer's family made such a trip possible.

Spencer in his narrative, subsequently published, described the settlement, afterwards the site of Fort Defiance. He became a clergyman and minister of the Methodist Church and president of the Miami Exporting Company. His son, Henry E. Spencer, was afterwards mayor of the city.

DEMOSS.

John Scott Harrison, a son of President Harrison and father of another President Harrison, in his address at Cleves on September 8, 1866, in speaking of the pioneer life at North Bend gives the following anecdote:

"A party of men residing at the 'Point' (mouth of Big Miami) were returning from a small mill near North Bend, and, with one exception, stopped at the old log-house, lately occupied by Andrew McDonald, where a tavern was then kept; and as this was before the days of temperance societies, it is a very fair inference that they stopped to 'take a drink.' One man (Demoss) more temperate, perhaps, than his fellows, continued on his way up the hill—the trace to the Point then running over the hill, near the old graveyard, and on the bluff of the ridge. The revelers had hardly time to accomplish the object of their stop before the report of a rifle was heard on the hill. The party at the tavern, supposing it was only an intimation from their more sober companion to cease their revels and continue their way home, rushed out of the house, and, with a wild whoop, mounted their horses, and rode up the hill. But what must have been the horror of the party, on arriving at the crown of the hill, to find their companion dead, and weltering in his blood. The undischarged rifle of Demoss, and the missing meal-bag, too plainly explained the manner and cause of his death. Pursuit was immediately given, in a northwesterly direction, and the meal, but not the Indian found. The Indian, in order to save his own life, had dropped that which had evidently incited him to commit the murder.

"This tale of Indian murder has always had a peculiar personal interest to me. My mother, then unmarried, and living with her father, Judge Symmes, at North Bend, had been on a riding excursion (horseback, of course) to the Point, the very afternoon of this murder, and has often told me that the horses of her party were still at the door, after their return, when the fatal shot, that killed Demoss, was plainly heard. My mother was always under the impression that the Indian saw her party pass, but that bread, rather than blood, was the object of the murderer."

RIFLES IN CHURCH.

At Columbia the feeling with regard to the Indians was so strong as to induce the settlers to pay for Indian scalps. The sum fixed was $30 a head. The pioneers were in the habit of organizing for hunting Indians just as they would hunt bears, deer or any other wild animal. There is a tradition that one of the Sabbath meetings at Columbia was broken up and the inhabitants sent home to prepare against an attack from the savages by the hurling of a reeking scalp torn from the head of an Indian into their midst. At Cincinnati sentinels were posted in the out-lots or at any place where improvements were being made. A rifle was carried to service by the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, then located near the corner of Fourth and Main. Any man who failed to bring his rifle was subject to a fine of one hundred cents and Col. John S. Wallace, a well known pioneer, is said to have been obliged to pay this fine for his neglect.

A proclamation of the Secretary of the Territory on this subject was issued September 18, 1792:

"The practice of assembling for public worship without arms, may be attended with most serious and melancholy consequences. It presents the opportunity to an enemy of the smallest degree of enterprise to effect such fatal impression upon our infant settlement as posterity might long in vain lament.

"The laws of the Territory have wisely provided that every man enrolled in the militia shall, upon those occasions, arm and equip himself as though he were marching to engage the enemy, or in default that he shall be fined in the sum of one hundred cents, to be levied upon complaint made to any justice of the peace.

"Although it is incumbent upon every good citizen to represent all violations of this law which shall come to his knowledge, yet it is more immediately the province of the militia officers. They will, therefore, each and every one of them, from and after the publication of this order, consider it their indispensable duty to take cognizance of all persons enrolled in the militia who shall assemble for public worship (within their observation or knowledge), deficient in the arms or accouterments required by law, and make report thereof upon oath to a justice of the peace, as soon as may be after such default shall happen."

ELLIOTT.

In 1794, Col. Robert Elliott lost his life at the hands of the Indians. Elliott was a Pennsylvanian by birth but at that time lived at Hagerstown, Maryland. In connection with Col. Eli

Williams of that place he had a contract for the supply of General Wayne's army then preparing for a march to the Indian country. He superintended the delivery of supplies in person. Accompanied by a servant he was on his way from Fort Hamilton to Cincinnati on the present Winton road. When about four miles out at about the point where the line runs between Hamilton and Butler counties he was fired upon by savages who were lying in ambush along the side of the road. He fell dead from his horse which started on the run back to Hamilton followed by the servant on the other horse. Elliott who was a very large man weighing nearly three hundred pounds wore a wig. One of the Indians who shot him rushed up, drew his knife, took him by the scalp-lock and proceeded to scalp him. To his great surprise the scalp came off at the first touch without any indications of injury caused by its removal. The Indian much disgusted at the imposition exclaimed, "dam lie!" In a few minutes however the Indian party recovered from their astonishment and made great sport of the wig.

The next morning the Colonel's body was boxed up and placed in his own wagon and started back to Cincinnati for burial. The servant accompanied the body riding the Colonel's horse. At almost the exact spot where Elliott had been killed the day before, the ambushed Indians again fired upon the party and the servant was killed at the first shot. The horse escaped to Hamilton for the second time followed by the wagoner. The Indians broke open the box evidently expecting to find within it something of value but upon its contents being discovered it was left and nothing but the wagon horse carried off. Another party from the fort recovered the body and carried it to Fort Washington and it was then buried in the usual burying ground at the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Many years later, in 1835, Colonel Elliott's son, Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, while upon a visit to the city had his father's body removed to the new burying ground of the First Presbyterian Church on 12th street and erected over the grave a tablet to the memory of his father.

Among the stories collected by Mr. Cist of the early settlers and their contact with the Indians there are some rather amusing ones:

"It was with difficulty horses could be preserved from being stolen, by all the means of protection to which the settlers could resort. In the family to which this lady belonged, the halter-chains of the horses were passed through between the logs and fastened to stout hooks on the inside. But neither this precaution nor securing them with hobbles, would always serve to protect horses from the savages. On one occasion, a fine mare, with her colt, had been left in the rear of the house, in a small inclosure. The mare was taken off by Indians, they having secured her by a stout buffalo tug. It appears they had not noticed the colt in the darkness of the night. As they rode her off, the colt sprang the fence after the mare, and made such a noise galloping after, that, supposing themselves pursued, they let the mare go, lest she should impede their escape, and the family inside of the house knew nothing of the danger to which they had been exposed, until the buffalo tug told the night's adventure.

"On another occasion, several families, who had settled on the face of the hill, near where Colonel Spencer afterward resided, at a spot called Morristown, from one Morris, the principal individual in the settlement, had hung out clothes to dry. Early in the evening, a party of Indians, prowling around, made a descent and carried off every piece of clothing left out, nor was the loss discovered until the families were about to retire for the night. Pursuit was made, and the trail followed for several miles, when, arriving at the place where the savages had encamped, it was found deserted, the enemy being panic-struck, and having abandoned all to effect their escape. The plunder was recovered, but not until the Indians had raveled out the coverlets to make belts for themselves." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 123 and 124.)

DONALSON.

An anecdote told by Israel Donalson in the *American Pioneer* for December, 1842, is characteristic of the life at that time. Donalson had been out surveying with Massie and Lytle four miles above Manchester and was captured by the Indians April 22, 1791. He escaped a few days afterward and reached the Great Miami from which he followed Harmar's trace until he reached Fort Washington. He was almost exhausted with his exertions before he reached the river and had almost abandoned hope when he heard the sound of a bell. This stimulated him to greater exertions and finally as he came

near the river he heard the sound of an ax which was the sweetest music he had heard for many a day; it was in the extreme out-lot. He crawled over the fence and approached very cautiously the man who was working, who finally heard him and seeing he had no weapon demanded his name. This man was William Woodward, the founder of Woodward High School. Woodward put Donalson on his horse and took him into the town. As they passed people on the road many thought that he was an Indian for he was in Indian uniform bareheaded with hair cut off close except the scalp and forelock which they had put up in a piece of tin with a bunch of turkey feathers. This he could not undo. They had also stripped off the feathers of the two turkeys and hung them to the hair of his scalp but these he took off the day before he reached the fort. Woodward took him to his home and provided him with clothing although he could not find a pair of shoes large enough on account of the swollen condition of his feet. What surprised him most was that Woodward slept with him on a palette before the fire. On the next day he was sent for several times by General Harmar to go to the fort and finally was compelled to go. The exact reason of his hesitation does not appear; possibly his condition and appearance and the apparent suspicion with which he was regarded were the causes. He states himself that the General deliberated about keeping him in custody as a spy. This fact shows the precarious times in which men were then living. Not only the red man alone was an enemy but large numbers of white renegades many of whom had gone to live among the Indians because of crimes committed or from a fondness for the mere laziness of Indian life; others were supposed to have been in the pay of the English.

THE LUDLOW CHILDREN.

The case of John Ludlow, the brother of Israel, illustrates the difficulties of transportation endured by the pioneers. On his way from New Jersey he left Red Stone in the year 1792 at the time of the flood which was one of unusual magnitude. He was accompanied by a trader named McGowan and they traveled on a flat-boat which was loaded with castings, bar irons and grind stones. Two wagons belonging to Ludlow were swung on one side of the boat to balance the weight of the horses, oxen and cows on the other side. When the boat reached the lower island of the Three Sisters, it hit a sunken log and sprang a leak and commenced to fill rapidly. The party attempted to pull the boat around to make the island and the bow struck a heap of drift. Thereupon most of the party sprang onto the drift heap leaving the two children of Ludlow, William D. and Elizabeth, aged five and three years respectively, on the roof of the boat where they had climbed to escape the rising water. One of the men immediately cabled the boat to a tree but the strong current struck her with so much force that while she was swinging around the weight was thrown to one side. The roof of the boat came off and floated away with the children on top of it. The boat itself sank and the live stock with the exception of one horse were drowned. Strangely enough the party had neither skiff nor canoe and were unable to go to the rescue of the children. McGowan ran up the hill to look for help and he saw a flat-boat three miles off and hoisted the signal of distress. On the flat-boat were Jesse Hunt and Joseph Prince. Prince recognized the signal and wanted to land the boat but Hunt fearing that it was an Indian decoy objected. Prince then took the skiff and with two of the men who were heavily armed rowed near enough to hear McGowan's explanation of the trouble. The party immediately pushed on after the children but were obliged to row 12 miles before overtaking them. Immediately after the children were taken from the roof, it struck a drift heap and was carried under by the current.

MASSIE.

Another episode of Indian life is related by Governor Allen in his speech to the Cincinnati Pioneer Association, delivered at Pike's Opera House on July 4, 1874:

"Massie was here at your own Fort Washington. In 1792, being a man of some moneyed means, of fine education, a leader of men by nature, with great enterprise and great courage, he concluded that there was some country along the shores of the Little Miami that was worth looking after, and he made up a company at Fort Washington and went up as far as the present city of Xenia. I passed along there the other day, and it would have delighted me to

have picked out the very spot where the incident happened that I am going to narrate. All was wilderness and all was Indian. But these men wanted to see about that land on the Little Miami, and they went up there, every man with a rifle on his shoulder, of course; and every man that was hired to tomahawk the trees to show where the surveys had been made, every one of them, carried a rifle on his shoulder, and every one of them was not only ready and willing, but rather anxious to get a shot at an Indian. There were no roads in those days, and hardly anything that could be called a path, except now and then a little straight line. Massie started out one morning, but got ahead of his company, with the exception of one man, who followed close behind him. The name of that man is still very dear to the people of Cincinnati, and I am induced to tell the anecdote in order to bring home to the people of Cincinnati, and especially to the part of it assembled here, an honorable and gallant incident in the history of the life of one of their men. There went Massie along the path, and there followed this other man, and this other man was none other than Gen. William Lytle. Lytle discovered that an Indian from the side bushes was drawing a bead on Massie with his rifle, and, jerking up his own rifle, he drew a bead upon the Indian and shot him down and left Massie. There could not have been a more unfortunate death for the interests of the Western country in the Western country than the death of Massie at that time."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STATIONS.

LUDLOW'S STATION—THE MANSFIELDS—CUMMINSVILLE—COLERAIN OR DUNLAP'S STATION—THE ATTACK ON DUNLAP'S STATION—THE DEATH OF HUNT—WISEMAN'S ADVENTURES—THE HAHNS—COVALT'S STATION—THE ATTACK ON WHITE'S STATION—BLOODY RUN—GRIFFIN'S STATION—CAMPBELL'S STATION—NELSON'S STATION—TUCKER'S AND PLEASANT VALLEY STATIONS—GERARD'S STATION—VOORHEES' STATION—RUNYAN'S STATION—MCFARLAND'S STATION—MERCERSBURGH.

Symmes in his letter to Dayton of May 18, 1789, in a paragraph already quoted, refers to a peculiarity of the settlement of the Miami country which distinguished it from that of Marietta. At Marietta there was one compact settlement in the neighborhood of the fort, Fort Harmar. In the Miami country the settlers more venturesome in their methods formed stations or little villages throughout the neighboring territory some of which were a number of miles from Fort Washington. These stations consisted frequently of but a small number of men living with their families in a single blockhouse or in cabins about a central blockhouse. It is impossible to state which stations were organized first or just how many there were. From the reference just cited, some must already have been established or at least in contemplation at that time. On April 30th of the next year Symmes writes:

"We have established three new stations some distance up in the country. One is twelve miles up the Big Miami (Dunlap's), the second is five miles up Mill Creek (Ludlow's), and the third is nine miles back in the country from Columbia (Covalt's). These all flourish well. A lad looking for cows, was captivated by the Indians a few weeks ago at the Mill Creek station; otherwise not the smallest mischief has been done to any, except we count the firing by the Indians on our people, mischief, for there have been some instances of that, but they did no hurt. We have parted with all the fifty donation lots around the city, and I think it highly incumbent on the proprietors to add one fifty more thereto, as people being refused out-lots when they apply, go directly up to the back stations, where they are sure to have them."

The establishment of stations was of course much affected by the success or defeat of the army. In the letter of November 4, 1790, after Harmar's defeat, Symmes speaks of attempting to go from the Bend to Captain Ludlow's Station and getting lost in the woods for two days. He finally found himself near Dunlap's Station on the Big Miami, having escaped the Indians but having been nearly captured by wolves. It is apparent from this that the presence of the Indians was a matter to be counted upon. "But for the repulse of our army, I should have had several new stations advanced farther into the purchase by next spring, but I shall now be happy if we are able to maintain the three advanced stations."

It was at Ludlow's Station that St. Clair's army encamped for some time on account of better food for the cattle. After St. Clair's defeat the settlements were all much alarmed and many of the stations were abandoned. Dunlap, however, the founder of the station at Colerain prevailed on the settlers to return to that point.

as this had been considered the best barrier to all the settlements, which reoccupation gave confidence to the other stations. A guard of six soldiers which returned with the settlers to Colerain was ordered back by St. Clair to Fort Washington and upon St. Clair's departure for Philadelphia, Ziegler, who succeeded him, replaced the men having great confidence in the value of these stations. The stations were guarded from time to time by soldiers but for some unexplained reason the officers of the regular army seemed to begrudge any troops for the protection of these pioneer outposts. Dr. Goforth in his letter of September 3, 1791, refers to two of the stations in giving the number of militia at the various points. "The number of militia at these stations, from the best accounts I have received, are at Columbia, 200; Cincinnati, 150; South Bend, 20; City of Miami, 80; Dunlap's, 15; and Covalt's, 20." The activity of the Indians was directed very largely against these stations and it was here that settlers braved the greatest dangers. The principal station by reason of the prominence of the settler and of its subsequent residents and also because of the fact that it is a part of the present city of Cincinnati was Ludlow's Station.

This station did not suffer as much from the attacks as some of the others however. Other important stations were Dunlap's Station at Colerain on the east side of the Great Miami River in the great bend about a half mile south of the county line; Covalt's Station on the Little Miami just below the present site of Milford and White's Station northeast of the present site of Carthage on the bank of Mill creek.

LUDLOW'S STATION

Which was established in the spring of 1790, was in many respects the most famous of all the stations. Its site was what is now the north part of Cumminsville and is within the limits of Cincinnati, about five miles from Fountain square. It was at this point that St. Clair's army rendezvoused preparatory to the expedition of 1791, staying there from August 7 to September 17, 1791.

On March 9, 1790, Israel Ludlow entered land warrants 83 and 84, locating the west half of section 23 in the third township of the second fractional range. Here with James Miller, Joseph and Enoch McHendry, Daniel Bates, Elijah Hardesty, Frederick Patchel, John Nobel Cummins, Jonathan Pierson, Enos Terrace and Thomas Goudy he formed a settlement. Goudy, a native of Pennsylvania, was a lawyer and having reached the city as early as 1789 has been called the first lawyer in the town. Four years after his arrival he married the sister of John S. Wallace. His descendants are still living north of Reading.

The settlers erected a blockhouse at the point known as Knowlton's Corner where Knowlton street intersects the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway. After St. Clair's defeat, the settlement was entirely deserted and the soldiers when they encamped here at the time of their retreat took possession of the cabins and blockhouses which were entirely unoccupied. After a time the settlers drifted back, among whom was Abner Boston who had a cabin near the station. Ludlow himself did not reside at the station until after the treaty of Greenville, as his business interests kept him in Cincinnati where he lived at the northwest corner of Front and Main streets in the first frame house built in Cincinnati in 1791. The blockhouse stood upon the ground now occupied by the Cumminsville Christian Church, which was built from the liberality of Colonel Ludlow's daughter, Mrs. McLean. When Ludlow moved to the station in 1796, he erected his dwelling house some distance above the site of the blockhouse, where as the Ludlow mansion it has become familiar to many generations of Cincinnatians. It was at first a log structure but subsequently covered with weather boarding and at the time of its erection was regarded as the best looking and largest house in the neighborhood of Cincinnati.

E. D. Mansfield, the son of Jared Mansfield, the surveyor-general, describes the house in his reminiscences: "It was then a large two-story dwelling with wings—the best looking and I think the largest house then in Cincinnati. My father being surveyor-general took one of the wings as his office, and the other was used as the kitchen; the lawn sloped down toward Mill creek and there was a large garden. This house is still standing in the midst of Cumminsville. * * * It had a large apple orchard and two gardens, a kitchen and a flower garden." Mr. Mansfield's accounts of the life at this house give a charming view of many of the people who constituted what was the best of the early society of Cincinnati.

Mrs. Ludlow, who survived her husband after his premature death in 1804, had come from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and was a member of the Chambers family. Her letters are among

the best descriptions we have of the life of that time. She was a woman of fine education and many accomplishments and so popular among the Indians as to receive from them the name of Athapasca,—the good woman. After the death of her husband in 1804, she moved to Cincinnati but upon her remarriage in 1810 to Rev. David Risk, she returned to live at the station. Her second husband died in 1818 after which she lived in Cincinnati for a time and afterwards among relatives in Franklin where she died in 1821.

Her granddaughter, the daughter of James C. Ludlow, Sara Bella Dunlop Ludlow, became the third wife of Salmon P. Chase. Another granddaughter married Randall Hunt of New Orleans. A daughter, Sara Bella Ludlow became the wife of John McLean, afterwards justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. She had first married a young lawyer from Kentucky named Garrard. Two of her sons became prominent soldiers during the War of the Rebellion, both of them attaining the rank of general. Mr. Mansfield gives us a lively picture of Sarah Bella, "who was quite near his own age, and a fair haired bright eyed girl, a perfect blonde. She grew up to be a handsome woman and was as brilliant as handsome. She was as long as I saw much of her one of the most attractive persons in society.

"When they left the 'station' for us the little Sara gave me in a keg a large number of duck eggs which subsequently proved a great amusement. I hatched my eggs under hens and found myself having a flock of seventeen ducks all of which were white without a dark feather. That flock of ducks was my pride and delight. One day I was thrown in a great fright by a very natural though to me a strange incident. Wild ducks were very numerous in the creek, and my white ducks got to associating with them; so one morning the wild ducks took flight into the skies and my ducks with them. I thought they were gone but after a while to my delight they returned."

Other visitors mentioned by Mr. Mansfield, in addition to Little Turtle whose visit has been noted, were "John Mansfield a young man of extraordinary worth and genius; Joseph Totten, who afterwards became General of Engineers; Dr. Daniel Drake, the most distinguished physician of the Ohio Valley; Judge afterwards Governor Brown, and others of less note and equally agreeable members of the social circle."

THE MANSFIELDS.

The Mansfield family itself was no less noteworthy in the early days of this community. In addition to the surveyor-general and his son, the editor, biographer and historian, was Miss Harriet Sisson, "my father's niece and adopted daughter. While at Ludlow Station she married Dr. Daniel Drake a man of genius and science." Dr. Drake as is apparent to any student of the early history of Cincinnati was in many respects the most considerable figure of his time. "My father had in his office two nephews both of whom were pleasant and even brilliant men. One of these, Captain John Fenno Mansfield, was an older brother of General Mansfield and was killed at Antietam. Captain John F. Mansfield was thought by my parents, who were good judges, to be the most promising man they knew. He was a man of genius, a student of science, and an elegant writer. Some of his writings appear in the 'Portfolio,' edited by Major Denny."

Captain Mansfield was captain of one of the two volunteer companies in Cincinnati in the spring of 1812 and became a part of the army of Hull, and with that army was surrendered at Detroit. He was seized with a fever while crossing Lake Erie and died just after his return to Cincinnati "not of fever alone but of a broken heart." The other nephew referred to was Joseph Gilbert Totten, then about 18 years of age "a genial, pleasing and popular person." His subsequent career is well known. He graduated at West Point, served through the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the War of the Rebellion, during which he had become chief of the Engineer Corps." Mansfield left Ludlow's Station in June, 1804, having lived there almost four years. (Mansfield's Personal Memories, Chapters II and III.)

Other visitors to the Ludlow mansion at various times were John Cleves Symmes, Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, William H. Harrison, Governor Worthington, Salmon P. Chase, Jacob Burnet, Nicholas Longworth, Oliver M. Spencer, Judge Goforth, Governor Meigs, Governor Brown, Lewis Cass, Gen. John S. Gano, Judge D. K. Este, Gen. William Lytle, Gen. J. H. Piatt, Little Turtle, and Bok-on-ja-ba-lus, (our old friend Bohengedahus). (Teetor, Millcreek Valley, p. 127.)

Mrs. Ludlow in a letter written to Dr. Boudinot from this station describes the visit she received from the celebrated Indian chief just

mentioned: "About the year 1800, in the month of June, near the middle of the day, as I sat in my parlor at Ludlow's Station, commanding a view of the smooth green yard, slightly shaded from the fervor of the sun by the depending boughs of three luxuriant willows, which a few years had brought to sentimental perfection—with feelings in perfect accordance with the harmony of the scene, I experienced a tranquility of mind to which I had been for some time a stranger, and forgot for the moment that there was in all the world a human being less happy than myself.

"I was interrupted by the entrance of two strangers of uncommon interest. The first was my old friend, the Delaware chief, Bok-on-ja-ha-lus. I rose to meet him with a cordial welcome. After taking my hand, he said, 'La-na-pak-wa (a name given me by the Delaware Indians) this is my friend Kin-ka-box-kie.' They took their seats, and informed me that they had called for the purpose of taking dinner, having made the engagement with my husband in town. They were on their return from seeing the Great Father, as they called the President.

"At dinner they received my attentions as persons of good breeding in those circles where good breeding excludes every useless ceremony.

"Kin-ka-box-kie was taciturn. When he spoke, it was in the Delaware tongue. He desired his friend to tell me that he could not speak English. Bok-on-ja-ha-lus informed me that the President had said 'they must improve their lands; their young men must learn to plough; their young women must learn to spin.' He seemed dejected, but he was noble in his deportment. While we sat conversing at the table after the cloth was removed, he said, 'Lah-na-pak-wa, we now go.' 'And when shall I see you again, Bok-on-ja-ha-lus?' said I. 'Me old; me soon lay down,' said he, with a horizontal motion of his hand. Then raising his eyes to Heaven, with an ardent emotion, he added with an effusion of feeling I have never seen more expressive, 'But we shall meet with Jesus.' I took his hand, inquiring with rapture, 'Bok-on-ja-ha-lus do you know Jesus?' He answered with firmness, 'Me know Jesus; me love Jesus.' Then rising from the table, they shook hands with me, solemnly saying farewell. My eyes followed their venerable figures until the door closed from my view for the last time in this world Bok-on-ja-ha-lus and his friend."

Ludlow's original tract of land embraced what is now Spring Grove Cemetery, a part of Clifton and the town of Cumminsville. At his death in 1804 the part where the blockhouse was erected came into the possession of his son, James C. Ludlow. At the time of the building of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway, it became necessary to destroy this fortification which was in the line of the road. The place continued to be known as Ludlow's Station for many years although little was done towards building a town there. In 1832 a log school house in the neighborhood was used by preachers who came to the neighborhood, among them Rev. David Fergus and Rev. David Root, Presbyterians, and Rev. Walter Scott of the Christian Church. The Hall of Free Discussion was built by James C. Ludlow in 1832 in the interest of education, literature, and religion and Mrs. McLean finally donated the site of the old blockhouse for the Christian Church which dated back as far as 1832. The neighborhood was sometimes called the "Tan-yard" from the tannery of David Cummins which was in the triangle formed by Spring Grove avenue, Hamilton pike and Blue Rock street in the early "forties."

CUMMINSVILLE.

David Cummins, a son of one of the early pioneers, was born in a house on Third street opposite the Burnet House. He is said by Dr. Drake to have been the first child born in Cincinnati. "The eldest born of a broad and brilliant succession was David Cummins, whose name has been appropriately perpetuated in our little neighbor—Cumminsville, the site of which was then a sugar tree wood with groves of paw-paw and spicewood bushes." The place of his birth was a "humble log cabin in front of where the Burnet House now stands." Other candidates for this important honor mentioned elsewhere are William Moody, born at the southwest corner of Fourth and Main streets, a daughter of Samuel Kitchel and Maj. Daniel Gano. There is a John Cummins mentioned in Timothy Flint's "Wars of the West," who was probably the same person. (Drake's Discourses, p. 20.)

Just above this on a knoll was the tavern of Mr. Hutchinson where afterwards was located the celebrated Hoffner residence. Between Mr. Cummins and the Hutchinson family there arose a contest of historic interest. A stream of water flowed from the Hutchinson place from which Mr. Cummins by his deed was entitled to use as much as would flow through "five three-quarter inch auger holes." Hutchinson had connected with his tavern a farm of two hundred acres

on which was a dairy and on a dry summer's day his wife frightened by the scarcity of water plugged up the pipe to the tannery. It was opened naturally enough by the Cummins faction and again closed. The controversy involved all the members of both families and all those connected with them and all the neighbors. A Corsican vendetta, to the extent of reprisals in the way of destroying the property of the contestants, ensued. Naturally lawsuits followed and court costs and attendant expenses finally impoverished the litigants. Mr. Hutchinson's farm was mortgaged to the United States Bank and finally on the foreclosure of the mortgage the property was taken by the bank and sold. Mr. Hoffner bought the tavern with 47 acres of land for $5,000. Mr. Cummins on his part lost his tan-yard which fell into the hands of Ephraim Knowlton from whom runs the name of Knowlton's corner. This is the first instance recorded in the annals of Hamilton County of the serious result which follows from watering stock.

Knowlton had built his dwelling and his store at the junction of the old Wayne and St. Clair roads, now Spring Grove avenue and Hamilton pike, along in the early "twenties." On the burning of this house he erected the stone structure known as Knowlton's Corner. In 1845 he laid out part of his farm in lots extending from Mill creek to the west of Colerain pike. When the post office was established, he its first postmaster gave to it the name of Cumminsville in memory of the old tanner whose property he had bought.

The village was incorporated November 29, 1805, and was annexed to the city of Cincinnati as the 25th Ward, September 6, 1872. Strangely enough the name Ludlow is in no way at present identified with the village which owed its origin to the pioneer. For a few years the post office was called Ludlow but the name was soon abandoned. It is now, under the new subdivision of the city, the 23rd Ward.

COLERAIN OR DUNLAP'S STATION

In the early spring of 1790, John Dunlap and associates laid out the station of Coleram on the Great Miami, 17 miles northwest of Fort Washington. Dunlap was an Irishman from Coleraine, Ireland, and was one of the surveyors of the Miami. A few settlers joined him and built a fort or station at this spot. It consisted of a cluster of cabins facing each other occupying a space of about an acre and connected together with pickets, eight feet high composed of small timber split in half and sharpened at the ends and set a sufficient depth in the ground. At the corners were small blockhouses. The roofs of the cabins were built so as to slope outward with eves so low that it is said the dogs were accustomed to jump from the stumps on the outside to the roof and so get into the enclosure. Within this fortification dwelt about thirty people, men, women and children of whom not more than ten were able to bear arms. The fear of the Indians whose marauding parties frequently came down as far as the Ohio caused application to be made at Fort Washington for a garrison. Lieutenant Kingsbury was sent with 18 soldiers to assist the station. This little station was the scene on January 10, 1791, of the fiercest and longest sustained Indian attack made upon any of the settlements within the limits of Hamilton County and its story has been told by several of the survivors.

THE ATTACK ON DUNLAP'S STATION.

On January 8th, Col. John S. Wallace, a native of Pennsylvania and one of the earliest settlers of Cincinnati, was surveying on the west bank of the Great Miami. He was accompanied by Abner Hunt, who was also a surveyor and John Sloan and Mr. Cunningham. They had encamped during the night and after breakfasting on venison which they roasted at their camp fire they set out to explore the Miami bottoms above the spot where Dunlap's Station was located. They had proceeded not more than seventy yards when they were attacked in the rear by savages who had undoubtedly prepared an ambuscade for them. At the first volley of eight or ten guns, Cunningham fell to the ground. Hunt was thrown from his horse and made a prisoner before he could recover. Sloan was shot through the body but managed to keep his feet and started off on the run with Wallace who was unhurt. About all the Indians pursued Wallace for over a mile and a half, but by reason of his uncommon activity he was able to escape them. He was accompanied by Hunt's loose horse. Wallace was shot at twice before he caught up with Sloan but fortunately was not hit. His leggings became loosened and at the moment of the first shot he tripped and fell. Supposing him struck by the bullet the Indians raised a shout, "Wah! Hoo!" calculating on the certainty of his scalp. He hastily tied his leggings and resumed his flight and effected his escape. They succeeded in crossing the Miami River and headed for Fort Washington. On the way

Sloan faint from his wound stopped but Wallace advised him to thrust part of his shirt in the bullet-hole to stop the flow of blood. After traveling about six miles they fell into the trace from Colerain and concluded to visit that post and put the settlers there on their guard," especially as Sloan was so weak and faint from the loss of blood and the opening of his wound, that they concluded that it would be impossible to reach the farther point. That night it rained, froze and finally snowed six or seven inches in depth.

The garrison had no special reason to expect an attack, and on the next morning, Sunday, Lieutenant Kingsbury sent out four or five men, who were guided by Wallace, to the scene of the disaster, where they found the body of the unfortunate Cunningham, tomahawked and scalped. They buried it on the spot, and returned without molestation. So assured was Kingsbury that there was no danger that he surrendered his own quarters to Sloan and spent the night in the soldiers' quarters in lively and jocose conversation. The next morning at sunrise just as the women were milking the cows, the fort was invested by a party of five hundred Indians, commanded by Simon Girty. His brother was also in the attacking force, as well as Blue Jacket and other well known chiefs. The first notice of the Indians' presence was given by a large black dog, which sprang from a stump on the outside upon one of the cabins and began barking furiously; but for this alarm the Indians would have been at the gates and every soul in the garrison would have been massacred, so secret and quiet had been their approach. Lieutenant Kingsbury immediately clapped his hands and called: "The Indians!"

So unsuspicious was the garrison that they thought this alarm by Kingsbury to be merely a ruse to put them to the proof, as of course the alarm should have been given by the sentry. A volley, however, fired by the Indians soon brought the occupants of the station to a realization of the actual condition of affairs. This shot wounded a soldier named McVickar. The soldiers within were at once posted in their positions, without waiting for them to dress themselves. One of them, William Wiseman, tells us that he had on no clothing except a shirt, and this probably was the condition of many others. Wiseman, who was Kingsbury's orderly-sergeant, tells us that he ran into the mill-house, a small building not far from the blockhouse, which had no chinking or daubing. His action was from curiosity, as he had never seen an Indian. "To his unaccustomed vision, the whole face of the earth appeared at first to be covered with them, and their peculiar headgearing of feathers and pigment, and the horrid jingling of the deerhoofs and horns, tied around their knees, presented a spectacle of great interest, so much so as to make him forget, for the moment, that they were enemies, and had invested the station with a hostile intent."

The Indians had surrounded the fortress entirely on the land side, and were resting their flanks on the bank of the stream on either side of the station. Wiseman says that the thought of firing did not occur to him, but he stood leaning on his musket, looking at the Indians until another man, McVickar, came into the mill-house. The Indians, who seem to have overlooked Wiseman, saw McVickar, and fired at him, and wounded him in the arm. Some of the balls from the volley coming in close proximity to Wiseman convinced him of the expediency of retiring to a place of shelter. He went to the blockhouse and put on his clothes, and then was located at a port-hole, where he staid all that day and ensuing night without being relieved.

The Indians in the meantime had sheltered themselves behind the logs which were lying about, and finding that the garrison was prepared, they demanded a parley. Abner Hunt, who had been captured with Wallace's party, was placed upon a log three or four rods from the pickets. He was securely bound, his arms were pinioned behind him, and Simon Girty, lying behind the log, held the cord by which he was bound. He was compelled to demand the surrender of the place upon the promise that life and property would be respected. The consciousness of his own danger induced him to urge the acceptance of these terms. No one in the fort, however, was willing to trust to the good faith of Girty, and Kingsbury refused to consider the proposition. It became apparent in the course of the parley that Simon Girty was in command, and his brother George was with them, as well as Blue Jacket. The Indians claimed to have present five hundred of their number, with three hundred in the neighborhood, and to have scouts guarding the way between the station and Fort Washington.

THE DEATH OF HUNT.

Kingsbury told them that he had sent a messenger to Judge Symmes, at North Bend, who would soon be up to their relief with his entire

settlement. They promptly informed him that they knew he was lying, and that Judge Symmes was then in New Jersey, and in case an immediate surrender was not made they would all be massacred and the station burned. The parley lasted for about two hours, during which time the members of the garrison had been ordered to have their weapons aimed for the purpose of picking off any Indian who left his shelter. As a result of this many Indians were struck, and Girty complained of this method of holding a treaty. Kingsbury is said to have replied with a big oath, and in a loud voice swore that he would punish the first man that fired a gun, but immediately added in a tall whisper, "Kill the rascals if you can!" At the conclusion he told Girty that if they were five hundred devils, he would never surrender to them, and jumped down from his position. As he leaped down a tremendous volley of musketry from the Indians was fired, and one of the balls cut off the white plume in Kingsbury's hat. The station was then completely invested, and the attacking was most violent and continuous. The Indians seemed certain of victory, and fired from behind stumps and trees and logs. A quantity of brushwood lay in front of the station, as a result of the interrupted efforts of the Indians to prepare for the assault. This was fired by the besiegers, who had rushed in with burning brands, in an attempt to set fire to the pickets and cabins. The excellent marksmanship of the besieged prevented this, however. One Indian was killed just as he reached the building. Late in the afternoon Hunt was sent forward again to inform them that they were about to draw off for refreshments, but at the time the moon went down they would return and put the entire garrison to death by the tomahawk. The soldiers, who were but 18 in number, and the settlers, of whom eight or ten were able to bear arms, as well as the women and children, remained at their posts, watchful and anxious. The only food that was served out during the whole siege was some parched corn, which the young girls carried around from time to time. There was not a drop of water in the fort, and access to the river was too hazardous an undertaking. The moon went down shortly after sunset, and thereupon the Indians returned to make their word good. The rain which had fallen during the day had frozen into sleet, which to some extent protected the buildings from the firebrands. Hundreds of blazing arrows were shot into the stockades and upon the roofs of the buildings, but the desperation of the garrison, conscious that their lives would pay the penalty of any oversight, prevented a conflagration. The Indians continued this attacking until about midnight, when they drew off to carry out their threats with regard to the prisoner, Hunt, in revenge for his failure to persuade his associates to surrender. He was brought to a place in full view of the station, where he was stripped entirely naked, and fastened to a log with his hands and feet outstretched, and pinioned to the ground. A pile of dead limbs was placed upon his body and set on fire, while a horrid dance, accompanied with whooping and yelling, was kept up for hours. The screams of Hunt were plainly heard by the garrison in the midst of the yelling of the Indians, and continued for a long time, growing fainter and fainter toward daylight, when they ceased, as life had probably expired. At daybreak the attacking was renewed. The garrison was given a little relief at this time by a change of stations. Those who had been in the open air were placed within the blockhouse at the port-holes, and those that were within were placed outside. In the blockhouse were gathered the women and children to the number of twenty-five or thirty. As Wiseman tells the story, Kingsbury, upon entering the blockhouse, was assailed by the women and children with questions regarding their chances of safety. His response was: "Ladies, we must all suffer and die together. I know of no means of relief!" He explained that he had endeavored to procure a volunteer from among the soldiers who should go to Fort Washington and give the alarm and bring relief, but all in vain. Wiseman immediately offered to take the adventure upon condition that the garrison should be paraded in front of the blockhouse to see him cross the river in safety, or be killed or wounded in attempting it. This was agreed to, and the men were drawn up for Wiseman's departure.

WISEMAN'S ADVENTURES.

Wiseman's account continues: "This was probably between seven and ten o'clock in the morning. The canoe was drawn up on the beach, so as to require some little assistance readily to get it off. I do not recollect who rendered me this assistance, which was to be done by being somewhat exposed to the fire of the besiegers, but Mr. Hahn assures me now that it was himself, then a boy of 14 years, and

his father, who gave me their aid for this purpose. But at length I was in the boat, alone, using my utmost exertions in setting myself, by means of a pole, across the stream. I had need to be in a hurry, for I was in the presence of five hundred hostile Indians, who were honoring me with their attention in the shape of a leaden shower of bullets, some of which whistled by me and spent their force in the water, and some struck and shattered, in a small measure, my frail 'dug out,' though, happily, none touched or injured my person. I reached the opposite shore, where I waited long enough to draw the canoe partly on the beach, when I seized my musket and put myself, as soon as possible, under the shelter of the underwood, and took my course down stream. I had been told that about two miles below the station there was a ripple, where I could easily recross, but if I missed that—since I could not swim—I should be obliged to make my way to Symmes' Station, at the mouth of the river, where I would be as far away from Fort Washington as at Colerain.

"When I had gone, as I supposed, about two miles, I sat down and took a wary and cautious reconnoissance, in every direction, to see, if I might, some of the scouts that Girty told us were occupying the country between us and Fort Washington. After satisfying myself that there were none near me, I stripped myself and attempted to wade the river. I found the water at neck deep, and growing deeper still, when I was obliged to desist. I made a like attempt at two other places, but with similar success, in the cold water, filled as the river was with mush-ice, when I concluded that I had no alternative but to go to Symmes's. But, luckily, about two hundred yards from the place where I made my last abortive attempt to wade, I discovered the ripple, and was enabled to cross where the water was not more than knee deep. Without further obstruction, or being intercepted by Indians, I reached Fort Washington about four o'clock in the afternoon, where my Captain, Truman, accompanied me to General Harmar's quarters, and I delivered my letters. Captain Truman responded to the General's questions, who I was, and to what company I belonged, with pride, as his, and that I was the youngest soldier in the army. An exorbitant dram of brandy, which Captain T. forced me to take, and a hearty meal, for which I had an appetite whetted by a long fast, as well as great exertion, having refreshed me, the General again sent for me, and inquired if I would return with the party to be sent to the relief of the station? I assented, on condition of being permitted to go mounted. This appeared reasonable, and was promised me. But since reinforcements were wanted, of a few militia from Columbia, I was permitted to take a night's rest.

"Early in the morning, on a good horse, I accompanied the body, under the command of Colonel Strong, which reached Colerain between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. We found that Girty and the Indians were in full retreat, having raised the siege some hour or two before. Colonel Strong pursued them two or three miles up the river, and came up with them, just as the last raft of the Indians was crossing the stream. As it was impossible to continue the further pursuit, they escaped.

"The remains of the unfortunate Hunt, shockingly mangled and charred, had been, meanwhile, buried by the garrison." (Narrative of William Wiseman; Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 97.)

Wiseman's narrative is corroborated by Samuel Hahn, who at that time was a boy of 13 or 14 years of age. His entire family, consisting of father, mother, four brothers and three sisters, were in the fort. According to another narrative, Wallace accompanied Wiseman on this trip, and the two met Capt. John S. Gano at the head of the company of Columbia militia about six miles from Cincinnati. This party is said to have returned to the station when they found that the Indians had retired. (Address of J. Scott Harrison, Sept. 8, 1866.)

Many stories are told of this siege, which, in some respects, was the most thrilling episode in the early days of the settlements. The garrison behaved with the utmost bravery, coupled, as is usual, with the greatest rashness.

During the fire they exposed their persons above the tops of the pickets, mocking and daring the savages to come on. The women were no less fearless than the men, and used every expedient to provoke and irritate the enemy. They hoisted the caps of the soldiers above the pickets and invited the shots of the assailants. When the ammunition threatened to give out, they molded the bullets from their pewter plates and spoons, in order to keep up the supply. After the Indians had retired, the garrison, fearing an ambuscade, waited for some time before reconnoitering, and finally John Young, one of the settlers, went out and found that their enemies had disappeared.

Shortly before this attack on Dunlap's Station,

two of the settlers, David Gibson and John Crum, had been taken prisoners, and Thomas Lawison and William Crum driven into the stockade. John Crum was a boy of about 13 years of age, and was in the woods with his sister, looking for grapes. He gave some of the grapes to his sister, and she returned home. He was still in the top of a tree picking grapes from a vine which had grown over it when a party of five Indians passing by observed his hat lying at the foot of the tree. Naturally, they looked into the tree, and seeing him, required him to get down.

David Gibson was out hunting in the woods about a mile below the fort at the bend of the river. He shot a deer, which he hung up across a limb of a tree in full view of the station, and returned to get his horse for the purpose of tak- his booty home. He had been observed by some Indians who were concealed behind a large tree at a little distance. When the horse returned he smelled the Indians, and, although tied to a sapling, he broke away and started for home. This was attributed by Gibson to the presence of a deer. While he had gone to capture his horse, the Indians, realizing where he would fasten the animal upon his return, hid themselves in the immediate neighborhood. As Gibson tied his horse to the sapling, the redskins, eight or ten in number, crept up and surrounded him, leaving him no alternative but to surrender. While in captivity, Gibson married a white woman, who was also a prisoner among the Indians. He and his wife, as well as Crum and other captives, were released at the time of the Wayne treaty.

These attacks kept the inhabitants at Colerain in a constant state of alarm, and after the defeat of St. Clair, in the following November, the settlers abandoned the station, and were persuaded with difficulty to return. This station was regarded by Judge Symmes and others as the best barrier to all the settlements, and he states that when that place became repeopled the inhabitants of other stations became more reconciled to stay.

THE HAHNS

Sergeant Hahn, who rendered such good service at the time of the attack upon Dunlap's Station, lost his life on June 1, 1791. Accompanied by a corporal and a young man who lived in Colerain, he started to drive a cow, to whose neck was attached a bell, from Fort Washington to Dunlap's Station. On the way out they called upon Col. John Riddle, an old pioneer, then a blacksmith, and they paid to him three dollars on account of a bill that Hahn had owed for some time. Riddle laughingly suggested that Hahn had better pay more to him, as the Indians would get the rest. Hahn carelessly told him not to fear, but in the course of two hours afterward a bullet was put through his head, and his scalp and head taken by the Indians, who were attracted by the sound of the bell.

Michael Hahn, the father of the two Hahns already referred to, was out with Martin Burkhardt and Michael Lutz, on April 25, 1792, viewing some lots at what was known as the "Blue Bank," not far from the station. They were all heavy Pennsylvania Dutchmen, and afforded easy marks to the savages, by whom they were soon fired upon. Lutz was killed and scalped on the spot, and his body was mutilated. Hahn was shot through the body, but attempted to escape to the garrison. He was followed until he came in sight of the garrison, when, the Indians finding they could not get his scalp, fired at him a second time, and killed him. Burkhardt was shot through the right shoulder, but sprang into the river, hoping to save himself by swimming. Rendered helpless by his wound, however, he was drowned, and was found at North Bend six weeks afterward.

COVALT'S STATION.

Shortly after the settlement of Columbia, a strong settlement was established in the valley of the Little Miami, about ten miles above Columbia, by Capt. Abraham Covalt, who was a native of New Jersey and a Revolutionary veteran. Captain Covalt left Pennsylvania, at that time his place of residence, on January 1, 1789, with an outfit of two flatboats filled with agricultural implements and some of the finest cattle that had yet been brought to the Miamis. The party, numbering forty-five, landed at Columbia on January 10th. A tent was raised on the bank of the Miami to shelter the women and children against the weather, and the men went up the valley to make a clearing and construct a fort. They selected a spot, at that time one of the loneliest in the county, but of many natural advantages, in the neighborhood of the present village of Terrace Park. Here they erected a strong stockade fort with blockhouses at the corners, between which ranged the cabins of the residents with roofs sloping inwardly. There were seventeen cabins within the walls of Covalt's Station. A mill, the first in the neigh-

borhood, was built near the station. The Indians made no attack upon them during the first days of the settlement, but stole a number of their horses and some of their hogs. At the time of the attack on Dunlap's Station an attack was also made at Covalt's, but was unsuccessful.

In the summer after St. Clair's defeat, three prisoners were taken by the Indians in the neighborhood of Covalt's Station. Their names were Beagle, Murphy and Coleman. In company with a soldier, they were about a quarter of a mile from the fort when they heard the Indians, and ran for the station. Beagle was ahead, but tripped on a grape-vine and was caught and bound. The soldier was killed. The three prisoners were taken to Detroit, where Beagle and Murphy were sold to the British. The Indians would not part with Coleman, but took him away with them. At the parting he is said to have wept like a child, for he realized the fate in store for him—burning at the stake. He was never heard of again.

In March of the next year Captain Covalt, himself, fell a victim to the savages. "Captain Covalt, wishing to live a more retired life, had got the timber ready for his house, but the framing was not completed. He, with two of his sons, and Joseph Hinkle, was making shingles, when they were attacked by the Indians. Hinkle was not shot, but his head was half cut off with the tomahawk, and then scalped. Captain Covalt was wounded in two places; one ball passed through his breast, the other through his arm. He told his sons to make their way to the fort, that he was wounded. He ran, with axe in hand, about a hundred yards and fell across a log with his arm under his head; the scalping knife soon robbed it of the auburn locks that clustered around his noble brow, but his spirit had ascended to the God who gave it." (Narrative of his daughter in Dr. Jones' Early Days of Cincinnati.)

Captain Covalt's wife survived him until the year 1838, when she died at the advanced age of 100 years.

In June, 1789, a hunting expedition set out from Covalt's Station, consisting of Abraham Covalt, Jr., R. Fletcher, Levi Buckingham, Jacob Beagle and Mr. Clemens. When a short distance from the station, Covalt discovered signs of Indians, and so notified his companions. They concluded to return to the fort to warn the inmates of their danger, and started back before actually seeing any savages. Beagle and Clemens became a little separated from the others, and when they came to Shawnee Run they saw two Indians sitting on the bank taking off their moccasins to walk across. Beagle wanted to shoot at them, but Clemens objected that he was old and clumsy, and felt that he should surely fall a prey to them. The Indians had proceeded up the river but a short distance when they met the other three and fired upon them before the whites saw them. Covalt was hit, but ran along with Fletcher for about 100 yards, when he told Fletcher to make his escape, as he was shot through the breast, and must fall. He fought the Indians until his strength gave out, but soon a blow from a tomahawk finished him. He was scalped and his rifle and powder-horn taken. His tomahawk was thrown away, and was found twenty years afterwards by Levi Buckingham, who had been of the party. The other four reached the fort in safety, and returned with increased numbers too late to do anything other than recover Covalt's body. Thus ended, says his sister, who at that time but 15 years of age was in the fort, "the life of one of as brave sons of Pennsylvania as ever inhaled the morning air."

A month later a friend of young Covalt, a young hunter named Abel Cook, one in the first landing party, and the man who cut the hickory tree behind which the Indians hid in the attack on the Seward boys, while he was returning home from a visit at Columbia to Covalt's Station, was assassinated in the woods at a place called Round Bottom. Some of his friends found his body and carried it up to the station, where it was buried in the grave next to the grave of young Covalt, by the side of his hunting companion, with whom in life he roamed the dreary forest.

In September a resident of Columbia named James Newell started to take some corn to mill at Covalt's Station. When about half way between the settlements he met two of his fellow townsmen, Aaron Mercer and Ignatius Ross, returning from the mill homeward. They had seen Indian signs up the river, and advised Newell to put off his trip and go back with them to Columbia. He refused to take their advice, however, and continued on his way. Almost immediately after he had left them, they heard a rifle-shot in the direction he had gone. Waiting for a bit to see if any other noise should give them any information as to what had occurred, they finally ran after Newell. He was found at the point of death at the side of the

path, having been shot by an Indian who had been concealed in a tree near the trail, and who had escaped. Newell's body was carried back to Columbia. The point where he was found is still known as Newell's Hollow, and is in a little ravine crossing the Wooster pike, half way between Plainville and Red Bank.

On August 14, 1792, John Dunlap records that John McNamara, Isaac Gibson, Samuel Carswell and James Barrack were bringing up a hand millstone in a canoe, and at the ripple below the station they were fired at by the Indians. McNamara was killed, Gibson wounded in the knee and Carswell in the shoulder; Barrack being the only one escaping without injury.

THE ATTACK ON WHITE'S STATION

Occurred in the fall of 1793. This little station was about a half mile southeast of the present village of Carthage, and was named after Capt. Jacob White, the most active member of the settlement. The station contained about a half dozen cabins, three of which were on each side of Mill creek and near the banks of the creek. The cabin occupied by Captain White himself was on the southeast side of the creek, and was built blockhouse fashion, and surrounded by a log fence, more for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants against the cattle and hogs than Indians. The other two cabins on that side of the creek belonged, one to Andrew Goebel, or Goble, and the other to an old man, David Flinn; this family included two grown sons, Stephen and Benjamin. On the other side of the creek lived Andrew Pryor, John S. Wallace and a man named Lewis Winans.

Wallace and his family were absent in Cincinnati on the day of the attack. Mrs. Moses Pryor and her three children, the family of the man who had been killed by the Indians a year before, lived with Andrew Pryor at this time. Therefore, the whole male force of the station consisted of six men and a boy of 12, a son of Captain White.

On the morning of October 10, 1793, a messenger from General Wayne passed by the station on his way to Cincinnati with the news that Lieutenant Lowery and his command had been defeated near Fort St. Clair, the government post, about thirty miles beyond Hamilton. The settlers were naturally much alarmed at this news, and prepared for a surprise. Late in the afternoon a number of dogs belonging to the station were noticed barking incessantly on a hill some three or four hundred yards out in the woods. Andrew Goebel suggested that the dogs had treed a raccoon, and insisted on some of the men joining him to go out and see if such was the fact. Captain White, suspecting that it might be Indians instead of a raccoon, forbade any one leaving the station. Goebel, more foolhardy than prudent, said he would have the coon, Indians or no Indians, and started out about sundown. He had gone but a short distance from the station when a heavy discharge of firearms was heard, accompanied by a war whoop. Goebel was cut down by a dozen balls, and probably died instantly. The Indians, who had been lying in concealment, now burst forth from under the banks of the creek, and fired at two of Mrs. Pryor's children, who were playing on the north side of the creek. One was shot dead, and the other ran as fast as possible to its home. The mother, who had seen the awful tragedy, ran out at the first alarm, seized the dead body of her child, and ran back as quickly as possible. Just as she caught up with the other child it was struck by a rifle ball and fell wounded to death. She escaped into her cabin, carrying the dead bodies of both her children. The Indians at this time were receiving the fire from the cabins all about them, and for that reason withdrew to the hillside for a conference. They finally returned and made a desperate assault on the blockhouse. At their head was a very large Indian, who ran far in advance of his comrades, leaping through the air with wild yells. He got inside the log fence, when he was shot dead by Captain White. This frightened his followers, who retreated, although they kept up a fire upon the station for several hours. The settlers saw a number of the Indians fall at the first volley, but the only body that was found afterwards was that of the leader, which had fallen within the enclosure; the others had been carried off after dark by the Indians as soon as all was quiet.

Andrew Pryor and Winans took their families over the creek to the blockhouse, and Pryor went off on horseback to ask for assistance at Fort Washington. He soon returned with ten dragoons, each carrying an infantryman behind him. John S. Wallace came back with him, much disgusted at his absence from the scene of conflict. Nothing more was heard of the Indians at that time, however. The tracks made by them indicated a number of about forty, a sufficiently large number to overwhelm the station.

According to another version, Mrs. Pryor and her three children were the only ones on her

side of the creek at the time of the attack. In the cabin was a little boy of two or three years old, who was ill, while a very young babe was lying in the cradle. After recovering the body of her little girl, who was playing alone in front of the cabin at the time she was shot, Mrs. Pryor, hoping that the Indians might spare a baby, caught up the boy and ran to the station, pursued by an Indian. She sprang into the creek up to her waist, and crossed the stream to the station. When the relief party was able to go to Mrs. Pryor's cabin, it was found that the Indians had taken the baby from the cradle and dashed its brains out against a stump near the cabin door. They opened the feather beds, threw out the feathers, and filled the ticks with clothing, blankets and household goods of all sorts, which they carried away. Mrs. Pryor was subsequently married to Samuel Dunn and returned to the farm of her former husband, where she raised a family of six children, living until 1843.

In 1792, Moses Pryor and John Reily (Riley) had settled upon a tract of land to the south of White's Station. Pryor's tract included what was afterwards the County Infirmary farm, and Reily's land lay to the west, upon the site of the present village of Carthage. They cleared up the land, built a cabin and dug a well. In the fall Pryor made a contract to carry government stores and provisions from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton, associating with him two others, one of whom was David Flinn of White's Station. One morning when they reached Little stream, four miles south of Fort Hamilton, since known as Pleasant Run, they were fired upon by a body of Indians who were concealed in the woods. Pryor was killed and the two other men made their escape. That night Mrs. Pryor, while awaiting her husband's return to supper, was informed of his death. Being unable to continue the work on her husband's farm, she and her two children went to reside with the family of her brother-in-law at White's Station.

BLOODY RUN.

The defeat of Lieutenant Lowery, followed by the attack on White's Station, had alarmed the citizens of Cincinnati and the neighborhood, and for a time no party went out any distance without escorts of soldiers. In the spring of 1794, John Ludlow, a brother of Israel Ludlow, moved his family out in the country to what was known afterwards as Ludlow's Grove. John Ludlow and his family had come from Buffalo to Cincinnati in November, 1789, and lived at first in a double-roomed log cabin at the northwest corner of Front and Main streets. He was elected sheriff of the county in the following year.

At Ludlow's place was what was called the second crossing of Mill creek, as Wayne's army crossed here on its way to the third crossing, which was at White's Station, above Carthage. In Ludlow's party was not only his own family, but his brother, Israel, with a company of militia. Others in the party were Capt. Jacob White, a lawyer; Thomas Goudy (Gowdy or Gauty), Sarah Freeman and Abby Cochran, all riding on horseback, and accompanied by several wagons; this party was returning to White's Station, two miles above Ludlow's place. The party reached Ludlow's farm in safety, and began unloading the wagons.

Captain White and his party, including Goudy and the two young women, who were really out for the pleasure of the ride, pushed on ahead, taking the great highway running from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton. When they proceeded a little more than a half mile, to the point now known as Bloody Run, they heard a volley of musketry a short distance up the road. The character of the firing showed that it was not from hunters, but probably from Indians. The whole party became alarmed, and despite the efforts of Captain White, who was anxious to push forward to the assistance of any person that might be attacked, they turned the road at full speed for Ludlow's cabin, where a halt was made by all excepting Goudy and the two young women, who kept up their flight to Cincinnati. Immediately behind them came two men on horseback; they were pack horsemen in the government service. They stated that while their party, which included four, were stopping at a stream beyond to water their horses they were suddenly fired upon by a small band of Indians concealed by the roadside. One of the number was killed instantly, another was severely wounded, and the third struck, but without any serious result. Captain White immediately organized a pursuing party which followed the Indians, but was not able to overtake them. They found, however, lying in the run, the body of the man who was killed. He had been tomahawked and scalped. This body was buried near the spot. The soldier who had been so severely wounded had been able to escape further injury from the Indians. He was found

and sent to Ludlow's Station, where he died after a few days, at the house of Abner Boston.

As late as 1857, while building a bridge over Bloody Run, Solomon Burkhalter came upon the remains of the man buried there 63 years before. The body was reinterred deeper in the earth beneath the abutment of the bridge.

GRIFFIN'S STATION.

This station was about a half mile west of White's Station, where the Carthage and Springfield pike crosses Mill creek, and within the village of Hartwell. Lieut. Daniel Griffin entered a warrant for this location in the register's office on July 23, 1792. No settlement, however, was made here, in all probability, until the fall of 1793. No one is supposed to have been residing here as early as the attack on White's Station (October 19, 1793). The stations were less than a half mile apart, and it is not unnatural to suppose that had there been a party at Griffin's, it would have gone to the assistance of their neighbors. Among the early settlers were Robert Griffin, Daniel and Jacob Vorhees, Daniel Seward, James McCashen and Robert Caldwell and two sons, Samuel and James.

CAMPBELL'S STATION

Was founded during the summer and fall of 1793 by John Campbell, seven or eight miles southeast of Dunlap's, on the east bank of the Great Miami, opposite the present village of Miamitown, in what is now Colerain township. Mr. Olden, in his interesting book of "Early Reminiscences," now unfortunately so rare, says:

"The settlers around the station were few in number; no preparations for defense were made; and, having been established late in the period of Indian hostilities, no depredations were committed in the neighborhood, consequently no important historical events are attached to it."

NELSON'S STATION.

Another station of which mention is made is Nelson's Station, a little west of Madisonville. A party of Indian horse thieves were pursued from this station, and one was shot and left by his companions. The body was buried on the spot, from which fact the place has been called Indian Hill.

TUCKER'S AND PLEASANT VALLEY STATIONS

This station was organized in 1792 by a party from Columbia. They selected section four of the third township and the first entire range now in Springfield township, and began the erection of a blockhouse on the east side of the Hamilton road, known in early days as Wayne's trace. A quarrel divided the party, and subsequently the fear of the Indians led to the abandonment of the settlement. The controversy was settled during the following winter, and as a result two settlements were made about the central point on the line between sections four and ten on the west bank of Mill creek, near what is known as Station Spring. This was known as Pleasant Valley Station.

The Indians never molested either Tucker's or Pleasant Valley Station. One morning, however, during the winter one of the residents named Mahan, hearing what he thought was the call of turkeys, started out to hunt them. He ran into an Indian ambush, but turned and ran for his life. The Indians did not fire, for fear of alarming the station. They were unable to overtake him, however. Mahan's exertions were so great that upon arriving at the station he swooned from exhaustion, and laid for hours in a complete stupor. This was followed by a fever, during which for several days his life was despaired of.

GERARD'S STATION.

In 1790 some of the settlers of Columbia, including some new comers, allowed their eyes to rest longingly upon the land to the east of the Little Miami without the limits of the Miami purchase. They finally effected a settlement opposite Turkey Bottom at the foot of the hills on survey No. 530, about a mile below what was afterwards Union Ridge, on the land subsequently owned by Col. James Taylor. They built a small blockhouse, or stockade, which they called, after their leader, John H. Gerard, by the name of Gerard's Station.

Colonel Taylor describes the blockhouse as standing on the side of a hill near what is now Big Spring, and not far from Flinn's fort, across the Miami. This was on the principal road from Cincinnati and Columbia to the East. Among the settlers who were at the point were Joseph Williamson, Steven Betts, Stephen Davis, Major Stites and Captain Flinn. The survey of two 2-3 acres on which this station was located seems to have been originally owned by John Steel. For many years a hewed-log house, built in 1805 by Josiah and Samuel Holley near the site of this station, claimed the honor of being the oldest house in the township.

It was to Gerard's Station that the people of Covalt's Station withdrew after their guard of regulars and their fighting men had gone north with St. Clair. The summer of 1792, which was an unusually early one, however, attracted many of the settlers back to their clearings.

VOORHEES' STATION.

This station was situated near the present towns of Lockland and Reading. It was simply a large, strong log cabin, used for both residence purposes and as a place of defense. It is constantly referred to, however, under the name of Voorhees' Station. Mr. Olden says that this cabin was on the west side of the east fork of Mill creek. This station was not established until the spring of 1794, and in the fall of that year Abraham Voorhees, with his two sons-in-law and their families, and his five sons, moved into it. It was upon the land of Abraham Voorhees that the village of Reading was laid out in 1798. It was first called Voorhees Town, but subsequently its name was changed. The story is told by Mr. Olden of an incident which occurred a little south of this point in the autumn of 1794. William Moore, who lived at Covalt's Station, on the Little Miami, was hunting in the neighborhood of the Great Lick, as it was called, about one and one-half miles east of White's Station. He had killed a deer and had skinned it and prepared it for packing. While in the act of washing his hands in the stream near by, he indulged in singing a little Indian song, which he had learned while a captive among the Shawanees. To his great alarm he was suddenly joined in the song by some one else singing in the Indian tongue. He sprang to his feet and ran to the woods to the west, followed closely by the Indians. They did not fire at him, as it was apparent they desired to capture him alive. In advance of the others was a small Indian who was very swift of foot. The Indian seemed to be gaining on Moore, when they came to a large fallen tree, which was about four feet in diameter. Moore vaulted the tree, but the Indian had to go around, which gave Moore sufficient advantage to enable him to reach White's Station in safety.

RUNYAN'S STATION

Was in Sycamore township, about one and one-half miles north of Reading. Here Henry Runyan, "near the spring east of the Dayton turn pike," built his station house on the west half of section 19, 14 miles from the Ohio, and was so thoroughly hid in the wilderness that the Indians who prowled frequently within a few hundred yards of the place never seemed to discover it. This location was made in 1790. In 1792 Runyan removed to the place, and remained there permanently.

M'FARLAND'S STATION.

This station was settled in Columbia township, near the site of the present village of Pleasant Ridge, in the spring of 1795. This has been called the last fortified station erected in Hamilton County. The peace of Greenville, which occurred about this time, made it unnecessary for any further fortifications to be built. This station was without any experiences with the Indians.

MERCERSBURGH.

Another settlement to the east of the Miami occupied the site of what is now Newtown. Capt. Aaron Mercer, an Irishman by birth, but a Virginian by adoption, left Winchester, Virginia, in 1790, seeking a home in the West. He reached Columbia just as the troops belonging to that station were returning from the Harmar expedition. He stayed there for two years, but in 1792 he purchased a tract on the east side of the Little Miami, three miles above Gerard's Station on the first elevated land of the valley. Here, on General Massie's survey, was built a little town with a clearing and a log fortress, which was called Mercersburgh, in honor of the leader of the party and of his brother, the celebrated Hugh Mercer. This point was one of the important relief stations and harbors of refuge during the continuance of the Indian wars.

CHAPTER XX.

LOSANTIVILLE—THE NAME AND THE TOWN.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE NAME—THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SETTLEMENT—INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE SETTLERS.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE NAME.

One of the favorite subjects of controversy in the early days of the history of our city was the question of its name during the first year of the settlement, that is from the date of the landing, December 28, 1788, until the early days of January, 1790.

On January 2, 1790, according to the "Journal" of the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent, Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville. On that day he prepared a proclamation organizing the county of Hamilton, which proclamation was not issued until the 4th. There is no reference in this proclamation to the village at all. On the following day, January 5, 1790, having made appointments of justices of the peace and other officers, he issued his proclamation, directing the holding of the courts of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace "at the town of Cincinnati." This is the first official record in which the name Cincinnati appears, and it is therefore, in all probability, the first day in the history of the settlement when the name which it now bears was properly applied to it. The history of Cincinnati under its present name began without question as early as January 5, 1790, and certainly at no earlier date than the 3rd or 4th.

The name which the settlement bore prior to this time was a hybrid, invented, we are told, by the Kentucky pedagogue, John Filson. It is made up of the Latin word *os*, meaning mouth, the Latin *anti*, for opposite, and the French form *ville* of the Latin *villa*, for town, to which is prefixed the letter "L," which could serve as the French particle, or as the initial letter of the word Licking. In other words, it was the city opposite the mouth, and if "L" is understood to stand for Licking, the name is still more descriptive, the city opposite the mouth of the Licking. This name has given exercise to the wit of many so-called humorists, and has been much ridiculed. One suggestion is that the words should be read in the order in which its various parts appear; in other words, the Licking mouth opposite the town, or using "L" as the particle, the mouth opposite the town. No one who is familiar with the formation or arrangement of words, in either Latin or French, would be guilty of such a criticism as this. The word is certainly descriptive, and apart from the objection that it is made up of words of different languages, not combined according to the regular rules of word-building, seems unobjectionable. Professor Venable suggests that it is no more absurd than the name which succeeded it, which is either a gentive singular or a nominative plural; this latter worried Symmes. Writing to Dayton, June 19, 1791, he says:

"Having mentioned Cincinnata, I beg, sir, you will inquire of the literati in Jersey whether Cincinnata or Cincinnati be most proper. The design I had in giving that name to the place was in honor of the order of the Cincinnati, and to denote the chief place of their residence; and, so far as my little acquaintance with cases and genders extends, I think the name of a town should terminate in the feminine gender where it is not perfectly neuter. Cincinnati is the title of the order of knighthood, and can not, I think, be the place where the knights of the order dwell. I have frequent combats in this country

on the subject, because most men spell the place with ti, when I always do with ta. Please to set me right if I am wrong. You have your Witherspoons and Smiths, and indeed abound in characters in whose decision I shall fully acquiesce."

Apparently the Witherspoons and Smiths did not agree with the Judge for he subsequently writes the name "ti." This letter is of interest however by reason of the statement that Symmes and not St. Clair or Ludlow had the honor of selecting the name.

His reasoning certainly seems correct. There is no known explanation which really explains the name finally adopted. Of course its origin is a many times told tale. The letter just quoted states explicitly that Symmes gave the name to the place. As soon as St. Clair had been received at Fort Washington, he sent a messenger for the Judge at North Bend and their meeting took place on January 3rd, at which time the names are supposed to have been agreed upon. Harmar had named the fort Fort Washington; on January 4th Hamilton County was named after the Secretary of the Treasury and companion in arms of all the party. The coupling of two names so prominent among the soldiers naturally suggested the organization which had been recently formed by the officers. It is not unreasonable that St. Clair would permit Symmes, the one most interested, to select the name of both the county and the city nor is it unnatural that Symmes, whose greatest desire at that time was to secure the protection and cooperation of both the military and civil governments, should be politic enough to suggest the name of the society of which St. Clair had just been appointed president for the State of Pennsylvania. Human nature was very much the same in those days as it is now. It is easy to see that the change of the name was not so much due to any dissatisfaction with Losantiville, the pedantic name of the dead and gone school teacher which though descriptive and not in any sense cacophonous would add nothing to the general interest in the settlement, as to the desire to pay a compliment to a prominent and most influential official and through him to a body of men of the very highest standing in the land, from whose ranks it was hoped many emigrants could be drawn.

At the conclusion of active hostilities while negotiations for peace were pending, the officers of the American Army freed from the duties of the field of battle decided upon a society which should perpetuate the memory of their long struggle. On May 10, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati was founded and the constitution of the order drawn up by a committee of which General Knox was chairman. On May 13th the representatives of the army met at the quarters of Baron de Steuben who presided on the occasion and the constitution was accepted and approved. The fundamental purposes of the society were "to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they had fought and bled and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of blessing, * * * promote and cherish between the respective States that union and National honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire, and to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers."

Washington was chosen the first president-general of the order and held the position until his death. General Knox was the first secretary-general. State societies were formed and Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair was elected president of the society for the State of Pennsylvania. The constitution of the society provided that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the insignia of the order and enjoy the privileges of the society. Some opposition to the order was manifested at first because of the belief that it would tend to establish a hereditary order of nobility, but events proved that this fear was without justification. The name of course is taken, as is shown on the badge of the society, from Cincinnatus who left his plow to take up the chief magistracy of his country in a time of need and who after he succeeded in saving his country returned to the quiet pursuits of agriculture. The motto of the society is *Omnia relinquit servare rem publicam.* (He gave up all to serve his country.)

As to the matter of sound, each person can take his choice between Losantiville and Cincinnati; neither had any special application to the location to which it was applied. The first was a mere geographic description, the second a cheap compliment which it was hoped would be productive of great results but the hope was vain. All the settlements in the West drew from the ranks of the Revolutionary soldiers who had sacrificed so much during the war but Cincinnati did not get any larger proportion than other settlements in the Territory. The name Miami, as has been suggested, would have been peculiarly appropriate to the city located in this locality and no less pleasant in sound.

In the early part of the last century it so happened that two men who had given more attention to the history of this settlement than almost any others then living saw fit to adopt the view that the name Losantiville had never been applied to the settlement opposite the mouth of the Licking. Their view in brief was that this name, selected by Filson, died with him and that when the town was finally laid out by Ludlow it was immediately given the name Cincinnati. H. B. Teetor in his little sketch of the life of Colonel Ludlow accredits the suggestion of the name Cincinnati to him. He fails to cite a single item of evidence however in support of this statement and there is no ground for the claim in Ludlow's behalf, regardless of the fact whether the name Cincinnati was given in 1789 or 1790.

The four citations made by Mr. Teetor do it is true use the word Cincinnati; they are from the chancery case of the city against Williams, so many times referred to. Ludlow testified as to his landing in the month of January, 1789, to lay out the town of Cincinnati and form a settlement here. Patterson testified that he landed in January, 1789, for the purpose of laying off the town of Cincinnati. McMillan was one of the number who formed the settlement of Cincinnati, December 28, 1788, and a few days after a plan of the town of Cincinnati was drafted by Ludlow. Denman testified that Ludlow was appointed as his agent to lay out the town of Cincinnati and that the town was laid out in the year 1789. It was upon this evidence too that Judge Burnet relies in the long letter which will be quoted hereafter. It is apparent from an examination of the depositions that the question of the name of the town was not raised. The important point was the correctness of the plat offered by Ludlow. Judge Burnet was himself the counsel for the city and for Ludlow's heirs, and the only significance, if any, that he attached to the matter of name arose from the fact that Williams' claim involved the lack of authority on the part of Ludlow to represent the proprietors. Burnet, in his anxiety to dispose of Filson's interest and to establish that of Ludlow, was willing enough incidentally to let the hair go with the hide and the name and plat disappear with the title. As will be apparent hereafter, the Judge was nothing if not a partisan. He was most decided in his opinions and judgments and did not believe in anything half way, to quote the language of Judge Wright. He was therefore perfectly sincere in his belief as stated in his "Notes" and in the letter hereafter quoted that the general belief that the original name of the town was Losantiville was incorrect. Trained lawyer as he was, had he had before him the evidences that are now accessible to us he would never have made such a statement. The weight of the name of Charles Cist has been added, as well, to that of Burnet. Cist with all his indefatigability and fairness suffered from the lack of materials and was really persuaded by the great weight of Burnet's name and authority and a few stories received from very old pioneers at the time of their lives when their recollections of so remote a period and of such trifling details must have been obscured.

As the subject is one of great interest, the whole statement of the controversy as presented by Mr. Cist in his "Cincinnati in 1859" can be reprinted here. It is introduced by a letter to Dr. Daniel Drake. It seems unfortunate that Cist did not pursue the matter with Drake and examine the twenty documentary evidences referred to; still we have almost as many which may have been the same that were in the possession of Dr. Drake.

"CINCINNATI, January 2, 1841.

"Dear Sir—My brother informs me that you called last evening to inquire of me whether I have seen any authentic evidence that Cincinnati was originally named Losantiville. As I shall embark in the mail-packet this morning, at ten o'clock, for Louisville, you cannot have an opportunity of seeing me, and I, therefore, drop you a line, to say that I have in my possession more than twenty documentary evidences that such was the fact.

"The name was invented by John Filson, one of the original proprietors, who intended to express by it, the town opposite the mouth of Licking River. He resided in Lexington, Ky., where the plan of the projected village was formed, and the name imposed in the month of August, 1788.

"The settlement did not, however, commence till the 26th of the following December. From that time till the 2d of January 1790—this day fifty-one years—the place bore the name of Losantiville and no other. It was then changed to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair.

"Your friend and servant,

"DAN DRAKE."

"CHARLES CIST."

Upon this Cist comments as follows:

"I must be permitted to remark that, while I consider Dr. Drake's statement of the 'more than

twenty documentary evidences' explicit and reliable, I do not regard it as conclusive, because the writer evidently had not time or motive to examine it in the light of the difficulty I had presented to him, and which he had perhaps never heard of before. He probably had letters, for I have seen such of the early dates of Cincinnati addressed to Losantiville, but it is obvious that such proof would not determine the fact. The name first designed having originated at Lexington would be widely known there, and letters thence would naturally bear the intended name of the place; and, indeed, where a name is once given, officially or by custom, it is apt to adhere, long after it has become changed by law or otherwise. Thus Maysville and Brownsville were known as Limestone and Redstone, and called nothing else, long after they had borne their present names in print. Washington, Pennsylvania, was called Catfishtown for many years, although only a sobriquet or nickname, and it will be many years before our northwestern section of Cincinnati ceases to be known by any other title than Texas, although a mere flash name.

"To these testimonies and to the popular notion that the place was given its present name by General St. Clair, on the 2d January, 1790, I have to oppose the testimony, among others, of Jacob Fowler and Samuel Newell, highly intelligent men and old settlers—Fowler having supplied the garrison at Fort Washington with buffalo meat, from its establishment up to St. Clair's arrival and afterward. They both aver that from their earliest knowledge of it they never heard it called Losantiville; and Fowler, who was as clearheaded in his recollections of the past as any man I have ever known, stated to me explicitly that he never heard it called by any other name than that of Cincinnati.

"The communication of Judge Burnet, which follows, in my judgment, is testimony which cannot be disputed and argument which must be conclusive."

Mr. Cist prints entire the letter which is so full of information as to entitle it to a place here:

"CINCINNATI, October 5, 1844.

"Dear Sir—At the close of a conversation which passed between us a few weeks since, respecting the original plan and name of the place, which is now familiarly called the Queen City of the West, you requested me to furnish you with such reminiscences in relation to that subject as my early residence in the West might enable me to give.

"You are aware that I was not among the first adventurers to the Miami valley. When the settlement of it began I had not finished my education; but I commenced my journey to join the little band of adventurers as soon as my professional studies were closed, which was in the spring, after the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, had terminated the Indian war; of course the town had been laid out, and the settlement of it commenced, before my arrival. It had, however, made but little progress, either in population or improvement; though it contained a larger number of inhabitants than any other American village in the Territory, excepting Marietta; and if you take into the account the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and others attached to the army, it very much exceeded the population of that place.

"Most of the persons who saw the town laid out, and put up the first cabins erected in it, were here when I came, and were my earliest companions and associates. Without professing an unusual share of curiosity, it is natural to suppose, that I learnt from them, correctly, the few and simple historical facts of the place, which, for good or ill, I had selected for life as my residence. By way of comparison, it may be said, that the facts connected with the recent location of the Cincinnati Observatory—the donation made by our distinguished fellow-citizen, N. Longworth, Esq.—the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the edifice, by the venerable sage and patriot of Quincy, and the name of Mount Adams then publicly given to it, are not more distinctly known, as matters of history, than were the facts of laying out, establishing and naming of the town of Cincinnati, at the time to which I refer. They were a subject of inquiry by every stranger who came to the place, and every person in the village could recite them. There was but one version to the story, which was this: that Mr. Denman, of New Jersey, entered into a contract with Col. Robert Patterson, of Lexington, and John Filson, a surveyor in the employ of Judge Symmes, to lay out the land opposite the mouth of Licking River, then the exclusive property of Mr. Denman. A plat of the contemplated town was made out, and Losantiville agreed upon as its name; but before any step was taken to carry that contract into effect, and before a chain had been stretched on the ground, Mr. Filson was killed by the Indians, not having done anything to fulfill his part of the contract; in

consequence of which it was forfeited, and the projected town fell through. This is all that was ever done toward the establishment of a town by the name of Losantiville; yet, as was natural, the settlement, then just beginning, was for some time called by the intended name of the projected town.

"Early in the next season, Mr. Denman entered into a new contract with Col. Patterson and Israel Ludlow, to lay out a town on the same ground, but on a different plan from the one formerly agreed upon. To that town they gave the name of Cincinnati, and by that name it was surveyed and known in the fall of 1788.

"I was informed by Judge Turner, one of the earliest adventurers to the West, that he had seen both plats, and that the general outline and plan of division were nearly the same in both, but that the first or Filson plat, to which the name of Losantiville was to have been given, set apart two entire blocks for the use of the town, and that it gave as a public common all the ground between Front street and the river, extending from Eastern row to Western row, then the extreme boundaries of the town plat: and it is impressed upon my mind, though I cannot say what caused that impression, that on the first or Filson plat, Front street was laid down nearer to the river, or made more southing in its course westward, than we find it on the plat of Cincinnati. I was also informed that some of the names, which had been selected for streets of the Losantiville plan, were given to streets on the plan of Cincinnati, and that others were rejected. This circumstance may account for a fact, which is no doubt remembered by many now living in the city, that after Joel Williams had become proprietor, by purchasing the right of Mr. Denman, and had determined to claim the public common, as private property, an unsuccessful effort was made to change the names of some of the streets on the genuine plat of Cincinnati by substituting others, taken from the plat of Filson. That attempt created some temporary difficulty in the minds of persons not correctly informed, as to the true history of the town, and many took the precaution of inserting both the names in their deeds and contracts.

"But independent of these facts, it must be evident that the name of the town could not have been changed after the town had been established, named and surveyed. The territorial statute of December, 1800, which I advocated and voted for in the Legislative Council, made it the duty of the proprietors of every town which had been laid out in the Territory, before that time, to cause a true and correct map, or plat thereof to be recorded in the recorder's office of the county in which it lay, within one year after the passage of the act, under a heavy penalty.

"The name of the town constitutes as important a part of the plat of it as the names of the streets or the numbers of lots, and the title to property acquired in it is affected as much by error, mistake or uncertainty, in the one, as in the other; it was therefore considered important for the security of property holders that a true record should be made of these matters, and of everything else appertaining to the plat, precisely as they were when the town was established, and the sale of the lots commenced. Hence, the law required a true and correct plat—in other words, the original plat, without change or variation, to be recorded.

"When the plan of Cincinnati was recorded by Israel Ludlow in 1801—the original proprietors were all living, he being one of them. It is therefore impossible to suppose, that he did not know what the original plat contained—or that he acted without authority—or that he would falsify the plat by placing on it any name other than the one originally given to it. I was intimately acquainted with Col. Ludlow who recorded the town plat, and was professionally consulted by him as to the requirements of the statute. He was very much annoyed by interference of Joel Williams, a sub-proprietor, who insisted on making innovations, or changes in the original plat, calculated to favor a claim he was setting up to the public common or landing. I gave it as my opinion that Mr. Williams not being an original proprietor, or even a resident of the country when the town plat was formed and established, and having had no agency in the formation of the original plan of the town, could not be presumed to know what it was: and moreover, that the statute did not recognize him as having any other or greater authority to interfere in the matter, than any other individual who had become the purchaser of a single lot.

"The result was, that each of these individuals prepared and lodged in the recorder's office a plat of the town, affirming it to be a true copy from the original. Unfortunately, perhaps—certainly without legal authority—the recorder placed both plats on the record, but the commissioners soon became satisfied that the plat prepared and certified by Col. Ludlow, was alone to be relied on.

"This, however, has no other bearing on the subject matter of our conversation, than arises from the fact, that each of them affirmed Cincinnati to be the true, original name of the town.

"The controversy between them continued for several months, and was marked with great warmth. On one occasion it terminated in a violent personal conflict, in which the original plat of the town, made and agreed to by the proprietors at Limestone, in the winter of 1788-9, bearing on its face the name of Cincinnati, was torn in pieces, each party retaining a part of it. In this altercation Colonel Ludlow took the ground that Williams was an unauthorized intruder, and that the statute made it his duty, as an original proprietor, to record the plat, correctly and faithfully as it came from the proprietors, neither adding to, subtracting from or altering anything which was on it when it was agreed to and signed by the proprietors.

"To show how firmly he adhered to that principle I will mention one case. The ground bounded by Broadway, Front street, Main street and the river, had been publicly given, and set apart by the proprietors, with his knowledge and concurrence, as a common, for the use of the town forever. This fact he knew and affirmed, but, because the word common had not been written on the map within the lines inclosing that donation, or elsewhere, he refused to insert it on the copy made for the recorder; and yet it is affirmed by implication that he deliberately made out and placed on record a plat of the town, affirming it to be a true copy of the original, knowing that it contained a name altogether different from the one which had been in the first instance adopted and entered on the plat.

"I will state further that, at an early period, professional duty made it necessary for me to investigate the facts connected with the origin and establishment of Cincinnati, which did not extend to any other individual then or now living, and it so happened that the performance of that duty was required at a time when the town was almost in its incipient state, and when all the original proprietors and most of the first adventurers and settlers were living within the village or in places easily accessible.

"Without presuming to claim more of tact or industry than belongs to the profession generally, it may be presumed, considering the sources of correct information then within my reach, that I must, at least, have ascertained the name of the place, the establishment and history of which I was investigating.

"It has been already intimated that Joel Williams, soon after he purchased the proprietary right of Mr. Denman, set up a claim to the common before described, alleging it to be private property, reserved by the proprietors for future disposition. On the strength of that pretence he erected a brick house on the northwest corner of the tract in question. In consequence of this movement a number of the most public-spirited of our citizens—Martin Baum, Jesse Hunt and General Findley taking the lead—raised a fund by subscription, to defend and sustain the right of the town. I was employed to collect and perpetuate the testimony applicable to the case; and you will not hesitate to believe that, in executing that commission, my inquiries were directed to the original proprietors and to such other persons as were likely to have any knowledge of the facts, touching the laying out of the town and the matters contained on the original plat. I mention this to show that there was something more than curiosity prompting me to this investigation of the early history of the town, which ought to entitle it to credence.

"Now, let any person ask himself what description of facts were likely to be disclosed in the course of such an examination, and the answer will be, precisely such as were stated in the preceding part of this letter, if they existed, although they could not have any bearing on the matter, then in controversy. On the supposition that they did not exist, was there a sufficient motive to induce anybody to fabricate them? It would be difficult to assign a reason in favor of any affirmative answer.

"You will perceive that, to sustain the right of the town to the common, it was necessary to prove the correctness of the plat recorded by Ludlow, which affirmed Cincinnati to be the true, original and only name of the town. In pursuing that inquiry the facts came out that there had been a previous project for laying out a town, the name of which was to have been Losantiville, but that that project had fallen through. As that matter had no relation to the subject I was specially investigating, it was not noticed in the depositions, but omitted as irrelevant.

"Having said this much on the subject of our conversation, I will state as information which may be interesting, if not useful, that in November, 1794, Samuel Freeman purchased the unsold interest of Robert Patterson in the town

section and fraction—that in March, 1795, Joel Williams purchased the unsold interest of Mr. Denman, and in November, 1803, he also purchased of Samuel Freeman the proprietary interest acquired by his purchase from Colonel Patterson, by which he owned and represented two shares or equal third parts of the unsold lots and ground in the section and fraction.

"You are, no doubt, acquainted with the fact that, by an arrangement between Judge Symmes and the first proprietors of the town, he was to retain the title in trust for them and to execute deeds to the purchasers of lots, on their producing certificates of the respective purchases, signed by any two of the proprietors. You have also, it is presumed, heard that all those certificates, of which no record has been preserved, were consumed in the conflagration of Judge Symmes' house. These facts, connected with the sale of Freeman's entire proprietary right to Joel Williams, may possibly account for the link which is said to be wanting in the chain of title to part of the ground, lying west of the town plat, now held under Joel Williams. That fatal fire may have consumed the documents required to make out a complete paper title.

"This conjecture is in some measure corroborated by a reference to the peculiarities of Mr. Williams, who had an active mind—was somewhat eccentric—possessed a vein of humor, and could at times be very sarcastic. He was, however, quite illiterate and unusually careless, and, having great confidence in Judge Symmes, he generally relied on him as a friend and adviser, though, on one or two occasions, there was some serious misunderstanding between them. I was frequently engaged for him, in his legal controversies, and it so happened that a paper required in his cause was found in the keeping of Judge Symmes. I have several times, when calling on him for papers, seen him open and examine the contents of his desk, which gave me an opportunity of knowing that even the most valuable of his papers were kept in a very careless and slovenly manner; and I have often thought that it would have been better for him if all his papers had been in the safe keeping of a guardian or friend; and particularly so, as every person who had been a purchaser of a town property was exposed more or less to the consequence of his carelessness, resulting from the peculiar manner in which titles to properts, within the town section or fraction, though beyond the limits of the town plat, were to be obtained. To illustrate my meaning: there have been cases in which non-residents have purchased lots, obtained their certificates, and left them in the hands of Judge Symmes, without calling for deeds; after the burning of the Judge's house, and the consequent destruction of their evidence of title, other persons, by a fresh purchase, or otherwise, have become the legal owners of the same lots.

"Very respectfully,

"J. Burnet."

"Charles Cist."

In considering these letters and Mr. Cist's comment, it may be well to preface with the statement that despite Judge Burnet's training as a lawyer he had no advantage in the matter of accuracy of statement or the ability to weigh materials over Dr. Drake. Dr. Drake possessed the true scientific method in a degree certainly above that of many men of his time and probably would have stood among the first men at his profession of the present day. His study was not limited by any particular profession or subject. His information was of the widest and his publications, probably more numerous than those of any of the early writers of this neighborhood, covered almost every field of activity. So far as relates to the early history of Cincinnati, he is the conclusive authority upon any subject that came under his treatment. He arrived here at about the same time that Judge Burnet arrived, and from the earliest time of his residence gave close attention to the history and life of the community. The first work of any consequence published about the city was his little volume published in 1810. His volume "Notices Concerning Cincinnati" published in 1810 and his book published in 1815 called for convenience "The Picture of Cincinnati" are among the most valued possessions of any collector who is fortunate enough to possess them. Dr. Drake in many respects was the most considerable figure in the civic life of the early days of this community, and his personality appeals with great force to any student of that period.

Burnet essentially fair in intention is not as accurate in his method and his statements must be taken more as those of a controversialist. Cist was most indefatigable as a collector of materials and to him is owing a very large part of the information that we have concerning the history of the city. He had, however, absolutely no power of arranging his materials or of weighing evidence. He was accurate in his methods so far as the collection of statistics and their arrangement is concerned. He was most careful

in recording statements and transcribing documents. He was most pleasant in his treatment of the subject but the critical method was absolutely unknown to him. Drake himself would get up at night to indulge in a discussion and was as anxious to prevail as any other man but to his clear vision the facts presented themselves exactly as they were and however much he might wish to use them for his purpose he was not capable of distorting them even unconsciously. He was always, in other words, the searcher for truth. Burnet equally as sincere was always the advocate.

Bearing in mind these peculiarities which must be considered with reference to all the materials furnished by these three writers, and in any history of the early days of Cincinnati they contribute a very large proportion of the material, it is easy to disentangle the facts from the arguments in the statements just quoted. Dr. Drake unfortunately gives nothing but his conclusion although the statement of Cist that Drake had not examined the matter and may not have heard of it is amusing in view of Drake's well known position as the first historian of the city and of the further fact that he resided in the town during the pendency of the suits afterwards referred to by Judge Burnet and that they excited great public interest. Cist infers that Dr. Drake's proofs were letters addressed to Losantville. It will be apparent that however his argument might apply to such letters it had no application to letters and records written at Losantville.

Mr. Cist bases his view, it will be seen, partly on the testimony of Jacob Fowler and Samuel Newell. Fowler's statement is given by him as follows: "The place was called Cincinnati when I first saw it, although the giving of that name is said to have been done by St. Clair afterward. I am positive of the fact. At that time, there appeared forty or fifty cabins in the town, and but one or two stone chimneys among them all. The timber on the site of the built parts had been a heavy growth of sugar-tree, beech, and oak, with a few black walnuts, mostly large, and the cabins were surrounded with standing timber, as well as with large butts of logs, considered too difficult and unprofitable to split, and which were therefore left to decay. The corners of the streets, as far as practicable, were blazed on the trees." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 76.)

At the time Major Fowler made this statement he was 84 years old. He was speaking of events that had occurred more than a half century before. His first real experience in the settlement was in connection with the fort for which his brother had supplied meat. They wandered up Mill creek or crossed over into Kentucky at Yeatman's Cove or at the Stone Landing, at Ludlow street, so called because the stone for Fort Washington was landed there. With the town he had at that time little to do. He staid there but a short time and went away and did not return until 1791. It is apparent that the time of which he speaks in his statement to Mr. Cist is the later period. In 1789 there were but eleven families in the town and about twenty small log cabins. After the Harmar expedition in 1790 the population had increased to about forty families and there were about forty cabins. This is the statement of the Directory of 1819, generally accepted as correct.

Judge Burnet lays great stress on the fact that when Israel Ludlow recorded his plat he called it the plat of Cincinnati. This plat it will be remembered was recorded for the purpose of being used in evidence in litigation then in view. With all due respect to the statement that it was recorded because of the statute of the Legislature of December, 1799, the suggestion is ventured that it took Mr. Ludlow and his counsel, Judge Burnet, a long time to record this plat in the interest of the public and to avoid the penalty, for it was not until 17 months afterwards, April 29, 1802, and not in 1801 that the plat was put on record. That particular plat had been in possession of the parties for at least six months for Denman's certificate is dated November 20, 1801. It was very naturally called the plan of the town of Cincinnati as it was that town whose lines were then in question.

Strangely enough, Mr. Williams, moved by a similar desire to benefit the public and obey the law, took steps on the same day and filed his plat as late as six o'clock in the evening. The real explanation is given by Judge Burnet in describing the lawsuit and the annoyance of Colonel Ludlow at the claim of Williams. Mr. Williams was as particular as Mr. Ludlow not to print on the plat the name. His plat, as Judge Burnet says, contained the name Cincinnati but the statement in his letter that it affirmed "Cincinnati to be the true original name of the town" is a remarkable one in view of the fact that it purports on its face to be a plat "of the town of Cincinnati formerly called Losanterville." That statement in fact is not true with regard to the Ludlow plat even, which contains merely a re-

cital of the name Cincinnati and no statement as to whether or not it was the original name.

Judge Burnet's argument that the omission of the name Losantiville in the evidence is significant because there was no motive to leave it out applies with equal strength the other way. It was not mentioned because there was no motive to mention it, as the name of the town was not in controversy. It may be said that his interest then was that of the advocate and that this point did not arise. When the time came for him to be interested in it as a matter of history, years had elapsed. Dr. Drake began his study over a quarter of a century before Burnet gave any attention to the matter as a historian.

Ludlow's plat was finally held to be the true plat but prior to that time there is no question but that the Williams' plat was accepted by many as authoritative. The names of the streets given thereon were commonly used. Dr. Drake refers years afterwards to the name of Walnut street as Cider street as it was designated in Williams' plat and Fifth street was called Byrd for many years afterwards.

So much for the inconclusive character of the statements of Mr. Cist and Judge Burnet. The positive evidences are much stronger.

In the original article of agreement that was entered into by the proprietors at Limestone in December, 1788, after the death of Filson at which time the name Losantiville is claimed to have died, the introduction reads: "The Conditions for settling the town of Losantiburg are as follows." Shortly afterwards, after the survey had been completed on January 7, 1789, Col. Israel Ludlow himself publicly affixed his own signature to the conditions of the donation. The caption of this reads as follows: "Conditions on which the donation lots in the town Losantiville are held and settled." This would seem sufficient to estop Mr. Ludlow or any one for him from disputing the name. The mere variation between Losantiburg and Losantiville is of no consequence. It is clear that at this time the name Cincinnati had never been heard of.

Judge Symmes, the principal person interested in the purchase, himself a lawyer of many years' standing, in his letter to Dayton from North Bend, May 18, 1789, writes as follows:

"On the 24th of December last, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of the Licking River, sailed from Limestone in company with Mr. Tuttle, Captain Henry, Mr. Ludlow, and about twelve others, in order to form a station and lay out a town opposite Licking. They suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and floating ice, which filled the Ohio from shore to shore. Perseverance, however, triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably, but would have been more important by this time if Colonel Patterson or Mr. Denman had resided in the town. Colonel Patterson tarried one month at Losantiville, and returned to Lexington."

It is possible that had Mr. Denman or Colonel Patterson remained in the town any length of time, their recollections as to the name might have been more specific. Denman never saw the town until years later and Patterson as is seen remained but a short time. However Mr. Denman in his deposition given many years afterwards, August 1, 1833, to be used in the case of the city against the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, refers to his selection of the entire section and the fractional section as "being the same on which the town first called Losantiville and afterwards Cincinnati is laid out and where the city of Cincinnati now stands." His grandson, D. F. Denman of Coshocton, Ohio, in his sketch furnished for this work says particularly that Judge Burnet is mistaken in assuming that the name Losantiville was proposed but was not adopted. His language which is quoted elsewhere is "I think Judge Burnet mistaken as I know positively that Matthias Denman said that the town was so called (that is Losantiville) until the coming of Governor St. Clair in 1790."

So great an authority as Robert Clarke quotes the deposition of Denman in his communication published in the *Commercial* of this city in the year 1873, in which he takes to task the late librarian, John M. Newton, for perpetuating in a paper read by him before the Literary Club of Cincinnati the error that the settlement was never called Losantiville.

Judge Symmes as late as June 14, 1789, in a letter to Dayton, forecasts the future of the settlement as follows:

"One remark I have hitherto omitted, viz: it is expected, that on the arrival of Governor St. Clair, this purchase will be organized into a county; it is therefore of some moment which town shall be made the county town. Losantiville, at present, bids the fairest; it is a most excellent site for a large town, and is at present the most central of any of the inhabited towns; but if Southbend might be finished and occupied,

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

MATTHIAS DENMAN.

COL. ROBERT PATTERSON.

JOHN FILSON.

that would be exactly in the centre, and probably would take the lead of the present villages until the city can be made somewhat considerable."

The statements with regard to the change of the name are no less significant. Here we have the evidence in writing of Judge Symmes, the proprietor, Major Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory, and General Harmar, commander of the army of the United States then located at Fort Washington.

Judge Symmes speaks first of the change of name in a letter from North Bend, of January 9, 1790:

"Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville on the 2d instant. He could be prevailed on to stay with us but three nights. He has organized this purchase into a county. His excellency complimented me with the honor of naming the county. I called it Hamilton County, after the Secretary of the Treasury. General Harmar has named the new garrison Fort Washington. The Governor has made Losantiville the county town by the name of Cincinnata, so that Losantiville will become extinct."

See also the letter to Dayton, describing the death of Badgley, the surveyor, "who had been for some time an industrious citizen of Losantiville." The name Losantiville is used twice in this connection.

In Major Sargent's official journal we find this entry:

"LOSANTIVILLE, January 2, 1790.

"The Governor arrived here this morning and will probably be detained by public business until the 4th, when he expects to take his departure for Kaskaskia."

This entry of Sargent's is a part of the official record of the trip made by the Governor and himself through the Territory.

General Harmar in his letter to the Secretary of War of January 14, 1790, giving official notice of the arrival of the Governor of the Northwest Territory and of his proceedings while at headquarters states first that he has named the fort Fort Washington. Then in describing the locality he uses the following language:

"The distance between the Little Miami and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement called Columbia; here (seven miles distant from Columbia), there is another named Losanteville, but lately changed to Cincinnati, and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami City, at the north bend of the Ohio River. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people."

In a paragraph from Symmes' letter of January 9, 1790, already referred to, Symmes reports that "Mr. Denman has paid for two or three sections at most and his section and fraction at Losantiville." Dayton as late as March 20, 1790, still knows the settlement as Losantiville for in a letter of warning already quoted he states that "it seems that Denman had never covered with any warrant the section on which they are building Losantiville" and he suggests that Symmes should "prevent his covering the Losantiville section with any warrant" except such as he should buy from the Judge.

In addition to these officials there is the evidence of a well known citizen, first of Cincinnati, then afterwards of Dayton. Benjamin Van Cleve arrived in Cincinnati in 1790, where he remained until his removal to Dayton in 1796. He speaks of his arrival as follows:

"We landed at Losantiville, opposite the mouth of Licking River, on the third day of January, 1790. Two small, hewed-log houses had been erected, and several cabins. General Harmar was employed in building Fort Washington, and commanded Strong's, Pratt's, Kearsey's, and Kingsbury's companies of infantry, and Ford's artillery. A few days after this Governor St. Clair appointed officers, civil and military, for the Miami country. His proclamtion, erecting the county of Hamilton, bears date January 2, 1790, on the day of his arrival. Mr. Tappan (Tapping), who came down with us, and who remained only a short time, and William McMillan, esq., were appointed justices of the peace for this town, of which the Governor altered the name from Losantiville to Cincinnati."

To the foregoing may be added the definite statement of Symmes, contained in his letter to Dayton already quoted in this chapter, discussing the proper termination of the new town name to the effect that he gave it its name.

It is not unlikely that a more complete search through the early correspondence of this neighborhood would disclose many more instances of the use of the name Losantiville. The general belief of the early residents is indicated by such statements as that in the Directory of 1819 that "the town was first named Losantiville. * * * The name was afterwards altered to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair."

The Directory of 1829 contains a similar statement and this was certainly the general belief in the early days. It is not necessary however to

cite any further evidence. The distinct statement of the most prominent people in the Territory made at the time of the change can not be disposed of by such negative evidence as that introduced by Judge Burnet or the recollection of a very few old men taken many years after the occurrence. The evidence seems therefore to be conclusive that the year 1789 belongs to the history of Losantiville and that the history of the settlement of Cincinnati under that name does not begin until 1790.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The first year of the life of the settlement—the formative period when it was known as Losantiville—was taken up with the ordinary incidents that are so well known in the life of every new settlement. The site with which the settlers had to deal, although at that time a wilderness and to-day a large city covered with the streets and buildings necessary to accommodate a busy population, was in its main topographical features the same as it is at present. Dr. Drake in his first book published in 1810 gives a description of it which has been included in the first chapter of this book. Very much the same description is reprinted in his later book, the "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815. It was the eastern part of a tract of alluvial or bottom land bounded by the hills on the north, Mill creek on the west, the river on the south and Deer creek on the east. In this plain were included approximately speaking four miles. It was of unequal elevation and the two plateaus which formed it were known as the Hill and Bottom. The lower plateau of but the average breadth of about eight hundred feet ran from Deer creek to Mill creek; it was rather high at the east, at the west it was subject to frequent overflow. In March, 1793, the whole of this plain was inundated. The Hill arose by a steep ascent about fifty feet above the Bottom and then "continues the distance of nearly a thousand feet when the surface declines gently to the base of the adjoining highlands. The medium breadth of this table is about one mile. Its western portion is uneven and towards Mill creek descends to the level of the Bottom."

At that time said the Doctor "the prospect along the river was limited and uninteresting but from the river itself or from the banks opposite the appearance of the town was beautiful; and in the future period when the streets shall be graduated from the hill to the river shore promises to become magnificent."

The month after the settlement was spent largely in making surveys and marking out the lots allotted to the purchasers. The street lines were marked by blazing the trees. We are told that the first effort was made to lay out the city simply as far west as Main street, but the plan was a definite one and the survey proceeded with rapidity. The plan was modeled after that of the city of Philadelphia. Between Broadway and Western row there were six streets, each 66 feet wide, running from the river north 16 degrees west and lying 396 feet apart. These were intersected at right angles by others of the same width and the same distance apart except Water and Front streets which are nearer and Second and Third streets farther apart on account of the brow of the Hill. Not a single alley, court or diagonal street was laid out. The blocks or squares were each divided into eight blocks, 99 by 108 feet, except those lying between Second and Third streets which made ten lots each; and those between Front and Water streets, which contained four lots each, not quite so deep. The out-lots, 81 in number, contained four acres each and in that part of the city, subsequently laid out by Symmes east of Eastern row, the streets were but 60 feet wide. The donations, as has been stated, in addition to the common or Public Landing, including the square between Fourth, Fifth, Walnut and Main. These lots were paid for by the purchaser at about the same price as other lots were paid for.

Immediately after the assigning of the lots, the settlers proceeded to make their improvements and to get them ready for crops. A large part of the bottom land between Walnut street and Broadway was cleared at once, although the trees in many cases were allowed to remain where they had fallen. Stumps were to be seen throughout the settlement for some years to come. As is stated elsewhere, the principal reliance for food was upon the settlers of Columbia who had the advantage of the fertile valley of Turkey Bottom. The population of the place in May of this year is said to have included 11 families besides 24 unmarried men, together with the officers and soldiers of the garrison. (Directory of 1819, p. 10; Cincinnati in 1859, p. 25.)

There were some twenty cabins built, in the main in the neighborhood of the present Public Landing. The difficulties with regard to food, which continued in spite of the plenty of fish and game together with the fear of the Indians who up to this time had made no hostile demon-

strations but showed their continued unfriendliness, made the future of the settlement very uncertain. The coming of the soldiers, however, in the early part of June and the subsequent erection of Fort Washington settled the question of the permanency of the settlement. More log houses were built and also a frame house at the corner of Front and Main which was occupied by Colonel Ludlow. Some of the out-lots beyond Seventh street were also cleared.

"About twenty acres in different parts of the town were planted with corn. The corn, when ripe, was ground in hand-mills. Flour, bacon, and other provisions, were chiefly imported. Some of the inhabitants brought with them a few light articles of household furniture, but many were mostly destitute. Tables were made of planks, and the want of chairs was supplied with blocks; the dishes were wooden bowls and trenchers. The men wore hunting-shirts of linen and linsey-woolsey, and round them a belt, in which were inserted a tomahawk and scalping-knife. Their moccasins, leggings, and pantaloons were made of deer skins. The women wore linsey-woolsey, manufactured by themselves. The greatest friendship and cordiality existed among the inhabitants, and a strong zeal for each other's safety and welfare." (Directory of 1819, p. 22.)

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE SETTLERS.

During the early days of the settlements, before the crops matured there was great scarcity of vegetables and particularly of corn. The roots of the beargrass are constantly referred to as one of the resources of the settlers. Jesse Coleman stated that repeatedly he had nothing more for three days' subsistence than a pint of parched corn. The first mill was built by Mr. Coleman at Columbia by making fast two flatboats side by side and placing the water-wheel between the two. Grindstones were put in one boat with the grain and the flour and the machinery in the other. Before this time the settlers had relied upon hand-mills or upon sending to the settlements in Kentucky. It was on one of these trips for bread that the Surveyor Badgley lost his life, as described by Judge Symmes in a letter to Dayton:

"The business of surveying has been carried on with great spirit and enterprise, by the young gentlemen who have been employed in that service. They plunged into the woods in mid-winter, when the snow was considerably deep on the ground and the cold very severe; nor were these inconveniences all which they suffered: the stock of flour which I purposely provided for them in the fall of the last year, was appropriated to the use of Captain Kearsey's company, nor was it possible to replace it at any rate. The surveyors, therefore, and their attendants, were put to great shifts for bread. Many had their limbs frost-bitten, but none lost their lives by any hardships, except Noah Badgley, of Westfield, in New Jersey; a very worthy young man, who had been for some time an industrious citizen of Losantiville. This young gentleman was induced to repair to Kentucky for a supply of bread-corn; he, with three other inhabitants of the same town with him, embarked in a canoe with their provisions, near Bourbon, on Licking River, when the water was high and the weather cold. They proceeded down the river for many miles, when coming into a very difficult place, where the stream broke off into several very crooked channels, the canoe was driven against drift logs and trees with such violence as to overset her. The four men saved themselves from the water by climbing on a tree, one of them soon swam out and escaped: Mr. Badgley next attempted to cross the stream by swimming, but was so rapidly hurried down the current that he was not able to gain the shore, and perished. The remaining two men continued on the tree for three days and nights—as one of them informed me—before they were taken off by the people who were following them down the river to Losantiville."

One instance of the ingenuity which was developed by the necessities of the time occurred in the family of Alexander Guard, who settled at North Bend in 1790. Three years later he leased some of the land below the Bend at a point four or five miles below the blockhouse and erected a cabin there. One spring day when the Miami River was quite high, he started to remove his household effects down the river in a pirogue. His wife and children made the trip on foot. Unfortunately the pirogue capsized and all the contents were swept away by the flood and lost. As a result the Guard family were entirely without clothing. Mrs. Guard however, who had been accustomed to the cultivation of cotton and its manufacture into materials for clothing, noticed that the wild nettle which grew in great profusion about the river bottoms seemed to have a good fibre. She had a quantity of this collected and from it made one season more than two hundred yards of cloth.

Mr. Cist's description of the city as it ap-

peared within a few months after this settlement is specific and well worth quotation:

"From the hill which skirts the present line of Third street, to the river bluffs, lay a broad swamp, which occupied, principally, the space from Second to Lower Market streets, although, from its irregular shape, parts of it extended even further south. This was originally a thicket of beech and sugar-trees, and grape-vines, interspersed with a heavy undergrowth of spice-wood and papaws. On the second table, now lying between Third street and the hills in the rear of Cincinnati, the ground was more unbroken in its surface, and heavily timbered with beech, sugar-tree, and poplar, some of them of immense size. The river bank was a high bluff, extending, opposite the present Public Landing, about one hundred and fifty feet south of the upper line of Front street, and falling off north to the swamp rather rapidly. At Sycamore street a large cove put in, reaching within a foot of what is now the northeast corner of Sycamore and Front streets. Here Griffin Yeatman kept one of our earliest public houses. It is difficult now to realize the fact, that the north line of the river at this point nearly reached that of Front street. At the corner of Ludlow was another of these coves, and another still higher up, just below the mouth of Deer creek. The first of these was called the Stone Landing, and the second Dorsey's Cove. The ground fell off all the way from the banks of the Ohio to Second, then called Columbia street. The coves referred to, in early days, were the usual landing places for emigrants, as they probably had been to the various expeditions which the settlers, in Kentucky, from time to time, sent over to retaliate on the Shawanese Indian settlements to our north, their incursions across the Ohio. The old Indian war-path from the British garrison, at Detroit, crossed the river at this point, which was also the regular avenue by which the savages on the northern side of the Ohio approached the Kentucky stations." (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 139 and 140.)

Maj. Jacob Fowler in his reminiscences given at the age of 84 to Mr. Cist, already quoted, states that at the time he arrived in Cincinnati in 1789, while Major Doughty was building the fort "there appeared forty or fifty cabins in the town, and but one or two stone chimneys among them all. The timber on the site of the built parts had been a heavy growth of sugar-tree, beech, and oak, with a few black walnuts, mostly large, and the cabins were surrounded with standing timber, as well as with large butts of logs, considered too difficult and unprofitable to split, and which were therefore left to decay. The corners of the streets, as far as practicable, were blazed on the trees.

"Our hunting-ground was usually some ten or fifteen miles in the interior of Kentucky. Occasionally we hunted on Mill creek, four or five miles from the town, where there was a good supply of game. Our usual crossing-places from Kentucky, were at Yeatman or Sycamore street cove, or at the Stone Landing, a cove higher up, so called because the stone wanted for Fort Washington was landed there." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 76.) Major Fowler appears to have purchased in-lot 242, which is the southeast corner of Fifth and Race streets, for 30 shillings.

This statement with regard to the number of cabins does not agree with that of the writer of the historical part of the Directory of 1819. Fowler also states that at the time when he first saw it, the place was called Cincinnati and it is upon this statement that Mr. Cist and Mr. Tector base their conclusion that the town of Losantiville never existed except in the mind of Filson. The two statements taken together probably explain each other and fix the time referred to as the year later, 1790.

During this first year of the settlement, before the formal erection of a civil government, the community had been obliged to shift for itself under a sort of "Lynch Code" as it was called by Judge Burnet. The looseness of the manners and morals that always prevails in a new settlement subjected the well disposed citizens to constant annoyance and they felt that some ways and means must be devised to protect themselves. As a result at Losantiville word was circulated throughout the settlement that the people would meet on the following day to consult and determine what should be done for the common safety. At the proper time the populace met "under one of the majestic trees which shaded the plain. They elected William McMillan chairman, appointed a secretary, whose name I forget, and proceeded to business. They formed a code of by-laws, fixing the punishment to be inflicted for certain offences. They organized a court, established a trial by jury, appointed Mr. McMillan judge, and John Ludlow sheriff. Before the meeting adjourned, every person present agreed to the regulations, and gave a solemn pledge that he would aid in carrying them into effect. It was not long before a

complaint was made against Patrick Grimes, for stealing cucumbers from the truck-patch of one of his neighbors. An order was immediately issued to the sheriff, directing him forthwith, to arrest the offender, and summon a jury for his trial. The order was promptly obeyed, a jury was impanelled, the evidence heard, a verdict of guilty returned, and the accused sentenced to receive twenty-nine lashes on his naked back; which were inflicted the same afternoon." (Burnet's letter, October, 1837.) And so Patrick Grimes' name is handed down for all time. The subsequent history of this the first one of the new settlers to call for the process of the law is not recorded.

The proceedings of this impromptu court soon brought its officers into conflict with the military authorities, always ready to interfere with the civil jurisdiction in a new settlement. Judge Burnet records the matter as follows: "In a few weeks, another complaint was made, and an order issued to arrest the person accused. He immediately fled to the garrison, and claimed the protection of the commandant. The next day, Mr. McMillan received an abusive letter from that officer, requiring him to desist from further proceeding, and threatening him with punishment, if he did not. A spirited reply was returned to the letter, denying the right of the commandant to interfere, and setting him at defiance. The military pride of the subaltern, being wounded by this rebuke, he sent from the garrison, the next day, a sergeant with a file of three men, to arrest McMillan. It is proper here to observe, that at that time Mr. McMillan was young, athletic, in high health, and possessed of unusual strength and activity. The first intimation he had of the movement against him, was from the sergeant, at the door of his cabin, which was taken possession of by the guard. A short parley ensued, in which McMillan declared his determination not to be taken alive, and forbade the guard to enter his cabin. After a short pause, however, they rushed in, when a most furious conflict ensued. The sergeant, who first entered, received a blow, which brought him to the floor. At the same instant the men seized their victim, who, by a prodigious effort of strength, rescued himself from their grasp, giving one of them a blow which effectually disabled him. Mr. McMillan informed me that the conflict lasted fifteen or twenty minutes, when the parties became entirely exhausted, and the guard retired. During the struggle, among the severe blows inflicted on McMillan, was one in the breast; from the effects of which he never recovered. He was confined to his bed for many weeks, and after he had recovered sufficiently to attend to business, he was weak, debilitated, and afflicted with a cough, which continued to the time of his death." Mr. McMillan was one of the most distinguished men that have lived in Cincinnati at any time during its existence.

Immediately after the affair, when the Court of Quarter Sessions, was organized in pursuance of the law for that purpose, published at Marietta on August 23, 1788, Mr. McMillan was appointed one of the judges of the court. He was one of the members in the first landing party. He succeeded William H. Harrison as the territorial delegate to Congress in 1800 where he served so well as to be honored with a public dinner upon his return to the city. After his return he was appointed United States attorney for the District of Ohio being the first who held that office. He died at the early age of 44 and Mr. Cist says of him: "There can be no doubt that Mr. McMillan was the master-spirit of the place, at that day, and a man who would have been a distinguished member of society anywhere. It is impossible to contemplate his career and character, without being deeply impressed with his great superiority over every one around him, even of the influential men of the day, and there were men of as high character and abilities in Cincinnati, in those days, as at present. He was lost to the community at the age of forty-four—just in the meridian of his course—and left vacant an orbit of usefulness and influence here in the community, in which no one since has been found worthy to move."

William M. Corry in a public address speaks of McMillan as follows: "During his professional career there was no higher man at the Western bar than William McMillan. Its accomplished ranks would have done honor to older countries, but it did not contain his superior. Some of our distinguished lawyers of that day were admirable public speakers; he was not. Some of them were able in the comprehension of their cases and skillful to a proverb in their management; of these he ranked among the first. His opinions had all the respectability of learning, precision and strength. They commanded acquiescence, they challenged opposition, when to obtain assent was difficult and to provoke hostilities dangerous."

The date of the arrival of the first family cannot be given with any degree of certainty. Mrs.

Rebecca Reeder, in a letter to the Pioneer Association, tells of the arrival of her family in the city as early as February 8, 1789, at which time there were three other women in the city, a Miss Dement, Mrs. Constance Zenes who afterwards married William McMillan, and Mrs. Pesthal, a German woman. The only small children in the place were those of Mrs. Pesthal.

Mrs. Reeder was the daughter of Francis Kennedy who with his wife and seven children floated down on a boat. The first people they saw after landing were Mr. McMillan and Col. Israel Ludlow. At that time they found but three cabins in which lived the surveyors and chain carriers. The cabins were not floored. Mr. Ludlow came down to the boat and invited Kennedy and his family to make their stay in his cabin until one could be built, but Mrs. Kennedy thought it would be more comfortable with the small children in their boat so they lived on the river in the boat until the running ice made it necessary for them to make some other arrangements. The men of the settlement assisted them in breaking up the boats and building a temporary camp in which they lived for six weeks. By the end of that time Kennedy had built a large cabin which was the first one large enough for a family to live in. The boards of the camp which had been taken from the boat were used to floor the house. The house was intended to be placed on the corner of Walnut and Water streets but although the streets were laid out they had not been opened up and the woods were so thick that it was impossible to tell where they would run; as a result the house was built in the middle of Water street. At the time of the landing of this family, the army was still at North Bend where it was suffering from the want of bread. Kennedy had brought with him a considerable quantity of flour and corn-meal and when the soldiers sent up to get a few barrels of flour for the benefit of the so-called army, Kennedy refused to sell them flour which he said he brought there to save his children's lives in the forest and not for the purpose of selling. The soldiers were armed and threatened to take the flour by force but Kennedy took down his gun and informed them that he would fight for his flour. Fortunately no collision occurred and the soldiers returned to North Bend from which Judge Symmes wrote to Kennedy asking him to give the soldiers as many barrels of flour as they required and he would see it replaced. This was done and the matter terminated satisfactorily.

According to Mrs. Reeder, her father established the first ferry and received the first license that was granted. Thomas Kennedy kept a ferry on the opposite side of the river and Kennedy himself on the Ohio side and the two of them ferried cattle over the river during the three campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. Kennedy was finally drowned at the conclusion of the war while ferrying some cattle across for the army. After his death Joel Williams who had been here some years received a license from the court to run a ferry boat, after Mrs. Kennedy had been afforded the opportunity of continuing her husband's business. This she found would be impracticable and she waived her rights in favor of Williams.

Mrs. Reeder mentions the first storekeepers as Smith & Findley, afterwards General Findley (Findlay), and Colonel Gibson whose store was at the corner of Main and Water streets. Another store was kept by Major Ziegler, the well known army officer who afterwards became the first mayor of the city. The first tavern she says was kept by Joel Williams and Isaac Felter; it was on Water street.

Mrs. Reeder with a truly feminine inaccuracy says: "I heard it announced that Mr. Smith—if I do not mistake the name—was the first sheriff; but he was not. John Ludlow was the first sheriff, and hung the first man that was ever hung here. The name of the man that was hung was Mays." By Mr. Smith of course she refers to Mr. Brown, who was in fact the first sheriff. John Ludlow was the sheriff of the "Lynch Court" of which William McMillan was judge, organized during the first year of the settlement before the civil government had been established. He was afterwards elected sheriff for the term of 1793 and 1794, but must have acted in 1792 when Mays was hung.

Mrs. Reeder mentions as the people who were here at an early period the following: "Mr. Blackburn and family; Mr. Garrison and family; Mr. McHenry and family; Dr. Morrell and family; Dr. Hole and family; Stephen Reeder and family; Jacob Reeder and family; Daniel Kitchel and family; Mrs. Phebe Flint, daughter of Daniel Kitchel; Samuel Dick and family; Mrs. McKnight and sons; Isaac Anderson and family. These were all very early settlers." (Cincinnati in 1840, p. 150.)

At the May donation, Francis Kennedy drew lot 151 at the northwest corner of Front and Walnut. He also appears as a purchaser of lots 5 and 112, the former being at the northwest

corner of Second and Broadway and the latter on the west side of Main street south of Fourth. He was among the first officers of the militia appointed by Governor St. Clair, being named lieutenant, at the time of the appointments in January, 1790. He subsequently resigned and Scott Traverse who had been appointed ensign was selected to take his place, Robert Benham taking the place of Traverse as ensign. These men were officers in Capt. Israel Ludlow's company.

The McHenrys came on April 10th, with two grandsons and two granddaughters and at the same time came Mrs. Ross with her family. Thomas Kennedy, who was referred to as the ferryman on the other side of the river, was a Scotchman who arrived at Losantiville in the spring of that year but subsequently established himself at the point where Covington now stands which for many years was called from him Kennedy's Ferry. The account of the arrival of Thomas Irwin and James Burns, given by Mr. McBride, in his "Pioneer Biography," is interesting not only for its description of the village at that time but also for the glimpse it gives of the rivalry between different settlements in the purchase. It reads as follows:

"Messrs. Irwin and Burns remained at Columbia during the day, examining the place. Mr. Irwin said there were quite a number of families residing there at the time, scattered over the bottom lands, and, as he thought, very much exposed. They offered great inducements to the young adventurers to locate themselves at Columbia; and, though they informed them of another small settlement eight miles further down the river, opposite the mouth of the Licking River, they gave them no encouragement to go there.

"They remained in their boat during the night, and the next morning left it in the care of the man opposite whose house they had landed, and taking their guns, started down the river-bank in quest of the settlement below. The bank was narrow, and there was no road or traces; the woods were thick, and the way much obstructed by underbrush and vines;—so that the traveling was very tedious. Opposite the mouth of the Licking River, they came to a double shanty occupied by the surveyors in surveying Symmes' Purchase during the preceding winter. Their names were David Logan, Caleb Reeves, Robert McConnell, Francis Hardesty, Mr. Van Eaton, William McMillan and John Vance. Joel Williams was also there, and had been with the surveyors a part of the time, and was with Israel Ludlow when he surveyed and laid out the town in February previous, marking the lines of the streets and corners of lots on the trees. This shanty had been built by these persons for their accommodation, immediately after they laid out the town. It was the first improvement made in the place, and these persons were the first settlers of Cincinnati. Joel Williams assisted them to build the shanty, and remained with them some time, until, with their assistance, he built a cabin on his own lot near the foot of Main street. He had the plat of the town, was an agent for the proprietors, and encouraged Irwin and Burns to settle themselves at that place.

"In the evening of the same day they returned to Columbia, remaining on board their boat all night. The next day they floated down the river, and landed at the shanty opposite to the mouth of Licking River. This was about the tenth day of April. The next day was spent in examining the place, and, being pleased with the situation, they concluded to remain. Mr. Burns located one town-lot and one out-lot. The out-lot contained four acres. Irwin also obtained a town-lot. They cleared one acre of ground, which they planted with corn. * * *

"The double shanty, before mentioned, occupied by Logan, McMillan, and others, was situated about the head of Front street. Irwin and Burns located themselves near to it and put up a temporary shanty, which they occupied during their stay that summer. The other settlers were scattered principally between Sycamore and Main streets."

Irwin states that the first hewed-log house in the place was put up about the first of June between Front street and the river and below Main street. This was erected by Robert Benham and the settlers of the village helped him in the work. Benham was the hero of the episode described elsewhere in which he was shot through the hips so that he could not walk and assisted by another man shot through the arms lived for some weeks on game.

Robert Benham who had become an officer of the militia, as heretofore referred to, appears in the list of lot owners in a number of places. In May he received lots 62 and 63 and according to one list lot 17 as already described. Lots 62 and 63 are at the southwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore. During the following year his name appears as holder of lot 126 on the north side of Front street, 100 feet east of Walnut,

and also lots 17 and 18 which are the northwest and southwest corners of Fifth and Broadway. He also appears as purchaser of lot 3 on the west side of Broadway below Second which had been originally drawn[1] by Joseph Thornton and lot 39 at the northeast corner of Fourth and Sycamore. He is recorded as paying 60 shillings for lot 3 and 25 shillings for lot 39. Benham subsequently became a "ferryman."

On the 18th of February, 1792, the Secretary of the Territory, then at Cincinnati, and in the absence of Governor St. Clair acting as Governor, issued the following proclamation:

"To all persons to whom these presents shall come greeting:—

"*Whereas*, It has been represented to me that it is necessary for the public interests, and the convenience of the inhabitants of the county of Hamilton, that a ferry should be established over the river Ohio, nearly opposite the mouth of Licking, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, and Mr. Robert Benham having requested permission to erect and keep said ferry:

"Now Know Ye, That, having duly considered of the said representation and request, I have thought it proper to grant the same, and by these presents do empower the said Robert Benham, of the county of Hamilton, to erect and keep a ferry over the Ohio River, from the landing place in the vicinity of his house lot, which is nearly opposite the mouth of Licking, to both points of said rivulet upon the Virginia shore; and to ask, demand, recover, and receive as a compensation—

For every single person that he may transport over the said ferry	6 cents
For a man and horse	18 cents
For a wagon and team	100 cents
For horned cattle, per head	18 cents
For hogs, each	6 cents

until those rates shall be altered by law or future instructions from the Governor of this Territory.

"And he is hereby required to provide good and sufficient flats or boats for the purpose, and to give due attention to the same according to right and common usage, and to govern himself in the premises by all such laws as hereafter may be adopted for the regulation of ferries, as soon as such laws shall be published in the Territory.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and of the independence of the United States the sixteenth, and to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of the Territory.

"WINTHROP SARGENT."

John Ludlow referred to above came with his family to Cincinnati from Buffalo. He arrived some time about November, 1789, and occupied a double-roomed log cabin on the northwest corner of Front and Main streets. He was acting sheriff in the first temporary organization and also during 1793 and 1794. He had charge of the first execution under sentence of the court in Hamilton County, that of John May or James Mays in 1792.

William D. Ludlow a son of Sheriff Ludlow, speaks of his early days as follows:

"I came to Cincinnati in 1789, when a boy five years old, and soon became used to the hardships, the frights, the incursions of savages, and the tramp of soldiers, who were either drilling, going to or returning from war. All persons were obliged in those days to be industrious, and I learned to work when quite a little boy. Sometimes I went to school, and the first master I knew was an Irishman by the name of Lloyd. His school-house was on the river bank, now the Public Landing, near Main street. We children were sent to school on the safest side of the village. One day in the spring of 1791 the Indians came over the hill-tops right down in sight of the fort, and fired away, killing Henry Hahn, a Pennsylvanian, who was clearing a lot. My uncle Israel gave chase with his militia company but did not overtake them. Harmar's expedition did not intimidate the Indians, but made them worse; and while I was a boy in Cincinnati I saw armed men and soldiers every day, and heard Indian stories every night.

"When there was service in the village church I went with my parents, and every man was obliged to have his gun by his side. I remember once my father's colored man was sent up over the hills to look for our black mare, which had strayed away. The Indians had taken her from the out-lot, and got away with her as far as where Ludlow Grove now is. The thieving fellows had taken the bell from her neck to decoy those who should be sent after the mare. The darkey was led on and on by the tinkling bell, for he was one whom they would rather capture than kill. Feeling sure of him, they put the bell on the mare's neck, tethered her and secreted themselves. Just as he walked up the Indians jumped out after him, and the race be-

gan. The darkey was a good runner, and kept ahead of them to the top of Vine street hill, where the Indians gave up the pursuit. The darkey, however, improved his chances until he reached our house, where, pale with fright and gasping for breath, he shouted: 'De black mare gone, gone! Massa John, you neber see dat black mare any more, suah! De Injuns got her!'

"I do not remember St. Clair's start on his campaign in 1791, but remember the return, the arrival of the wounded, and the funeral of Captain Darke, who died of his wounds in Isaac Martin's house, next to my father's. The turnout of the soldiers, the black pall, the coffin, the slow pace of those who carried his body, and the dead march sadly and solemnly affected me.

"The Indians were continually hanging around, watching along the Miamis, stealing from cabins and horse-lots, from Columbia to North Bend, and back in the country from the river, wherever anyone had ventured to fix a stopping place. Once our horses were missing from the wood-lot. Pursuit was given at once by four men, John and James Spencer, John Adams and Peter Cox. These were known as the 'Northwestern Spies.' Cox had a new rifle, and as they started Cox called out to my father: 'Squire John, the Indians shall never get this rifle unless they kill me at the first fire.' These men found the horses and Indians just north of Spring Grove Cemetery, near Platt Evens' house, and fired into them, killing two. The Indians returned the fire disabling Cox. Knowing he could not escape from the twenty or more who came after him with a yell, Cox told his companions to go and save themselves. The last seen of Cox was with the muzzle of that new rifle in hand smashing it to flinters against a tree, as the savages closed upon him. In my school-boy days I used to pass that sugar-tree and look upon the mutilated bark, where poor Cox had smashed the stock and lock of his gun the moment before the tomahawk fell upon him. While General Wayne was drilling his troops at 'Hobson's Choice,' preparatory to his campaign against the Indians, I was a frequent witness of camp and field proceedings under the iron-countenanced old general, and on Sundays I used to perch myself in the top of a beech tree and look down upon the sham battles below.

"General Wilkinson usually commanded the riflemen, who, as whooping Indians, filled the woods while Wayne directed our soldiers. These sham battles were often exciting, and I shall never forget old Wayne's appearance, his warlike manner, and his stentorian profanity, which could be heard above the noise whenever anything displeased him. This year, 1794, Wayne's army left the town, going up Main street, over the hill and up the Mill creek valley, the footmen and horsemen crossing the central parts of Mill Creek and Springfield townships, the left wing passing over the present sites of Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Carthage, and Springdale."

Ludlow moved out to what was known as Ludlow's Grove or the second crossing of Mill creek, where Wayne's army crossed on the way to the third crossing; this was at White's Station a mile from Carthage. Mr. Ludlow in his reminiscences says: "Few persons of to-day can form any just conception of our constant apprehension, our constant sense of danger in those days. My father made it a rule for each of his men to have his rifle loaded and in hand on going out in the morning, and the supply of ammunition was to be constantly attended to. The plowman carried his gun on his back; the man with the hoe placed his gun from time to time against the first tree ahead, and when engaged rolling or raising logs, sentinels were placed in the outskirts to prevent surprises."

James Cunningham was another one of the early settlers who arrived in Cincinnati in May of this year. He was originally from Pennsylvania and had emigrated from Kentucky in 1785 where he had been building cabins for settlers about four miles back of the present site of Covington. The Indians became too aggressive and after one of the party had been killed they all removed to Beargrass creek or Louisville. Cunningham married there and two years later with his three brothers-in-law, Arthur, Andrew and Culbertson Park, he came to Cincinnati where he remained but a short time, moving out to Sycamore township, being the first settler in that township. He remained there during the following year but the increase in the danger from Indians induced him to go back into the city after Harmar's defeat. He bought a lot and built a cabin near the corner of Second and Walnut streets. Three years later he moved again to his farm where he remained for the rest of his life. He built the first saw and grist mill in his township and for some years ran a distillery.

Another prominent citizen who arrived during this year was Col. John Bartle who was the principal storekeeper in the town for a time. He became one of the best known citizens, sur-

viving to the age of 95. He died December 9, 1839.

The houses in which these settlers lived have already been described in connection with other settlements. They were the usual log cabins that furnished the habitation of people in a new country. They were constructed of course of logs notched to fit together with poles pinned on top for rafters on which were sometimes laid clapboards with weight poles extending from one end to the other and sometimes bark. Such floors as they had were made of puncheon boards split from logs and hewn with the broadax. The doors were sometimes made of puncheons too. Nails were not used except in the more expensive buildings. The windows were usually small and little more than port holes and frequently covered with paper greased with bear's grease. The furniture was equally simple. Tables and chairs were made of puncheons with split sticks of wood at the corners for legs. Once in a while an old-fashioned splint-bottomed chair would appear but the stool and benches and blocks of wood were more frequently used. The kitchen utensils were usually a Dutch oven with a skillet and tea kettle and a few old pots to hang over the fire on an old-fashioned crane. Gourds served for cups and pitchers and when cut off at the neck served as bottles.

Bedsteads were made of poles held by two outer posts. The ends were made firm by inserting the poles in auger holes bored in a log in the wall of the cabin. Across this were stretched skins which served as the chief covering. In the loft or half-story above, which was usually appropriated to the children, the bed would be a heap of dry leaves or possibly a pile of skins. The sleeping place was reached by pegs driven in the wall by which the younger members climbed to their place of rest. It was usually without a window and frequently the floor extended but partly over the story below.

The clothing as seen in the quotation above from the Directory of 1819 was frequently homespun linsey-woolsey or tow-linen made by the settlers themselves. More frequently raccoon and bear skins furnished the caps and moccasins took the place of shoes. This was the costume more than a quarter of a century afterwards of young Abraham Lincoln in his early days in Kentucky.

Such clothes as were spun were colored with the bark of the butternut. Sun bonnets were the most elaborate articles of toilet for such of the women as felt they needed protection for the head. The money that was used was at first raccoon skins and other skins. Rabbit skin was work a five penny bit or six and one-fourth cents; the coon skin twice as much and a fox skin four times as much; the deer skin was worth as much as fifty cents. The soldiers brought Spanish silver dollars. The change was made by cutting these into quarters and eighths. The eighths were called "sharp shins" from their wedge shape. This was not a free and unlimited coinage either, for the smith that did the cutting got in the habit of making five quarters, one of which he kept for himself and the others of which passed for full value. These were used quite generally.

One transaction in 1806 is reported in Mr. Cist's book where a Kentucky merchant brought in one hundred pounds of cut silver to a business house in Philadelphia which was sent up on a dray to the mint for recoinage, much to the disgust of the merchant. Change for smaller sums were made by pins and needles and writing paper. John Bartle, the storekeeper at Front and Broadway, had a barrel of copper coins made in 1794. This so exasperated his fellow storekeepers that he was almost mobbed. The feeling against the small copper money continued for many years. The time is within the memory of many now living when anything smaller than a nickel would not be taken for change and when three-cent postage stamps or a penny stick of candy cost five cents. The same is true to-day in many parts of the West. Afterwards "oblongs" as they were called succeeded "sharp shins;" these were three dollar United States notes made in that denomination to pay the soldiers whose pay was three dollars a month. The coin used for large transactions was the "joe" which was an abbreviation for "johannes." This was a Portuguese gold coin of the value of eight dollars, named from the figure of King John which it bore.

Wiseman in his narrative concerning the attack on Colerain Station speaks of being offered by the lieutenant two half joes for going to Fort Washington for assistance. He indignantly refused any pay however.

The food of the settlers, as has been spoken of frequently, consisted of course of game and of such corn and vegetables as they could raise. Fried venison, buffalo or bear meat or roast wild turkey washed down by Monongahela whiskey were common at all the households. Cornmeal was the staple cereal. Johnny cakes baked on a board three feet long and one foot

wide and corn dodgers and hoe cakes and even ash cakes were all very popular. Whenever wheat could be obtained it is certain that pies in large quantities were added to the cuisine. Despite the disclaimer of Dr. Jones, there can be no question that the early pioneers had taken their cue from the soldiers and were much addicted to the use of stimulants. Monongahela whiskey was found in every house and offered to all guests. In the summer it cooled the harvesters and in the winter it warmed the traveler. It formed a basis of much of the physic and, in combination with tansy, rue, or most any kind of old weed so long as it was bitter in taste, was regarded as a specific against almost every kind of ill. Dr. Jones cannot forbear reporting the following story:

"Old Jonas D. was a dear lover of 'Old Monongahela,' and generally kept a good supply on hand, buying it by the barrel. On one occasion Jonas went into a store, where he usually dealt, and told the merchant that he wanted a barrel of whiskey; it was at that time selling at sixteen dollars a barrel. 'What?' said the merchant. 'Jonas, you certainly do not want another barrel of whiskey for your own use; it is not three months since you bought the last one.'

"'That's all right, Robert, it ain't three months, but *what in the deuce is a barrel of whiskey in a family where there is no cow?*' But he was an exception. The whiskey was rye and pure, and must be seven years old at least before it was considered fit to use."

The Doctor tells us that burnt dried peaches were used to give flavoring and color to the whiskey and that they also charred the inside of the barrel. At the auction the auctioneer would offer a dram to the next bidder. At corn huskings, captains were chosen who took sides alternately from the persons present and thereupon they were all set to husking the corn. The one that finished first got the bottle and he that husked the first red ear kissed the prettiest girl in the party. These merry makings concluded with a dance and supper. After a wedding, a reception or infair was held at the groom's house and as the company including the married couple would approach on horseback the home of the groom the younger men would "run for the bottle, riding over hills, hollows and fences at breakneck speed, and the first to arrive at the home of the groom was handed the bottle and rode back in triumph, holding aloft his prize to treat the bride and groom." ("Early Days of Cincinnati" by Dr. A. E. Jones.)

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM NATIONAL TO SELF GOVERNMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY—THE FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—HARRISON, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—BYRD, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY—THE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY—ST. CLAIR REAPPOINTED—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT CHILLICOTHE—THE CHILLICOTHE MOB—THE INCORPORATION OF CINCINNATI—THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—THE REMOVAL OF ST. CLAIR—ST. CLAIR'S SUBSEQUENT ILL TREATMENT—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1802—THE ERECTION OF HAMILTON COUNTY—THE ERECTION OF OTHER COUNTIES—THE FIRST OFFICIALS—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—THE MILITIA—CINCINNATI TOWNSHIP—SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICERS.

The time from the landing of Governor St. Clair in January, 1790, at which time he erected the county of Hamilton and made the settlement at Cincinnati the county town, until the date of the incorporation of the settlement as a village in 1802 covers practically the entire life of the Northwest Territory. The political history of that Territory, which during twelve years was the supreme authority for the settlement which was its seat of government, is so wrapped up with the history of Cincinnati as to make some narrative of it necessary in a work of this character.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The organization of the Territory, its officers and its courts have already been described and the earlier part of its history and the attention of its officials was largely given to the Indian wars and to the settlement of the new country and its proper organization. Much of St. Clair's time was taken with his duties on the Mississippi and in the West. His unfortunate campaign had been a serious blow to him and his ambition. He began to feel that possibly he had made a mistake in cutting himself off from the East where he had obtained so splendid a position by reason of his ability and prominence in the War of Independence. The task of molding a great territory, as yet an undeveloped wilderness infested with savages and lacking all the attractions of a more cultivated community, seemed a discouraging one. Just at this time an opportunity seemed to offer which would enable him to reenter public life in a more congenial field. The representative in Congress from his home district seemed to be in doubt as to making the canvass for a reelection and St. Clair's Federalist friends suggested that he should make the canvass. After some discussion however he felt that it was wisest to abandon this idea and by so doing he cut himself off forever from the life that was most congenial to him. This determination of his friends and of himself was a very great disappointment to his wife and family who had never reconciled themselves to the abandonment of their Pennsylvania home for the hardships of a new country. This episode in the life of the Governor occurred in the summer of 1792, a large part of which St. Clair spent in Philadelphia. During this summer he obtained from Congress an act authorizing the Governor and judges to repeal laws made by them. From this power resulted a complete revision of the laws which resulted in the establishment of a system in 1795, which Salmon P. Chase says was "not without many imperfections and blemishes; but it may be

doubted whether any colony at so early a period after its first establishment ever had one so good."

After providing in general for the regulation of society and adopting a procedure, the common law of England and the general statutes in aid of the common law enacted prior to the fourth year of James I were declared in full force within the Territory. The General Court was fixed at Marietta and Cincinnati and a circuit court was established "with power to try in the several counties, issues in fact depending before the superior tribunal where alone causes could be finally decided." A single judge of the General Court was empowered in the absence of the others to hold the terms. This had seemed to St. Clair a source of danger, especially by reason of the fact that two of the judges were interested in the lands of the Territory. Judge Putnam was the director of the Ohio Company and Judge Symmes the sole manager of the Miami Company; both were members of the Supreme Court. "Every land dispute will be traced to some transaction of the one or of the other of those gentlemen, and they are to sit in judgment upon them. It must, I think, be acknowledged that this is not a groundless cause of apprehension, for though they are both of firm character (and delicacy would prevent their decision in any case where they were themselves parties) the people have but a slender security for the impartiality of their decision. Interest hangs an insensible bias upon the minds of the most upright men." (St. Clair to Jefferson, December 14, 1794.)

St. Clair as we have already seen was involved on several occasions in controversies with the judges. Judge Turner particularly seemed unable to get along with the Governor and for a time impeachment was contemplated. Another difficulty arose from the appointment of his son, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., as attorney-general of the Territory. The compensation of the office was so small and so precarious that no fit person could be induced to accept it and finally in 1796 young St. Clair who was practicing in Pittsburg was induced to remove to Cincinnati and accept the position. This naturally aroused much criticism at a later time. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., seems to have been a man of ability and fine character and he won the respect of the people of the Territory.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

In 1798 Winthrop Sargent, who had been Secretary of the Northwest Territory, was promoted to the governorship of the Mississippi Territory and William Henry Harrison was appointed Secretary in his place. Sargent and St. Clair had in the main agreed very well. According to Judge Burnet, the two were very different in their type. "He (St. Clair) was plain and simple in his dress and equipage, open and frank in his manners, and accessible to persons of every rank. In these respects he exhibited a striking contrast with the Secretary, Colonel Sargent; and that contrast in some measure increased his popularity; which he retained unimpaired until after the commencement of the first session of the Legislature." (Burnet's Notes, p. 375.)

Despite this difference in temperament, each had very great respect for the other, combined with friendly feeling, although on several occasions St. Clair felt that Sargent was lacking in tact. This was notably so in the matter of the organization of Wayne County. "Between the Governor and the new Secretary (Harrison) there were no such ties—no bond of sympathy. They belonged to opposite schools. The one was growing gray; was accustomed to deference from others; and held tenaciously to the political opinions formed amid the surging elements of revolution in the camp of Washington. The other, young and ambitious, was ready to sympathize with any movement that had for its object the changing of the old for a new order of things. Hence, it soon came to pass that the Secretary formed plans about which he did not consult the Governor." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 208.)

Sargent, who disappears from the history of this section at this time, subsequently made his home at Natchez where he married a widow of wealth and became a planter. He was reported a year later by General Wilkinson as being fat and happy. He died at New Orleans June 3, 1820. Winthrop Sargent was a man of the highest cultivation and deeply interested in scientific and historical study. He was a member of the American Academy of Art and Science and the American Historical Society and contributed a number of papers on the subject of American antiquities to the publications of these societies. He lived just north of the fort east of Broadway and north of Fourth street; the entire square had been enclosed and a respectable frame house erected by him. This house and grounds, the best improved in the village were occupied by Hon. Charles Wylling

Byrd, his successor in office. The house referred to was about where Fifth street now runs. This street was afterwards called Byrd street from Judge Byrd who was the first United States judge of this district.

The Sargent family was a most distinguished one and among its members are such distinguished names as those of John S. Sargent, probably the greatest living portrait painter, Epes Sargent, one of the most prolific of American editors and writers, and Charles Sprague Sargent, America's greatest arboriculturist.

The appointment of Harrison was not at all acceptable to St. Clair and he once more contemplated making the canvass for Congress from his home county. This purpose was however finally abandoned as it was thought that the Federalists would have no chance of an election.

THE FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

The census of the Territory taken in 1798 disclosed the fact that it contained a population of five thousand free white male inhabitants of full age and that therefore it was entitled to enter upon the second stage of government provided for in the Ordinance of 1787. The Governor therefore ordered an election of representatives to the first General Assembly to meet at Cincinnati. Only freeholders in fee simple of fifty acres within the Territory had the right to vote and no one could be eligible as a representative who was not a freeholder of two hundred acres. In accordance with the proclamation of the Governor, the representatives assembled at Cincinnati on February 4, 1799. Their duty at this meeting was to nominate ten persons from whom there should be selected by the President of the United States five, who commissioned with the advice and consent of the Senate should act as a Legislative Council. The members selected for the first Territorial Legislature were almost in every instance the strongest and best men in their respective counties. Party influence which was so strong in the East was not felt in local affairs and, says Judge Burnet, "it may be said with confidence that no Legislature has been chosen under the State government which contained a larger proportion of aged, intelligent men than were found in that body. Many of them it is true were unacquainted with the forms and practical duties of legislation; but they were strong minded, sensible men, acquainted with the condition and wants of the country and could form correct opinions of the operations of any measure proposed for their consideration." (Burnet's Notes, p. 289.)

In this Legislature, Hamilton County (the Miamis) had seven representatives; Washington (the Muskingum) two; Ross (the Scioto) four; Adams (Virginia Military District) two; Jefferson (Upper Ohio) one; Wayne (Detroit) three; St. Clair, Randolph (Illinois) and Knox (Indiana) each one. The Western Reserve or New Connecticut was not represented and St. Clair knew but one man in the district. Among the representatives from the counties other than Hamilton were such men as Thomas Worthington, Samuel Findlay, Edward Tiffin, Return Jonathan Meigs, Paul Fearing, Joseph Darlington and Nathaniel Massie. The Hamilton County representatives were as follows: William McMillan, John Smith, Robert Benham, Aaron Cadwell, William Goforth, John Ludlow and Isaac Martin. All of them, to quote Judge Burnet, were intelligent, substantial men. Judge McMillan has already been referred to at length and the same is true of John Smith of Columbia.

Benham, an officer of the Revolutionary War, was in the Rogers party which was destroyed at the mouth of the Licking and he it was who with broken thigh with the assistance of a comrade with shattered arms was able to maintain his life and that of his comrade for many weeks until they had recovered the use of their limbs. He was one of the first to come to the Symmes purchase and served in the expeditions under Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. "He was possessed of great activity, muscular strength and enterprise—had a sound discriminating judgment and great firmness of character—and was a safe and useful member of the Assembly. He was the grandsire of the accomplished Mrs. Harriet Prentice of Louisville." (Burnet's Notes, p. 293.)

Judge Goforth and John Ludlow have also been referred to elsewhere.

The representatives in due form nominated ten persons from whom the five members of the Legislative Council should be selected and adjourned to meet at Cincinnati on September 16th. The Governor transmitted the names to the President and in due time, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, President Adams appointed "Jacob Burnet and James Findlay of Cincinnati; Henry Vanderburgh of Vincennes; Robert Oliver of Marietta; and David Vance of Vanceville; to be the members of the Legislative Council of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio," and their selection was

duly announced by the Governor by proclamation. James Findlay, one of the members from Hamilton County, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was one of the early pioneers in the West and settled at Cincinnati during the time of the Indian wars. In 1801 he was appointed United State marshal for the District of Ohio, being the first to hold that office. After Congress had established a land office at Cincinnati he was appointed receiver of public money, which position he held for many years until he resigned it. He volunteered to serve under General Hull and commanded one of the regiments at Detroit. After Hull's surrender, he returned to his home. He was elected in 1825 to Congress, succeeding James W. Gazlay, and served in that position until 1833, when he was succeeded by Robert T. Lytle. He was for many years major-general of the first division of Ohio militia. Judge Jacob Burnet was a native of New Jersey and graduated at Princeton College and was a lawyer by profession. "During the long period of his professional labors at the bar both in the Territory and State he was placed by common consent among the most respectable of his professional brethren. He was brought up in a school of politicians who had been active agents in commencing and sustaining the Revolution. He was taught to confide in the wisdom, and purity of Washington, and his confidential associates, who stood at the head of the Federal party." (Burnet's Notes, p. 297.)

As will be seen by this self-characterization, Judge Burnet was a man of most decided opinions. He became the chief adviser and support of the territorial administration and also the historian of the Northwest Territory. He had been in the Territory but two years and was at this time but 28 years of age, but from the start in influence and usefulness he stood head and shoulders above all others in the Legislature and was then and for many years afterwards the leading member of the bar.

Judge Carter in his reminiscences speaks of him as one of the most expert and learned, and able lawyers of the bar and justly esteemed the pioneer lawyer of the "Old Court House" whose name deservedly stands at the head of the list of its members of the bar. He was subsequently a member of the Supreme Court of the State from 1821 until 1828 and Senator of the United States from 1828 to 1831, succeeding in this position William Henry Harrison. He retired from active practice in 1825. Judge Burnet exercised the largest influence in the molding of the new settlement and to him the public is indebted for many of its most beneficent laws. He it was who devised the scheme by which in 1820 the hopelessly indebted Western settlers were enabled to save part of their lands. To him in a great measure is due the success of the canal system of Ohio. His "Notes on the Northwestern Territory" is one of the most valuable books concerning our early history and, as Rufus King says, "without it St. Clair's administration and the early settlement of the Ohio would hardly be intelligible." Its accounts of the life of the early settlers and the experience of the early members of the bar are most graphic and present a picture of the times such as is preserved of the early days of but few settlements. Judge Burnet survived until the age of 83, dying in 1853, and until his death he was one of the most notable figures of the city. "Tall and dignified in his appearance he retained the styles and manners of the olden times. He wore the old-fashioned queue and in public assemblies his grave stately deportment inspired, if not awe, at least respect. In his opinions and judgments he was decided. He did not believe in anything half way, but altogether, nor did he hesitate to state his views, when occasion required, and they were so stated as to be completely understood. Having been judge of the Supreme Court, United States Senator, and a public man all his life, and being in affluent circumstances, he was the most prominent citizen of Cincinnati. His hospitality was generous, and his home a hostelry for the stranger. No one had appreciated fully the merits of the city, unless they had sat at his board and there would be encountered the most distinguished men of the country. The venerable mansion (at the northwest corner of Seventh and Elm), formerly so long his home, has sheltered beneath its roof General Lafayette, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, William Henry Harrison, Lewis Cass and many others whose lives are ended but whose names remain. There has been in the Queen City no other residence within whose walls have been gathered so many who have been illustrious in their day. But he selected his company. Judge Burnet's father and brothers were intimate acquaintances of Colonel Burr during the Revolutionary War and when Burr visited Cincinnati he expected to receive the courtesies so notoriously and so liberally extended to almost every man of prominence. Judge Burnet, however, peremptorily refused to make his acquaintance and with that vigor with

which he entertained his views and that perspicacity with which he expressed them put his refusal upon the distinct ground that he 'considered Colonel Burr a murderer.'" (Judge Wright in Nelson's Cincinnati, p. 106.)

The five unsuccessful nominees were Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Richard Allison of Hamilton; William St. Clair of St. Clair; William Patton of Ross; and Joseph Darlington of Adams. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., was, of course, the son of the Governor and of him and Mr. Burnet, St. Clair, in transmitting the nominations to the President, spoke as two young gentlemen of the bar and of handsome abilities. Mr. Findlay, according to St. Clair, was "in trade." Mr. Allison is the well known Dr. Allison of the fort.

The assembly consisting of the Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives were to convene on September 16, 1799, but there was not a quorum present until the 24th. The Legislative Council organized by the election of Henry Vanderburgh, president, and W. C. Schenck, clerk. Edward Tiffin was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives and John Reily, clerk in place of Charles Killgore, who had been temporarily appointed but refused to serve. On September 25th the Governor met both branches of the Legislature in the chamber of the representatives and delivered to them an elaborate address, the principal point of which seemed to be to convince the people that it would not have been wise to have granted to them self-government at the start. He also called attention to the controversies with regard to the enactment of laws. The matter of public revenue, the militia, education (and particularly the "College Township"), the election of a delegate to Congress, the want of jails, the evils of the sale of liquors to the soldiers, and the jurisdiction of constables were among other matters which he thought deserved their attention. On the 28th the council replied to the Governor regretting that circumstances had required so long a delay in the establishment of representative government but agreeing that the system appointed by Congress was well adapted to the state of society which was necessarily to follow and testifying their gratitude to the Federal government. A tribute was paid to the virtue, integrity and talents displayed by St. Clair's services and a confidence expressed that his acts had been founded in wisdom and were dictated by the purest desire of promoting the happiness of the people. This called forth a response from the Governor containing the usual platitudes of such addresses. The House of Representatives directed the Speaker, attended by the sergeant-at-arms, to present their address in reply to the Governor, and appointed a committee to wait upon his excellency to know where and when it would be convenient for him to receive the same. The committee reported that his excellency had signified that it would be convenient for him to receive the address at twelve o'clock on the next day in his own chamber, and therefore on October 1st the Speaker preceded by the sergeant-at-arms and attended by the house withdrew to the chamber of the Governor and there presented the address of the house. This opened with the expression of confidence in the Governor and with reference to the various matters spoken of in his address. To this St. Clair also delivered a response.

HARRISON, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS.

The first duty of importance which devolved upon the Legislature was the election of a delegate to the Congress. Mr. Burnet tells us that his friends pressed him to become a candidate and ventured to give him strong "assurances of success if he would consent to serve; but being at the time in an extensive practice and not wealthy he could not afford to quit his profession or abstract from it as much time and attention as the duties of the station would require. In addition to this it appeared to him that he could be more useful to the people of the Territory in their own Legislature than in Congress." (Burnet's Notes, p. 301.)

The contest settled down to William Henry Harrison and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and on October 3rd, at the joint session of the two houses, William Henry Harrison received twelve votes and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., ten votes, whereupon Harrison was declared elected.

BYRD, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

The resignation of William Henry Harrison from the office of Secretary of the Territory created a vacancy in this position, which was filled by the appointment on December 30th of Charles Willing Byrd. Harrison proceeded immediately to Philadelphia and took his seat which he retained but for a single session. At the end of this time, Congress divided the Northwest Territory by establishing the new Territory of Indiana. Harrison was appointed Governor of this Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs.

Harrison while in Congress was instrumental

in securing the adoption of a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands and have them offered for sale in small tracts. He also secured an extension of the time of payment for those who had bought lands from Judge Symmes in the territory north of his patent. He was chairman of the committee to report the plan for the division of the Northwest Territory.

THE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY.

St. Clair took an active part in the matter relating to the division of the Territory. He thought the Territory should be divided into three districts instead of two as provided by the Ordinance. His suggestion was that the Scioto and a line drawn north from its forks should form the western boundary of the eastern district; a line drawn north from that part of the Indian boundary opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky, the western boundary of the middle division; and the western division should include the remaining part to the Mississippi. This would make Marietta the seat of government for the eastern district, Cincinnati for the middle district and St. Vincennes for the western. "I will only observe that almost any division into two parts which could be made would ruin Cincinnati." (St. Clair to Harrison, February 17, 1800.)

A previous letter to his friend James Ross, of December, 1799, shows what was uppermost in his mind. St. Clair realized that if the Territory were not divided it would soon reach the point where it could demand statehood for which he did not think it prepared. "A multitude of indigent and ignorant people are but ill qualified to form a constitution and government for themselves; but that is not the greatest evil to be feared from it. They are too far removed from the seat of government to be much impressed with the power of the United States. Their connection with any of them is very slender—many of them having left nothing but creditors behind them, whom they would very willingly forget entirely. Fixed political principles they have none, and though at present they seem attached to the General Government, it is in fact but a passing sentiment easily changed or even removed, and certainly not strong enough to be counted upon as a principle of action; and there are a good many who hold sentiments in direct opposition to its principles and who though quiet at present would then take the lead. Their government would most probably be democratic in its form and oligarchic in its execution and more troublesome and more opposed to the measures of the United States than even Kentucky."

To accomplish the beneficent result sought for, the conversion of the Territory into a Federalist stronghold would require it to be kept "in the colonial state for a good many years to come." A plan which he had suggested to the Secretary of State he concluded would not do because, although the boundaries indicated would make the eastern division surely Federal, it "is too thinly inhabited and the design would be too evident." Colonel Worthington and the people of Ross County wanted the Great Miami as the line. "Their views are natural and innocent enough. They look no further than giving consequence of Chillicothe. But I am very much mistaken if their leaders have not other and more extensive views. They think a division in that way would but little retard their becoming a State and as almost all of them are Democrats, whatever they pretend to the contrary, they expect that both the power and the influence would come into their hands, and that they would be able to model it as they pleased; and it is my fixed belief it would be in a manner as unfriendly to the United States as possible. This, however, is in confidence, and I particularly request that my sentiments may not be confided to Mr. Worthington, who I have discovered not to be entirely that candid man I once represented him to you, and who I now think a very designing one." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 482.)

This letter is amusing as well as instructive. It shows that even the patriot fathers were not very different from the statesmen of the present day. All pretend to believe in self government and have confidence in the people but all are equally anxious that the people should be first instructed into the right party.

Rufus King comments on this letter as follows: "Why Colonel Worthington had gone to Philadelphia and whether the people of Ross County were yet awake to the huge design thus imputed to them might appear if Worthington's papers were not lost. The notion that he was applying to a Congress and President of Federalists to establish a democratic State wears an air of ideality and romance of which he was not suspected." (Ohio, p. 276.)

Harrison favored the party which desired statehood at an early date and a division was finally made into two districts with the dividing line at the Greenville treaty line,—from the Ohio up to Fort Recovery and thence directly north

through Michigan. With the passage of this act, St. Clair's connection with the Mississippi and Wabash countries terminated. The act also provided that Chillicothe should be the seat of government for the eastern division; this was regarded by the Cincinnati people and especially St. Clair's friends as an infringement upon the authority of the Legislature. Mr. King points out that this criticism is not of great force as the power that could divide the Territory certainly could fix the seat of government and furthermore that Cincinnati had never been selected by any proper authority.

The first session of the Legislature closed on December 19, 1799, after having passed many important laws most of which had been framed by Judge Burnet. One of the interesting episodes of the session had been a presentation of a memorial by officers of the Virginia line asking for permission to remove to the military bounty lands between the Scioto and Little Miami with their slaves. This of course was forbidden by the Ordinance and the Legislature was bound to reject the petition but Judge Burnet assures us that even if this had not been so and although a favorable action upon it would have brought a great accession of wealth, strength and intelligence to the Territory, the public feeling was such that it would have been denied by a unanimous vote. "They were not only opposed to slavery, on the ground of its being a moral evil, in violation of personal right, but were of opinion, that, whatever might be its immediate advantages, it would ultimately retard the settlement, and check the prosperity of the Territory, by making labor less reputable, and creating feelings and habits, unfriendly to the simplicity and industry, they desired to encourage and perpetuate." (Burnet's Notes, p. 300.)

Another bill which was passed legalized the Fourth of July as a holiday, this being the first bill of that character passed in the United States. On the last day of the session, the General Assembly passed a most complimentary address to John Adams, President of the United States, which was prepared by Judge Burnet. This adopted by unanimous vote of the council, but with five negative votes in the lower house, brought an equally complimentary reply from Adams. In his address delivered to the Legislature on the day of their adjournment, St. Clair discussed at considerable length the differences which had existed between the Legislature and the Governor. The principal matter of difference related to the erection of new counties which St. Clair insisted was a peculiar prerogative of the Governor and which the Legislature thought came within its own jurisdiction.

The feeling over the action of the Governor in vetoing so many bills on the last day of the session aroused much contention throughout the Territory. This action was particularly objectionable to many present who were contemplating the erection of new towns for county seats which now must wait for at least another year.

The death of General Washington which became known in Cincinnati in January, 1800, had a tendency to quiet all contention for a time. The more one studies the history of the time and the more familiar one becomes with the most intimate correspondence of the day, the more strongly is one impressed with the general affection and respect with which Washington was regarded. Despite the bitterness of party controversy, which for a time was carried on with a rancor that has never been surpassed and seldom been equaled in modern days and which even went so far as to make Washington an object of personal attack, the almost universal feeling of all classes was one of the most profound reverence and love. Although at the time of his death he held no office in the civil department of the government, to many he was still the controlling influence in the country and the fact that when the possibility of war suggested itself all turned toward him as the natural leader shows the light in which he was regarded. To no one was his death a matter of deeper personal grief than to St. Clair. He had been a companion at arms and associate through the most trying days of the Revolution and afterwards when he himself had suffered the greatest defeat sustained by the American arms within the memory of men then living Washington had judged him fairly, despite the popular clamor, and had sustained him with his friendship and respect. Throughout the Territory many of the most prominent citizens had been bound by ties of close friendship to Washington. It was not unnatural that at Cincinnati the event should be observed by the most solemn funeral honors. The account of the funeral services is given in another chapter.

The two sessions of the General Assembly which stood adjourned to meet at Cincinnati on the first Monday of November, 1800, met in obedience to the act of Congress at Chillicothe. The session was opened by the Governor in a speech which showed the growth of the discord between him and many of the citizens. After

going at length into the various matters which demanded their attention, he referred to the fact that his term of office would soon expire and that it was uncertain whether he should ever meet another assembly. "For I well know that the vilest calumnies and the grossest falsehoods are assiduously circulated among the people with a view to prevent it. * * * I am certain that be my successor who he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness." Although it is probable that much of St. Clair's subsequent unhappiness resulted from faults of his own temperament, a survey of his career seems to lead to the conclusion in the mind of any unprejudiced observer that the statement just made is a truthful one.

Both the council and representatives answered his address in complimentary terms, although in the latter body there were seven nays to the ten ayes that carried the reply. Almost the first action of the body was to elect a successor to Mr. Harrison. William McMillan of Hamilton County was duly elected to fill the vacancy until the fourth day of March and Paul Fearing of Marietta for the two years thereafter.

A joint committee of the two houses prepared an address to the Governor on the differences of opinion which existed between both houses and the chief magistrate as to the power to lay out new counties. This right it was claimed was a purely legislative one. It was also suggested that the Governor should notify the General Assembly of bills which he did not approve in order that his objections could be considered by that body. St. Clair's argumentative disposition was too pronounced to permit such an opportunity to pass without an elaborate reply in which he insisted that he was a coordinate part of the law-making power. He did not view the second suggestion with approval, but thought that a respectable representation to Congress praying an alteration of that part of the Ordinance the proper remedy. The view taken by the General Assembly was finally approved by Congress.

This whole matter seems to have been regarded as one of great consequence and even the writers of the present day treat it with great feeling. The editor of the "St. Clair Papers," William Henry Smith, speaks in very strong terms of those who were opposed to St. Clair's view: "The greed which characterized the transactions in land actuated those who were speculators to seek to control the establishment of county towns. They hoped thereby to increase the value of their lands as the public improvements, in the way of buildings and roads and superior school advantages incidental to a county seat, would attract a better class of settlers to such neighborhoods. Hence the hot strife over this business." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 221.)

ST. CLAIR REAPPOINTED.

In view of the fact that it was supposed to be the policy of the government to encourage the settlement of new counties and that in this way only could the new country be opened up, this criticism seems uncalled for. The situation became more strained when on December 3rd the Governor notified the Legislature that on Thursday, the 9th of the month, an end must be put to the session, as on that day his term would expire and there was no provision of law by which the Secretary could take his place after the expiration of his term. It is claimed that a scheme existed by which Charles Wylling Byrd, the Secretary, who was unfriendly to the Governor, was to become acting Governor and together with the General Assembly carry out the plans of those who desired the erection of the new counties. Even Judge Burnet, a strong supporter of St. Clair, seems to feel that his action in this particular was injudicious. However, the Legislature made no remonstrance and on the 9th of December, 1800, the second session of the General Assembly came to an end. On December 22nd, the President sent St. Clair's nomination for reappointment to the Senate. With this he sent, however, a number of representations for and against the nomination. Action on the nomination was deferred for some time but on February 3, 1801, Senator Ross was able to write to his old friend that his nomination had been confirmed by a considerable majority but not without opposition. Senator Mason of Virginia in writing to Thomas Worthington of the result states that the charges made against St. Clair were not supported by the memorialists but that some voted for the appointment for fear that should he be rejected some person more obnoxious might be appointed "and that it would only be exchanging an old and feeble tyrant for one more active and wicked." He suggests that

the new House of Representatives could petition the new President for St. Clair's removal.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT CHILLICOTHE.

At the opening of the General Assembly at Chillicothe, November 26, 1801, which was convened on November 24, 1801, the last stage of the contest between the assembly and St. Clair was entered upon. This was really the first session of the new assembly. In the council there was but one change, Solomon Sibley of Detroit taking the place of Vanderburgh, who had been transferred to Indiana. The new members of the House of Representatives from Hamilton County were Francis Dunlevy, Jeremiah Morrow, Moses Miller, Daniel Reeder and Jacob White. John Ludlow, who had succeeded Aaron Cadwell (removed from Territory), and John Smith entered upon their second term. The usual addresses and responses were delivered at the outset of the session. The response of the council congratulated St. Clair upon his reappointment. Nothing was said about him in the response of the House of Representatives. Edward Tiffin was chosen Speaker of the house, John Kely, clerk, and Edward Sherlock, doorkeeper.

THE CHILLICOTHE MOB.

On January 1st an act was passed, changing the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. Shortly previous to this, an act had been passed declaring the assent of the Territory to an alteration in the Ordinance for the government thereof, the object of which was to effect a change in the boundaries of the three States first to be formed therein. This act passed the council by a unanimous vote but in the house seven members signed a protest against it. The great objection to it was that a division into three States would retard the establishment of a State government. The party of Mr. Jefferson, which was then in control of Congress, relied upon new States to strengthen their position and for this reason when the law was presented to Congress at its next session it was not sanctioned. These two acts aroused feeling to fever heat in Chillicothe which resulted in a disgraceful mob, led by a dissolute young demagogue named Baldwin. This mob took possession of the town for two nights (December 23rd and 24th) and particularly threatened those members of the Legislature who had been most outspoken in political opposition to the views of the State party. The door of the house, in which the Governor and one of the members who had voted for the bills were living, was burst open by the rioters but they were driven back at the point of a pistol. St. Clair, who was burnt in effigy, did not seem to hold Worthington in any way responsible, for in writing to Senator Ross he speaks of the splendid exertions of Mr. Worthington, who went so far as to threaten Baldwin with death, and also says that had he not come in, mischief would have ensued. St. Clair complained to a magistrate, asking that the malefactors be bound over; instead of that being done, they were found not guilty and dismissed.

THE INCORPORATION OF CINCINNATI.

Among other acts passed by this Legislature was the act of January 1, 1802, incorporating the town of Cincinnati. The assembly was adjourned January 23, 1802, to meet on the 4th day of November next at Cincinnati. When that time had arrived, the State convention was in session considering the constitution and at the request of that body Governor St. Clair postponed the day of the meeting of the General Assembly. As a result it never met again.

Immediately after the passage of the act with regard to the change of boundaries, the war against St. Clair became an open one. St. Clair claimed that he had never seen the bill prior to its introduction but it was very much like the one outlined in his letter some time before. It was introduced by Judge Burnet, one of St. Clair's partisans. The Judge in his "Notes" makes very little reference to it. The minority issued an appeal to the people to aid in obtaining the authority of Congress to erect a State government within the bounds assigned in the Ordinance to the first State and Worthington went to Washington with petitions and remonstrances against the recommendation of the Legislature. It soon became apparent that not only would that not be granted but that statehood would be given if desired. The fact that the Ordinance required a population of sixty thousand when there were but forty-five thousand in the district cut no figure.

The situation was a clear one. Mr. Jefferson and his friends favored the creation of the new States as rapidly as possible and the dissensions in the Territory made this a favorable opportunity for action. The suggestion of the General Assembly with regard to new boundaries was rejected by a vote of 81 to 5.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

On April 30, 1802, Congress passed an act authorizing a convention of delegates to be elected in October by the votes of that part of the Northwest Territory bounded on the east by Pennsylvania, on the south by the Ohio River, on the west by a line drawn from the mouth of the Big Miami River due north to an east and west line passing through the south extremity of Lake Michigan and by this line and the Canada line through Lake Erie to the west line of Pennsylvania.

The convention was directed to meet in November at Chillicothe and thereupon to determine whether it was expedient to establish a State government. If decided to be expedient, the convention was authorized to proceed to the adoption of a constitution and formation of a State government which were to be republican and in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787. Two objectionable conditions were annexed. One was that exempting public lands from taxes for five years in return for a gift of section 16 in each township for schools and the other was reserving to Congress jurisdiction of the territory now known as the southern part of Michigan.

The contest for the election of delegates was a very bitter one. The leaders of the State party were Col. Nathaniel Massie, Col. Thomas Worthington and Dr. Edward Tiffin; and in Hamilton County, Judge Symmes, John Smith, William Goforth, Francis Dunlevy and Jeremiah Morrow. St. Clair's opposition to statehood made him necessarily the point of attack of all its advocates. As a result of this, the contest became largely a personal one against the Governor. Into this contest there entered with eagerness many of the most prominent citizens of the Territory. The strongest defender of St. Clair, according to Judge Burnet, was a man whose name afterwards became distinguished throughout the State,—Charles Hammond, a young lawyer of Wheeling just admitted to the bar of the Territory, who published a series of numbers in the *Scioto Gazette*, defending the Governor with great ability. He had not been personally acquainted with the Governor but had an intense admiration for his conduct and an enthusiastic belief in the purity of his motives. The violence of the party feeling is shown by two celebrations described by St. Clair's biographer:

"On the 4th of July, 1801, there were two notable celebrations in Hamilton County. One, held at Columbia, had as presiding officers, William Goforth and Benjamin Stites. Governor St. Clair who had just returned from a tour to the upper counties was present by invitation. The following toast offered during his temporary absence was received with applause: 'His Exc'y, Gov. St. Clair—May his administration be as agreeable to himself as his grey hairs are honorable, and may it be his glory to have been instrumental in metamorphosing the present antirevolutional heterogeneous government of the Territory into that of a free State.'

"At the other which was held on the Ohio above Deer creek and presided over by Judge John Cleves Symmes, the toasts were all wildly Republican—extolling Jefferson, Burr, Gallatin, Madison, Clinton, and McKean to the skies. There was no reference to Washington or to Adams." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 235.)

The result of the election was that St. Clair and his party were badly beaten. When the convention assembled on the first Monday in November, 1802, at Chillicothe, it was clear that the delegates would be in favor of forming a State. The delegates from Hamilton County were Francis Dunlevy, whom Judge Burnet calls a veteran pioneer of talents, of liberal education and of unbending integrity, Jeremiah Morrow, John Smith, Charles Wylling Byrd, William Goforth, John Reily, John Paul, John Wilson, John W. Browne and John Kitchel.

Edward Tiffin of Ross was elected president and Thomas Scott, secretary. Before they proceeded to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them in his official character. The proposition was resisted and finally a motion was carried by a vote of 19 to 14,—"that Arthur St. Clair, Sr., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention on those points which he deems of importance." Judge Burnet speaks of the address as sensible and conciliatory. Mr. King regards it as an unhappy mistake.

The address certainly was indiscreet in that it undertook to criticise Congress for what it called an interference in the internal affairs of the country. It could hardly be called conciliatory in its tone nor can any good reason be perceived why it should have been made under the circumstances. On the other hand it is plain that there was nothing in it that afforded a sufficient reason for the action of the President but its deliverance was made an excuse for an action to which many other influences contributed.

THE REMOVAL OF ST. CLAIR.

The attack on St. Clair had been vigorous for some time. At the time of his reappointment, as has been noted, protests were filed. The charges as they are now preserved are not worthy of serious consideration; it seems inconceivable that so childish a controversy should have had so serious an effect upon the history of the State. Massie's letter to Madison, asking that the charges be laid before the President, complained first that the Governor had assumed to recommend to Harrison, the delegate in Congress, the plan of division already referred to—a most remarkable complaint indeed. He also charged St. Clair with receiving oppressive fees and assuming legislative powers. Both of these were matters wherein a reasonable difference of opinion might and did exist, and where the courts could easily determine the controversy. His conduct with relation to the magistrates is complained of. It is remarkable that this charge should have been made as it redounded to St. Clair's credit. Another charge was made to the effect that he manifested a hostile disposition to the republican form of government. This charge was true in those days of every Federalist, from the standpoint of the Jeffersonian Republican.

Colonel Worthington and Baldwin were selected to present the charges to the President and on January 30, 1802, Worthington addressed a letter to the President. The opening words are indicative of its character and its insincerity,—"feeling no prejudice toward Governor St. Clair as a man but on the other hand viewing him rather with an eye of pity." The whole letter and the charges accompanying it might well be considered as among the humors of politics were it not for the serious results. The whole proceeding is so undignified and so unworthy of the men who were engaged in it, in view of the fact that in the natural course of things the people would soon have an opportunity to pass upon St. Clair's administration that it has a tendency to diminish the esteem in which the fathers of the State have usually been held. St. Clair's address however gave the opportunity and his enemies availed themselves of it.

On November 22, 1802, the Secretary of State, James Madison, addressed to the Governor the following letter:

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, ESQ.,

"Sir:—The President observing, in an address lately delivered by you to the convention held at Chillicothe, an intemperance and indecorum of language toward the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example, and grossly violating the rules of conduct enjoined by your public station, determines that your commission of Governor of the Northwestern Territory shall cease on the receipt of this notification."

At the same time a letter was sent to Charles W. Byrd, Secretary of the Territory, notifying him of the President's action and of the fact that the functions of the office devolved upon him as Secretary of the Territory and enclosing the letter to St. Clair. St. Clair's acceptance of this remarkable notice was written in the severest tones, which seem entirely justified after the lapse of time.

ST. CLAIR'S SUBSEQUENT ILL TREATMENT.

Thus ended the connection of its first and only Governor with the Northwest Territory. Sadly enough, the name St. Clair will live in history in connection with one of the most terrible defeats suffered by the Western people and furthermore in connection with one of the blackest pages of the nation's ingratitude. This Revolutionary soldier, who sacrificed his all to the cause of his country and at the conclusion of the war had left the charms of a home life in a congenial community for the hardships of an utterly unsettled community to which he had given the best years of his life, was pursued to the grave by the bitterest and most malignant persecutions. As he himself stated he undoubtedly committed many errors. The most serious of these arose from lack of tact. There does not seem to have been in all the years that have passed, in spite of the most searching and rancorous investigation, a single act of his life made public that was done from a corrupt or dishonorable motive. No purer officer ever served a State. Had he been more subservient to popular favor and less inflexible in adherence to his own views of right and wrong, he might have retained forever public favor but his temperament and character were of the kind that made no compromise and as a result he suffered defeat. He had many friends, however, in the Territory and he was desired by some of them to become a candidate for Governor of the new State. Prior to his removal on December 8, 1802, he delivered an address to the people of the Northwest Territory declining to make the race which would have been a useless one. He returned to Pennsylvania and with his family lived at Ligonier. He had become an

old man, too old to engage in business, and his life and fortune had been given to the public. During the Revolutionary time when Washington was in the greatest distress for funds, St. Clair had supplied from his private resources the necessary money. This had never been repaid and when application was made to Congress in St. Clair's behalf, the committee reported that the money had been furnished and expended for the benefit of the country but that the claim was barred by the statute of limitations. St. Clair as superintendent of Indian affairs had given a bond for supplies furnished. His first account had been disallowed because the accompanying vouchers had not been receipted. When they were receipted, St. Clair was required to give his personal bond for the payment of the voucher and when again it was presented for payment it could not be paid as there was no appropriation; in 1796 the papers were all destroyed by fire. An application was made by St. Clair to Congress but here again the statute of limitations was again invoked. The creditors got a judgment on the bond and five thousand dollars were paid on the debt. In 1810 the debt with interest had increased to ten thousand dollars and St. Clair's property, including a large tract of land, his mill, dwelling house, farm houses, his smelting furnace and property valued at over fifty thousand dollars, was sold at a sacrifice. At the time when the embargo had driven the money out of the country, the property was sold for four thousand dollars and St. Clair and his family were made penniless to pay a debt from which he had not received one penny's benefit and which was the debt of the United States which he had served so well. Even as late as 1818, when a resolution was offered in Congress to the effect that Congress entertained a high sense of the tried integrity as well as of the civil and military virtues of Arthur St. Clair, late president of the Congress and commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, whom they learned with regret had been reduced by misfortune to extreme poverty, the bitterness of his enemies was such as to defeat the motion by a vote of 81 to 61. Finally a pension of $60 a month was passed but it was seized by a creditor before it ever reached St. Clair. Pennsylvania at length gave him an annuity of $300 a year which in 1817 was increased to $600. St. Clair was driven from his home to a log house near the old State road passing from Bedford to Pittsburg. Here he lived with his daughter, Louisa, much of the time in great want. Lewis Cass saw him shortly before his death in this rude cabin where he was supporting himself by selling supplies to the wagoners who traveled the road. Another traveler saw him in 1815. He says of him: "I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of esteem and veneration. He wore a citizen's dress of black of the Revolution; his hair clubbed and powdered. When we entered, he rose with dignity, to receive us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log-house of the Western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. Chestnut Ridge was bleak and barren. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in view, of a large estate near Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, as I have at all times understood, was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose his self-respect, and, were he now living, his personal appearance would command universal admiration." (Elisha Whittelsey, St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 253.)

In the latter days of August, 1818, St. Clair, then 84 years of age, while undertaking a trip to Youngstown, three miles distant, was thrown from his wagon. He was found lying insensible, where he had fallen, with his ponies standing by him. He was carried back to the house but never recovered consciousness. He died August 31, 1818. He was buried in the cemetery at Greensburg. On the monument are cut the words: "The earthly remains of Major-General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1802.

The convention, at the conclusion of the address of the Governor, proceeded to the consideration of the constitution. Its first action was to declare that in its judgment it was expedient to form a constitution and State government for the people of the Territory. This was carried by a vote of 32 to 1. Judge Burnet states that "more than a fourth of the members, composing the body, had expressed their opinion, in very decided terms, against the expediency of the measure, and against the manner of its accomplishment; yet the resolution was carried. * * * Judge Cutler (Ephraim), an indomitable Whig, of Washington County, voting in the negative, 'solitary and alone.'" (Burnet's Notes, p. 352.)

A resolution to submit the proposed constitution to the people was rejected by a vote of 27 to 7. As the people had nothing whatsoever to do with passing the law by the authority of which the convention had been called, nor any opportunity other than the mere election of delegates to express an opinion on the conditions of the constitution, this was rather a remarkable action and gave rise to suspicion that the convention feared that the people would repudiate their work and on the other hand to the charge that the members were over anxious to get the new government in operation as it was expected that all the offices were to be filled by themselves. An effort to prescribe the belief in the Deity or in a place of future rewards and punishments as a test of eligibility to office was defeated by a vote of 30 to 3. At first the right of suffrage was given to negroes but afterwards by a casting vote of the president of the convention, Edward Tiffin, it was taken from them. On the 29th of November the constitution was adopted by the unanimous vote of the convention. By the terms of the enabling act of April 30, 1802, the action of the convention was final.

The constitution of 1802 need not be discussed in a history of this character. It seems to have been relegated to the limbo of things that ought not to have been. It never gave satisfaction to the people and those who felt that its adoption was brought about by improper methods could point to its defects as a justification of their opposition to it. Mr. King says of it: "The instrument so adopted, it would be respectful to pass in silence. It was framed by men of little experience in matters of state, and under circumstances unfavorable to much forecast. With such a model of simplicity and strength before them as the National Constitution, which had just been formed, the wonder is that some of its ideas were not borrowed. It seems to have been studiously disregarded; and Ohio, as well as some States further westward, which her emigrant sons with filial regard induced to adopt her example, has suffered ever since from a weak form of government made up in haste, and apparently in mortal dread of Governor St. Clair. * * * Briefly stated, it was a government which had no executive, a half starved, short-lived judiciary, and a lop-sided Legislature." (Ohio, p. 201.)

The constitution was immediately forwarded to Congress and was laid before the House of Representatives on December 23rd. The question was immediately raised in that body as to Mr. Fearing's right to continue as delegate from the Territory. On January 31st the house decided that he still held his place. On March 3, 1803, a supplementary act was passed consenting to the modifications proposed by the convention. The Senate on January 5th had taken under consideration the State of Ohio and on February 19th, an act was passed reciting the organization of the State of Ohio and organizing the said State as a district and providing for the appointment of the United States judge and a district attorney and marshal. Up to this time, however, no State government had been formed. The elections were held on January 11, 1803, and the General Assembly, the first of the State of Ohio, met at Chillicothe March 1, 1803. Edward Tiffin was elected Governor and during the session Return Jonathan Meigs, Samuel Huntington and William Sprigg appointed the judges of the Supreme Court. Thomas Worthington and John Smith of Columbia were chosen as Senators and subsequently Jeremiah Morrow of Hamilton County was elected a member of Congress. Congress had adjourned, however, and the Ohio Representatives and Senators were not admitted until the next session. As there was no act of Congress formally admitting the State of Ohio, some dispute has arisen as to the first day of the State's official existence. The first official act as a State being the meeting of the Legislature on March 1, 1803, this date has by common consent been agreed upon as the birthday of the State of Ohio. The action of Congress with reference to the salaries of the territorial judges, taken some years later, in effect adopts this date.

An account of the reception of the first State constitution in Cincinnati is given in a letter of the pioneer, William Cary, written April 6, 1859, to the Cincinnati Pioneer Association and contained in the minutes of that association. According to this, "on the inauguration of the constitution framed in 1802 the leading Republicans of Hamilton County, Daniel Symmes, Hezekiah Flint, Thomas Ramsey and others, determined to celebrate the event by a grand demonstration. A great barbecue was resolved upon, a large ox procured and roasted whole in the following manner: A pit was excavated some four or five feet deep in the wall of the ancient circular fortification (which was then visibly surrounded about ten acres five or six feet above the level) the site being on Fifth street near where the east end of the market house now stands (Fifth and Walnut). The pit was filled with logs and then fire and when it was burned until the smoke

was well exhausted a wooden spit was thrust lengthwise through the ox poised over the fire and turned with a common windlass. After the ox had been well roasted it was served to the multitude with bread and 'fixens,' not forgetting the universal beverage of the day, whiskey, not your poisonous strychnine manufactured stuff of to-day but good old Monongahela, a much slower but nevertheless fatal poison to many of the first settlers. After fully discussing the good things provided, a procession was formed which, preceded by a fife and drum, went to Main street below Fifth, where a triumphal arch had been placed, and marched and countermarched under it for some time. In the center of the arch which was supported on each side by columns was painted the rising run with this inscription: 'The sun of liberty has arisen to never set.' Finally, like Sampson with the gates of Gaza, they seized the columns and bore the whole through the principal streets of the town followed by an enthusiastic liberty-loving multitude two or three hundred strong, a large crowd for the times. When the festivities of the day were over, the arch with the painting and inscription was deposited for safe keeping in the second story of a huge log house on Main street near Front, kept as a hotel by a man whose name I think was Gordon. The following morning the arch and appendages were lashed to a whipping post and pillory, those relics of a darker age which then and for several years afterwards stood on Fifth street on the spot now occupied by John Cavagna near Walnut street (Peebles'). When it is remembered that at this time party spirit ran high between Federalists and Republicans and that in the previous election for delegate to the constitutional convention the Republicans charged the Federalists with the design of introducing slavery in spite of the Ordinance of '87 the object of the above proceedings will be understood. The design undoubtedly was to insult the friends of freedom."

THE ERECTION OF HAMILTON COUNTY.

There can be no question that Hamilton County began its existence under the name which it now bears on the 4th day of January, 1790. As already stated, Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville and Fort Washington on January 2nd. He was received as he stepped ashore from his barge with a salute of 14 guns and as he marched into Fort Washington with his suite another salute of 14 guns was fired in his honor. He sent for Judge Symmes at North Bend on the following day. It is probable that at the meeting of January 3rd the names were all determined upon. St. Clair naturally permitted Symmes, the owner of the entire purchase, to name the county and town. General Harmar, who was in command, had already named the garrison Fort Washington. The name naturally to suggest itself next to the two soldiers would be that of Alexander Hamilton and that was selected as the name of the county. The city was named in honor of the order in which St. Clair was one of the most conspicuous officers and in whose membership there was hope to draw many settlers. The proclamation of the Governor was dated as of the 2nd of January, 1790, but was issued on January 4th and that date can properly be credited with being the birthday of the present county. In the manuscript journal of the official record appears the following:

"1790, January 2.—His Excellency arrived at Fort Washington in the purchase of Judge Symmes and on the 4th was pleased to order and direct that the whole of the lands lying and being within the following boundaries—viz: Beginning on the bank of the Ohio River at the confluence of Little Miami, and down the said Ohio River to the mouth of the Big Miami, and up said Miami to the Standing Stone Forks or branch of said river, and thence with a line to be drawn due east to the Little Miami, and down said Little Miami River to the place of beginning—should be a county by the name and style of the county of Hamilton, and the same was accordingly laid off agreeably to the form which has been transmitted to Congress." These limits of Hamilton County were probably given in accordance with the suggestion of Judge Symmes and indicated clearly the boundaries which he intended for his purchase.

In accordance with the terms of the Ordinance which provided that the Governor should proceed from time to time as circumstances required to lay out a part of the districts in which the Indian titles should have been extinguished into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as might thereafter be made by the Legislature, St. Clair issued a proclamation of February 11, 1792, adding the territory between the Scioto and the Little Miami, which had not been included in any county, to the county of Hamilton. This made the county of Hamilton as follows: "Beginning at the confluence of the Scioto with the Ohio River, and up the Scioto River with the courses thereof to the upper part of the old Shawanee town upon said river;

thence by and with a line to be drawn due north to the Territorial boundary line, and westerly along said line to the eastern boundary of the County of Knox, and down along the said eastern boundary of Knox County by a due south line to the standing stone forks of the Great Miami River, and with the said Miami to its confluence of the Ohio River; thence up the Ohio River to its place of beginning." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 310.)

THE ERECTION OF OTHER COUNTIES.

Knox County, most of which was in the State of Indiana, had already been organized on June 20, 1790. By this provision Hamilton County included the land between the Miamis and also that east to the Scioto and a long narrow stretch between parallel lines running to Lake Erie and Lake Huron, taking in Detroit and the eastern part of the Southern Peninsula of Michigan.

In the following year, August 15, 1790, Wayne County was organized by the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, acting as Governor in the absence of St. Clair. The southern boundary of Wayne County began at Fort Laurens, extended "thence by a west line to the eastern boundary of Hamilton County, * * * thence by a line west-northerly to the southern part of the Portage, between the Miamis of the Ohio and the St. Mary's River" and so on to Lake Michigan. This cut off the northern portion of Knox and Hamilton.

On July 10, 1797, Adams County was taken off the east side. The intervening boundary line began at the bank of the Ohio at the mouth of Elk River or Eagle creek and ran thence up the principal water of said river to its source or head, thence by a due north line to the southern boundary of Wayne County. On June 22, 1798, Hamilton County was extended westward to make it correspond with the change in the boundary of the Territory made by the Wayne treaty. By proclamation, it was directed that "the western boundary of the county of Hamilton shall begin at the spot on the bank of the Ohio River, where the general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the Indian tribes, established at Greenville, the third day of August, 1795, intersects the bank of that river, and run with that general boundary line to Fort Recovery, and from thence by a line to be drawn due north from Fort Recovery, until it intersects the southern boundary line of the county of Wayne."

By this, Hamilton County obtained a large part of what is now in Indiana. Fort Recovery was on the Wabash near the present western boundary of Ohio and near the line dividing Darke and Mercer counties. The treaty of Greenville defined the general boundary line so as to run from Fort Recovery southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio so as to intersect the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawa River (at Carrollton fifty miles in a direct line southwest of Cincinnati). The county at this time included over three millions of acres, about one-eighth in area of the tract now known as the State of Ohio.

The next alteration grew out of the establishing of Ross County. On August 20, 1798, a strip was taken off the east side of Hamilton County and added to Adams. The west line of Adams was made to commence on the Ohio at the mouth of Eagle creek and to run due north instead of following the river up to its head and *thence* running due north. The section north of the enlarged Adams County was erected into a county called Ross County, with its western boundary a continuation of the same line.

When the Territorial Legislature was organized, a controversy arose between the Governor and the Legislature with regard to the matter of counties. The Legislature insisted that after the Governor had laid out the country into counties and townships, as he had already done, they alone were empowered to pass laws making such alterations as they might see fit and that when all the territories had been divided his exclusive powers had been exhausted. St. Clair refused to give his assent to this view and vetoed six acts changing the boundaries of counties, holding that the power of erecting new counties was the proper business of the executive and that the Legislature could only alter the boundaries of counties after they had been originally established by the executive. Another reason was his objection that in many of the new counties proposed there were not enough inhabitants to support a county.

An act of Congress on May 7, 1800, provided for the separation of the western part of the Territory, calling it the Indian Territory. The line began on the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, thence ran to Fort Recovery and thence north to the intersection of the territorial line between the United States and Canada. It was also provided that whenever the eastern part should be formed into States the western boundary lines should begin at the mouth of the Great Miami River and run thence due north to the Canada line. The enabling act, which passed

April 30, 1802, made the line on the west to be drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami.

In 1800 St. Clair had taken the county of Clermont from that of Hamilton. The erection of this county was proclaimed December 6, 1800. Its boundaries were as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of Nine Mile or Muddy creek, where it discharges itself into the Ohio, and running from thence with a straight line, to the mouth of the east branch of the Little Miami River, thence with the Little Miami River to the mouth of O'Banion's creek; thence with a due east line, until it shall intersect a line drawn due north from the mouth of Elk River or Eagle creek; thence with that line south, to the mouth of the said Elk River or Eagle creek and from thence with the Ohio, to the place of beginning."

On January 23, 1802, an act was approved instructing the surveyors of the various counties, Adams, Ross, Clermont and Hamilton, to mark the dividing lines between the counties and to make proper plats thereof.

In 1802 the inhabitants of Hamilton County to the north of the third or military range petitioned Charles Wylling Byrd, who was then acting as Governor in the absence of Governor St. Clair, for a division of the county. He replied calling attention to his inability to grant the petition but promising that it should be laid before the Legislature.

When the eastern division of the Northwest Territory became the State of Ohio, one of the first acts of the new Legislature which met in session at Chillicothe on March 1, 1803, related to the matter of counties. On March 24, 1803, was passed an act erecting from the county of Hamilton the counties of Warren and Butler and from the counties of Hamilton and Ross the counties of Montgomery and Greene. This act was to take effect on May 1, 1803.

The county of Warren was named from Gen. Joseph Warren, the hero who was killed at Bunker Hill. The county of Butler was named from Gen. Richard Butler of whom we have heard so much in this history. The county of Montgomery received its name from Gen. Richard Montgomery who fell at Quebec in 1775, while Greene took its name from Wayne's old friend and companion at arms, Gen. Nathaniel Greene for whom Greenville has been named.

Warren County contained all that part of Hamilton County contained within the following bounds: "Beginning at the northeast corner of the county of Clermont, running thence west with the line of said county to the Little Miami; thence up the same with the meanders thereof to the north boundary of the first tier of sections in the second entire range of townships in the Miami purchase; thence west to the northeast corner of section number seven in the third township of the aforesaid range; thence north to the Great Miami; thence up the same to the middle of the fifth range of townships; thence east to the Ross county line; thence with the same south to the place of beginning."

The south line of Butler County began at the southwest corner of the county of Warren and ran thence west to the State line.

Montgomery and Greene counties lay to the north and east of Warren and Butler counties and their boundaries therefore do not touch those of Hamilton and therefore are of no importance to Hamilton County.

The boundary line between the counties of Hamilton and Butler seems to have been unsatisfactory and an act was passed by the Legislature, January 20, 1808, establishing the line as follows: "Beginning at the southwest corner of the county of Warren and at the northeast corner of section number seven in the third township of the second entire range of townships in the Miami purchase; thence westwardly along the line of the said tier of sections, to the Great Miami River; thence down the Miami River, to the point where the line of the next original surveyed township strikes the same, thence along the said line to the western boundary of the State." As a result of this act, Hamilton County has the irregular boundary at the north which was occasioned by errors of survey and the inconsistency arising from the fact that the lands west of the Great Miami were included in a separate grant from those between the Miamis.

THE FIRST OFFICIALS.

After establishing the county of Hamilton, St. Clair proceeded to appoint officials who should administer the laws for the county, as in accordance with the act passed August 23, 1788, which established General Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas and provided for the appointment of the officers thereof, including sheriffs. The first appointees made during the early days of January, 1790, were William Goforth, William Wells and William McMillan to be judges of the Court of Common Pleas and justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. They were also commissioned justices of the peace and quorum in Ham-

ilton County. Jacob Tapping, Benjamin Stites and John Stites Gano were also commissioned as justices of the peace and John Brown, gentleman, was commissioned as sheriff during the Governor's pleasure. From this number William Goforth was selected as president judge of the Court of Common Pleas, although some of the records speak of McMillan as presiding, and John Stites Gano was appointed clerk.

In the following May, William Burnet was appointed register of deeds and shortly after John Blanchard, clerk of the Legislature. On December 14, 1791, George McCullom was added to the justices of the peace of Hamilton County. The first appointment of an attorney to act for the United States in Hamilton County was made on July 13, 1792, at which time Abner M. Dunn received his commission. On the same day Blanchard was succeeded as clerk of the Legislature or General Court by Samuel Swan. On August 13th, William McMillan and John S. Gano were appointed commissioners with power to license merchants, traders and tavern keepers. On September 3rd Stephen Wood was appointed treasurer of Hamilton County and Robert Bunton, gentleman, as coroner. On January 30, 1793, Abner M. Dunn, the United States attorney, was appointed register of deeds of Hamilton County in place of William Burnet who had removed from the Territory. He afterwards resigned his position as attorney and was succeeded on July 23, 1793, by Ezra Fitts Freeman.

A controversy arose between the judges and Secretary Sargent, who was acting Governor in the absence of Governor St. Clair, in the early part of 1793. Sargent on February 5th issued new commissions to the county judges designating, as the Court of Common Pleas, William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano and Aaron Cadwell. These commissions ran "during the pleasure of the Governor" whereas the original commissions had run "during good behavior." This commission was refused by the judges who on February 20th returned it through Israel Ludlow who had been appointed prothonotary to the Court of Common Pleas and clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions. The judges stated that they would not stoop to the indignity of holding offices, the tenure of which was during pleasure but preferred their commissions as justices of the peace to the highest seat of government during pleasure. The Secretary called their attention to the fact that the phraseology was the same as in his own commission and that of the Governor and that they had two options, either to accept or refuse the commissions. The judges refused to do either but continued their career under their original commissions issued by the Governor. On St. Clair's return on May 3rd, he was able to adjust matters. He called in to his aid the United States attorney and two of the leading members of the bar all of whom agreed with him in the main as to the propriety of the Secretary's action. Finally the judges were appeased and received new commissions from the Governor. Bunton, either because he thought the position of captain in the militia was inconsistent with that of coroner or because of his moving to Vincennes, resigned his office in Hamilton County and was succeeded as coroner by Maj. George Gordon, the tavern keeper, on June 18, 1793. The appointment of John Stites Gano as prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas and clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for Hamilton County in place of Samuel Swan, deceased, is given in the official records as of September 19, 1793. On October 1st of this same year, John Armstrong of Columbia, the well known soldier and citizen, was appointed justice of the peace for Hamilton County and on October 28th judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Another justice of the peace for Hamilton County appointed November 13th of this same year was John Mercer. In November of the following year, 1794, Timothy Symmes and Stephen Wood were commissioned justices of the peace and Aaron Cadwell was appointed commissioner to succeed Gano and McMillan in issuing licenses. Freeman was succeeded at this time as United States attorney by Isaac Darneille, whose career seems to have been unfortunate as indicated in the extracts of the newspaper quoted elsewhere. On April 20, 1795, another justice of the peace was appointed, John Wallace.

On June 6, 1795, St. Clair sitting with Symmes and Turner in legislative session passed an act reconstructing the judicial system and establishing new courts of judicature. The Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace was to meet four times a year and to be composed of the justices of the county nominated by the Governor sitting altogether in bank, any three constituting a quorum to do business. The Court of Common Pleas was constituted by justices appointed by the Governor, of whom three would make a quorum. After the passage of this act, we find that in 1796 Thomas Gibson and John Brady were appointed justices of the peace, Nathan Allison (Ellis) in 1796, Ignatius Brown,

William Bunn, Ichabod B. Miller, Asa Kitchel, Jacob White and Alexander Martin in 1799, Olear Todd in 1800, James Findlay, Joseph Prince, Emanuel Vantrees and Cornelius Sedam in 1801 and William Armstrong and Samuel Robb in 1802. Others whose names are mentioned are Henry Weaver of Tucker's Station, appointed in 1794, and James Barrett, appointed in 1795.

As already stated, Israel Ludlow acted as clerk for the first two years, Samuel Swan for the following year and John S. Gano for the 25 years following 1793.

The attorneys for the United States occupied practically the position of prosecuting attorney. The first three were Dunn, Freeman and Darneille already mentioned. The last named resigned under a cloud and in 1796 John S. Wills seems to have acted. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the attorney general of the Territory, acted in 1797, George W. Burnet in the following year and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., from 1799 to 1807. Other officers of this period were the sheriff, treasurer, register of deeds and coroner. John Brown we know was sheriff for the first two years and had as his deputy Isaac Martin at whose house the court sat. John Ludlow was sheriff the two following years and Martin was one of his deputies, another was R. Wheelan. Daniel Symmes was sheriff for two years (1795 and 1796) and James Smith, commonly known as "Sheriff Smith," who was also collector of public revenues, served from 1797 to 1804. Stephen Wood's appointment as treasurer has already been mentioned. Apparently he served at various times during a period of five years. Jacob Burnet seems to have acted as treasurer from 1798 until 1806. Gordon continued as coroner probably until 1799. During the next three years William Austin and William Schenck seem to have acted. In the list of county commissioners during this early period are found the names of William McMillan, Robert Wheelan, Robert Benham, Joseph Prince, Ichabod B. Miller, William Ruffin and John Bailey. Tabor Washburn seems to have served as commissioners' clerk to 1798, when he was succeeded by John Kean. Robert Reynolds served from 1799 to 1800 and Aaron Goforth to 1803.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The first Legislative Council of the Northwest Territory included the Governor, the Secretary and Judges Parsons and Varnum. It sat at Marietta during the summer and fall of 1788 and passed ten laws, to one of which the signature of Judge Symmes was fixed. There is no public record of any acts of the council during the year 1789. In 1790 the council sat in July and August at Vincennes and consisted of Sargent, Symmes and Turner and, subsequently in Cincinnati, we are told St. Clair took the place of Sargent. But six acts were passed during this year. St. Clair, Symmes and Turner published seven acts passed in Cincinnati during the summer of 1791. In 1792 Sargent, Symmes and Putnam sat in Cincinnati on the 1st of August and fixed their names to thirteen laws which were published in Philadelphia. In 1795 St. Clair, Symmes and Turner sat in Cincinnati during the months of June, July and August. They completely revised the laws of the Territory and caused them to be printed in Cincinnati by William Maxwell. This volume, the first printed in Cincinnati, has become famous as the "Maxwell Code." In 1798 Sargent, Symmes, Gilman and Meigs sat at Cincinnati on May 1st. They enacted eleven laws, the last legislative work done by the council.

The Territorial Legislature had its beginning in September, 1799. It enacted 38 laws which were printed by Carpenter & Findlay in Cincinnati in 1800. At the second session beginning in Cincinnati in November, 1800, 26 laws were passed, printed in Chillicothe by Winship & Willis in 1801. At the first session of the second General Assembly, beginning in Chillicothe in November, 1801, 40 laws were passed, printed by N. Willis, Chillicothe, 1802.

The minutes of the Legislative Council contain a record of petitions concerning the most minute details of the life of the community. For instance on May 30, 1795, we find there was presented a petition of Joel Williams asking for a law to permit him to erect and hold a public ferry from his landing in Cincinnati to the opposite shore of the Ohio, a petition of Rebecca Kennedy for the same purpose, and one of Daniel Symmes, the sheriff of Hamilton County, concerning the better regulation of the jail and the safe-keeping of prisoners. Another petition was that asking for a divorce. On June 2nd we find that Stephen Wood, the treasurer, produced his books and papers. These were found defective and he was permitted to withdraw them for correction.

On the 13th of August the Governor was directed to declare by proclamation what ferry should be erected, by whom to be kept and where

and the Court of Quarter Sessions was empowered to fix the rates.

An interesting petition was that presented to the House of Representatives on Wednesday, October 30, 1799, from a number of citizens of Hamilton County, praying for the removal of the seat of justice from Cincinnati to Mill creek between William Ludlow's and Jacob White's. Fortunately for the city it was resolved that this request was unreasonable and was not granted.

A resolution of November 27, 1799, directed the preparation of an address to the people of the Territory calling attention to the necessity for strict attention to industry and frugality and the discountenancing of idleness and dissipation, the encouraging of home manufactures and the retrenchment of unnecessary expenses.

THE MILITIA.

The first law passed by the Legislative Council, that of July 25, 1788, was for the purpose of regulating and establishing the militia. In accordance with this act Governor St. Clair on the occasion of his first visit to the newly created Hamilton County made a number of militia appointments "For the First Regiment of Militia in the County of Hamilton." The appointments seem to have contemplated the formation of four companies. The captains were John Stites Gano and James Flinn at Columbia, Israel Ludlow at Cincinnati and Gersham Gard at North Bend. Lieutenants were Francis Kennedy, John Ferris, Luke Foster and Brice Virgin. The ensigns were Scott Traverse, Ephraim Kibby, Elijah Stites and John Dunlap. On December 1st of the same year Kennedy resigned his captaincy and was succeeded by Scott Traverse, whose place as ensign was filled by the appointment of Richard Benham. Both of these were in Ludlow's company at Cincinnati. In March of the following year the official records show that by the general orders the returns of the militia with the report of arms were to be made to the Secretary at once. Regulations were established for the apportioning of militia to the various so-called fortresses and upon the firing of one cannon or three muskets the militia were to repair to their alarm posts. All firing of guns within a mile of any fortification except for defense or the purpose of alarm was forbidden. At the beating of the reveille every man enrolled in the militia and within the fortification was required to appear upon parade with his arms ready for military service and a patrol was sent out every morning from the fortifications in the settlements and no one was allowed to pass out until it had returned. This reconnaissance was for the purpose of preventing a surprise, the fatal effect of which had been so recently impressed upon all minds. The orders concluded with the statement that "to guard as much as possible against all danger, it must be the utmost invariable practice upon leaving the fortifications, even for the shortest distance to take our arms in our hands, for experience has convinced us that the Indian will conceal himself at our very doors. In the fields alone and at labor, men would at this time be most wantonly sporting their lives. They should work in large parties, armed, and with sentinels always posted out. This will deserve and insure security, while a contrary line of conduct may deprive of many good soldiers and valuable numbers of community." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 274.)

On April 30th the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, was commissioned colonel of the militia and on the 6th of the following month all persons between the age of 15 and 50 were ordered to be enrolled as militia. In December, after the St. Clair defeat, the Hamilton County battalion was more fully organized and placed under the charge of Oliver Spencer as lieutenant-colonel. Brice Virgin became captain in place of Gersham Gard of North Bend while Daniel Griffin was made a lieutenant and John Bowman an ensign in the first regiment. Very shortly afterwards, Levi Woodward was appointed captain and John Vance and John Wallace were made lieutenants. Isaac Freeman received an ensign's commission. Kibby was promoted to be lieutenant in place of Scott Traverse, resigned. The continuing danger from the Indians made necessary the proclamation of September 18, 1792, quoted elsewhere, with reference to the requirement that each citizen should attend public worship armed and equipped as though he was marching to engage with the enemy as required by the laws of the Territory. (Act July 2, 1791.)

On November 28th of this year (1792), Thomas Goudy, gentleman (Gowdy) the first lawyer admitted to the bar, was appointed ensign of the first regiment.

In the beginning of the following year on January 30th, Ludlow resigned his captaincy and was succeeded by John Wallace. Benham resigned his position as ensign and was succeeded by Celadon Symmes. Other appointments in January were those of Robert Bunton as captain and James McConnel, lieutenant. On the 1st of February Benjamin Orcutt was appointed lieutenant

in the first regiment in place of Newell killed and Ignatius Ross in place of Miller. The approach of hostilities made necessary by the breaking off of negotiations with the Indians was the occasion for a proclamation of the Governor calling attention particularly on the part of the militia officers to the importance of diligence in the inspection of the arms and accoutrements of the companies. A little later, on October 19th, the removal of Robert Bunton to Vincennes in Knox County created a vacancy as captain in the first regiment and John Green received this commission. McConnell who had recently been appointed lieutenant also resigned and in his place as lieutenant and adjutant was appointed Davies (Darius) C. Orcutt. Other appointments were those of Samuel Creigh and John Schooly as ensigns, and James Lyon and Stephen Reeder, lieutenants, the latter in place of Vance removed. Ten days later, October 29th, the Governor directed Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer to mount patrol in Cincinnati, Columbia and North Bend every night to protect the inhabitants from surprise from Indians of which the people were apprehensive, while General Wayne's army was moving into the Indian country. The seriousness of the situation in the following year is indicated by the proclamation of July 31st, on the eve of the battle of Fallen Timbers, ordering a fast on the 14th of August. This issued by the Secretary was enclosed to Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer at Columbia with the request that it be read by Mr. Smith to his charge on the following Sunday.

After the victory of Wayne, the militia were called upon to do quasi police duty on September 8, 1794. A number of Choctaw Indians who had been aiding General Wayne were assaulted on their return from the Miami of the Lakes by lawless men and were obliged to take refuge in Fort Washington. Colonel Sargent detailed twenty privates from the militia with the due complement of non-commissioned officers under the command of Major Gano to be paraded at Mr. Cutter's near the churchyard and the Major was directed to establish and preserve order in Cincinnati and afford protection to the Indians. The town was disturbed for several days by the violence of some of the old pioneers to whom no Indian was a good Indian except a dead Indian.

The varied duties of the militia are indicated by the instruction sent October 6, 1794, to Captain Virgin at North Bend to remove squatters intruding upon government lands west of the Great Miami. On November 25, 1794, there seems to have been a large addition to the number of officers of the militia. On this date, according to the official records, the following military promotions and appointments were made: Lieut. William Rittenhouse to be captain; Robert Wheelan, lieutenant; Garret Vanvile, ensign; Ensign Celadon Symmes to be lieutenant; Samuel Seward, ensign; Lieut. James Lyon, captain vice Wallace removed; Ensign Uzoe Bates, lieutenant; Samuel Dick, ensign; Darius C. Orcutt, captain vice Grear removed; Jonathan Schooly, lieutenant; John Riddle, ensign vice Creigh removed; Seth Cutter, ensign vice Schooly promoted; James Cox, adjutant vice Orcutt promoted; John Brown, lieutenant and adjutant; and Ensign Jonathan Bowman, lieutenant.

After the conclusion of the peace of Greenville, there was not much demand for the service of the militia for some years. From time to time Captain Flinn at Columbia or Lieut. Celadon Symmes at North Bend or some other militia officer was called upon to lead parties in pursuit of horse thieves and on other occasions the whole body of the volunteer soldiers turned out on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July or to take part in the sadder functions, such as the memorial funeral of General Washington.

General Harrison after his resignation from the army was made chief officer of the territorial militia by virtue of his office as Secretary with headquarters at Cincinnati. Among the general orders we find that of September 24, 1794, issued by him as commander-in-chief of the militia of the Northwest Territory stating that the Secretary of the Territory then vested with all the powers of Governor and commander-in-chief of the same would on Tuesday, the 25th instant, review the first battalion of militia of Hamilton County. The battalion was to be formed for this purpose at three o'clock, on some convenient spot of ground near to Major Ludlow's.

Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Jacob Burnet were to act as aids-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on this occasion, and were to be respected and obeyed accordingly. This order addressed to Lieut.-Col. John S. Gano, the commander of the first battalion of Hamilton County militia, was accompanied by a note requesting Gano to fill up the blank with the hour he thought most convenient. In *Freeman's Journal* of October 27, 1798, Colonel Gano commands the officers of the militia to march their respective companies to the public grounds in Cincinnati on Tuesday the

30th instant so as to form battalion for exercise by eleven A. M.; a troop of horse was included. The *Spy and Gazette* of May 13, 1799, publishes a battalion order of Daniel Symmes, lieutenant and adjutant, exhorting the officers to exercise and teach the men the necessary manoeuvres. Lieutenant Symmes trusts that the delay of the muster will permit the farmers to put in their crops and the officers to improve their men in drill so that they may be distinguished when the battalion is formed on the Fourth of July. A little later came the battalion parade on the Fourth with two or three companies in uniform and a troop of horsemen about thirty in number mostly so, also reviewed by Harr son.

The *Spy and Gazette* of July 16, 1800, contains a notice: "HEADS UP SOLDIERS!"

"Those gentlemen who wish to join a volunter light infantry company are requested to meet at Mr. Yeatman's tavern."

The company was organized and at its head was Sheriff Smith. About that time we are told that the militia of the county were organized into five companies numbering about eight hundred, one of which was this company of light infantry just mentioned. They were required to muster two days in the spring and four days in the fall and two of these days were devoted to school instructions for the officers. These organizations were under the acts of December 13, 1799, and December 8, 1800, by which acts the militia were reorganized. It is in connection with this act that we find St. Clair forwarding for the inspection of the President a list of proper persons to be appointed general officers. According to his statement (St. Clair to Pickering, March 30, 1800): "In the county of Hamilton Oliver Spencer commands. He is an old officer but has been altogether inattentive to the militia and is either too old or too indolent to give much attention to it in future. Next to him stands John S. Gano, an active intelligent man and a staunch friend to Government." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 405.)

The Gano thus mentioned was of course the pioneer. He had been topographical engineer in command of an advance party to survey the route for the march of the army under St. Clair and shared in that defeat. He afterwards commanded the battalion of one hundred and thirty-two men including forty or fifty volunteers who marched to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, buried the dead and brought back the arms and again acted as captain in the expedition to build Fort St. Clair. He was in command of a company of one hundred volunteers who marched to the relief of Kingsbury at Dunlap's Station. He subsequently received commissions as captain, major, brigadier and major-general of the first division of the Ohio militia, remaining in the service from September 1, 1803, until 1818, when he removed to Covington. Part of the time during the absence of General Harrison he acted as general in chief of the military districts. He also acted in the earlier days as surveyor and aided in marking the sections and fractions in one of the ranges of the Symmes purchase. He was clerk of the court for many years. He died January 1, 1822, and his remains were afterwards buried in Spring Grove Cemetery. His mother was a daughter of Judge William Goforth.

CINCINNATI TOWNSHIP.

The first civil administrative organization in Hamilton County was that of the townships. The history of the erection of these subdivisions is involved in considerable obscurity. In the early days before the constitution of the State was adopted, these were created in the different counties by the courts of General Quarter Sessions and later by the county commissioners and associate judges of the Court of Common Pleas acting concurrently. The act of February 19, 1810, gave to the county commissioners exclusive jurisdiction. The first three townships represented the settlements first made and together included the whole of the purchase on the river extending to the military range, a point six miles north of the present village of Springdale. The names given to these townships were in order of the settlements, Columbia, Cincinnati and Miami. The Court of Quarter Sessions in 1791 erected the three townships.

Columbia began "at the foot of the second meridian east of Cincinnati on the Ohio bank; thence north to the third entire (or military) range; thence east to the Little Miami; thence down the Miami to the Ohio River; thence down the Ohio to place of beginning."

Cincinnati was described as "beginning at a point where the second meridian east of the town intersects the Ohio; thence down that stream about eleven miles to the first meridian east of Rapid Run; thence north to the Big Miami; thence up that stream to the south line of the military range; thence south to the place of beginning."

Miami township was described as "beginning at a point on the Ohio at the first meridian east

of the mouth of Rapid Run; thence due north to the Great Miami; thence down that stream to the Ohio; thence up the Ohio to the place of beginning." No part of this township is in the present limits of Cincinnati.

The erection of Butler County and other counties in 1803 made necessary a rearrangement of the townships, which left to Columbia township the territory now included in that township together with Spencer township and that part of the city now east of the second meridian east of the old city of Cincinnati.

The new boundaries of Cincinnati township commenced "at the southeast corner of Miami township on the Ohio River; thence north to the northwest corner of section 17 in fractional range 2, township 2; thence east nine miles; thence south to the Ohio; thence westward along the Ohio to the place of beginning." These lines included more than one-half of what was subsequently Delhi township, the eastern part of Green except the three northern sections, the whole of Mill Creek except the northern section and the city of Cincinnati to the range line on the east.

A very important matter, as indicated by the action of the court at the time of the institution of townships, was the selection of cattle-brands. "A" was assigned to Columbia, "B" to Cincinnati and "C" to Miami.

By this change the western line of Columbia township ran due north from the point where the line between section 1 of the third township and section 31 of the fourth township of the second fractional range cuts the Ohio River to the northwest corner of section 36 of the last named township. Subsequently Spencer township was taken off the southern part of this township, the dividing line running between the second and third tier of sections of the fourth township, running east from the northwest corner of section 32 to the Miami River.

Colerain township had been created in 1794 by the Court of Quarter Sessions and given the cattle-brand "G."

Springfield township had been carved out of Cincinnati township in 1795 as a result of the great movement of settlers to the country after security from the Indians was assured by the Wayne victory.

South Bend township, created in 1795, included Delhi and a part of Green. Delhi was not created until more than fifteen years later and Green probably about 1809. Although the name Sycamore appears in 1800, the township does not appear to have been created until 1803 at the time of the general reorganization following the admission of Ohio to statehood.

Mill Creek was set off in 1809 from Cincinnati and Springfield townships. Its southern line was at the old corporation line at Liberty street and it occupied the third township of the second fractional range.

SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICERS.

The first Cincinnati township officers, so far as can now be stated with accuracy, were as follows:

"1791—Levi Woodward, township clerk; Samuel Martin, constable; John Thompson and James Wallace, overseers of the poor; James Gowdy, overseer of roads; Isaac Martin, Jacob Reeder, and James Cunningham, street commissioners.

"1792—Samuel Martin, constable; John Ludlow and David E. Wade, overseers of the poor; James Miller, Jacob Miller, and John Vance, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Jacob Reeder, and Ezekiel Sayre, overseers of highways.

"1793—Nathaniel Barnes and Robert Gowdy, constables; Jacob Reeder and Moses Miller, overseers of the poor; Joseph McHenry, Samuel Freeman, and Stephen Reeder, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Usual Bates, and John Schooly, overseers of highways.

"1794—Nathan Barnes, Darius C. Orcutt, and Robert Gowdy, constables; James Brady and David E. Wade, overseers of the poor; James Wallace, Levi Woodward, and James Lyon, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Jacob White, and William Powell, overseers of highways.

"1795—Nathan Barnes, Ephraim Carpenter, and Benjamin Van Hook, constables; James Brady and Samuel Freeman, overseers of the poor; Samuel Dick and Richard Benham, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; James Brady, Levi Woodward, and Samuel Freeman, overseers of highways." (Ford's Cincinnati, p. 51.)

Abraham Carey was a constable of Cincinnati township in 1797, Levi McLean in 1798 and John Bailey in 1799. James Smith and William Stanley were trustees in 1801-02 and William State in 1801. Other overseers of the poor given by John D. Caldwell include Abraham Carey (1799-1800), Peter Kemper (1800), and Cornelius Van Nuys (1800-01). (Cincinnati Annual Reports, 1888, p. 368.)

CHAPTER XXII.

CINCINNATI VILLAGE (1790-1802)—I.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VILLAGE—THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN AND POPULATION—EARLY BUILDINGS—THE FIRST FIRE—THE ARRIVAL OF JUDGE BURNET—SAMUEL STITT'S REMINISCENCES—THE FIRST JAIL—THE ARRIVAL OF DR. DRAKE—CINCINNATI IN 1800—THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN CINCINNATI—EARLY SETTLERS.

The physical aspect of the settlement changed but slowly in the first few years of its existence. The fear of the Indians necessarily kept the inhabitants together and the out-lots were used merely for farming purposes; still there was an atmosphere of prosperity for a time at least. During the first year (1790) the settlement, which according to the Directory of 1819 during the previous year consisted of 11 families and 24 unmarried men inhabiting twenty small log cabins built on the lower bank, increased by as many as forty families and an equal number of new cabins. The first two frame houses were built during this year and among the population were two blacksmiths, two carpenters, a shoemaker, a tailor and a mason.

Fifteen or twenty of the inhabitants were killed by the Indians during this year.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VILLAGE.

One of the earliest descriptions of the village is that of Benjamin Van Cleve already quoted. At the time of his landing on January 3, 1790, he tells us that two small, hewed-log houses had been erected and several cabins. Apparently Fort Washington was not then completed for he speaks of General Harmar's being employed in building it.

The building of the town must have progressed very rapidly for in a letter to his associates from Cincinnati, written November 4, 1790, Symmes says that "the advantage is prodigious which this town is gaining over North Bend; upwards of forty framed and hewed-log two-story houses have been, and are building since last spring. One builder sets an example for another, and the place already assumes the appearance of a town of some respectability. The inhabitants have doubled here within nine months past."

Oliver M. Spencer who arrived at the town in the following year says that about the 22nd of February, 1791, when he first saw it, it contained not more than forty dwellings, all log cabins, and not exceeding two hundred and fifty inhabitants. In the southeastern part of the town, near the site of his present dwelling, stood the cabin of D. E. Wade; in the midst of the forest trees, and just below, on the first bank, between the mouth of Deer creek and Lawrence street, were scattered among the trees four or five more cabins. Between Eastern row (a narrow street now enlarged into Broadway) and Main street, on Front and Columbia streets, there were about twenty log houses; and on Sycamore and Main, principally on the second bank or hill, as it was called, there were scattered about fifteen cabins more. At the foot of this bank, extending across Broadway and Main street, were large ponds, on which, as lately as the winter of 1798, he had seen boys skating. All the ground from the foot of the second bank to the river between Lawrence street and Broadway, and appropri-

ated to the fort, was an open space on which, although no trees were left standing, most of their large trunks were still lying. (Spencer's Narrative, p. 27.)

Spencer's account of the fort, which of course was the most conspicuous object in the town, has already been given. Columbia as we have seen increased a little more rapidly at first but Symmes was so much impressed with the future of Cincinnati especially after it had been selected as the seat of government that during the year 1790 he laid out the lots in the fractional section 12 as an addition to the town plat; this lay just east of Broadway on the river. The streets in this addition were but 60 feet wide and those in continuation of the east and west streets took a more northerly course on lines following the lines of the river.

Mrs. Wallace in her recollections states that in 1791 there was but one frame dwelling in Cincinnati and that belonged to Israel Ludlow and stood at the lower end of Main street. The room in front was occupied as a store.

Mathew Winton kept tavern on Front nearly opposite to David E. Wade, rather to the west. Ezekiel Sayre was exactly opposite Wade. A German named Bicket had a dram shop opposite Plum street between Front and the river bank. Mrs. Wallace and her husband, John S. Wallace, resided on Front street below Race. Joel Williams' celebrated tavern was at what was afterwards called Latham's Corner. This was on Water street as was also Isaac Felter's tavern. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 65; Cincinnati in 1859, p. 149.)

The next year, 1791, was not an especially prosperous one. About one-half of the able bodied citizens had gone with the army and many of them had been killed. Not only was the number of citizens lessened by this loss but many were frightened away by the sad result of the campaign and removed to Kentucky. No manufacturing establishments were built this year except a horse mill for grinding corn. This stood on Main street below Fourth. It was used at times by the Presbyterians for their meetings as their church had not yet been built.

John Bartle, however, opened his general store in the hipped-roof frame building on the corner of Front and Broadway, where the Cincinnati Hotel was subsequently erected. This has been generally accepted as the first regular store in Cincinnati.

John Bartle (properly Bartel) was born in La Marne, France, about 1743. He served in the army of his native country and afterwards came to America with Lafayette. At the close of the Revolutionary War, he retired with the title of colonel. He at first became an army trader between Baltimore, Hagerstown and Pittsburg and afterwards started the first store in Cincinnati. This he left for a time and took part in the campaigns of St. Clair, Harmar and Wayne and after the peace of Greenville he returned and was for many years one of the leading merchants. Many years later after the marriage of his children, growing weary of a settled life, he wandered among the Indians of the North and Northwest undergoing many hardships and making many hairbreadth escapes. When quite an old man, he returned to the house of his daughter, Mrs. Elijah Pierce. Here he lived for a few years but finally his roving tendencies came upon him again and he disappeared. He died in December, 1839, at the City Hospital. He was given a public funeral. Dr. W. E. De Courcy of this city is his great-grandson. (In Memoriam, p. 101.)

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN AND POPULATION.

The first contemporary account of the settlement is contained in a journal of the trip made by John Heckewelder in 1792. This journal was published in Halle in 1796. The translation of it appears in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. (No. XII, pp. 34 and 165.)

On the first day of July the party reached Columbia and stopped with Major Stites. Heckewelder found here a ship mill and many well built houses. The inhabitants numbered eleven hundred, including two Baptist preachers, Smith and Clark. The town was well situated except that part of the land was inundated by high water. A large portion of the ground was covered by walnut and locust trees. On the 2nd of July after breakfast they left Columbia and reached Cincinnati at nine o'clock where they were greeted with a salute of nine cannon shots in honor of General Putnam who was on a mission to conclude a treaty with the Indians. Heckewelder was assigned quarters with General Putnam at Fort Washington but he preferred going to a landlord in the town by the name of Martin (Isaac) formerly from Sussex County, New Jersey. There were at that time 50 Indian women and children confined as prisoners in the stockade. These had been brought here about a year before by the Scott and Wilkinson expedition. Putnam told them that they would be soon released. In the afternoon Com-

mandant Wilkinson arrived on his return from a visit to the Western forts and on the 3rd five Indian men and one woman were brought in who came to seek and take away their captive friends. "This fact was made known to the prisoners before night, the guard within the stockade was called away, and the gate opened, but for the safety of the prisoners, a guard was placed outside. It was touching to witness the loud outbursts of weeping when relatives met." This party brought the tidings of the murder of Trueman, Freeman and Hardin. Heckewelder witnessed the celebration of the Fourth at which time 15 cannon shots were fired from a six-pounder in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Judge Symmes came up from North Bend to attend this celebration. The two days following were spent with Colonel Menzies, the inspector of the troops, and Lawyer Smith and in viewing the town. "The ground upon which the town stands is a plain along the Ohio about two miles long, and extending northward seven miles along the road. The town is in a manner divided into two parts, as one or a second shore of the Ohio is 140 perches from the real bank of the Ohio. Each of these banks is 40 ft. high, and on account of its situation or straight line, very pleasant to the eye. What lies below this second bank, is called the lower town; the upper town is however connected with the lower one. At present there are 354 surveyed lots purchased and used for building purposes. Four acres outside of the town belong to every lot within the town. The price of the lots was at first from four to eight dollars per lot, and twenty dollars an acre for the lots outside of the town. The rush is however so great at present, that lots are being sold at from $30 to $80 cash, from the second purchaser. More than 200 houses have been built, many of which are two stories high, well built and painted red. They command a rent of from 50 to 60 dollars per year. "In the centre of the upper town, there are two large squares, the one intended for a Court House, and the other for a Church. On the latter a fine Church is being built, and under roof. The streets of the town are everywhere four perches wide. All the lots which have been surveyed are enclosed with good posts and Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, millet, potatoes and turnips are cultivated in them. There are eight open roads leading from East to West, and six from South to North, pleasant for walking, there being no obstacles in the way, on the one road for 3-4 of a mile, and on the other for 1-2 a mile. At the east end of the town, and on the second height, lies Fort Washington, built similar to Campus Martius in Marietta; the roof and palisades on the front are painted red. Near the fort, there are some very fine, large gardens, in which vegetables and fine flowers are cultivated. Tasty summer-houses have been built in them, the most prominent of these belong to Gen. Wilkinson and Dr. (Richard) Allison. Just below Fort Washington there are long low buildings forming a square, where the mechanics in the service of the United States Army work; it is also a storehouse for provisions. The inhabitants of this city number more than 900, not counting the garrison and its belongings. This does not contain any positive number, but at present consists of about 200 men. The city has its judges and holds regular courts. The military wish to govern, but the city insists upon its rights under the constitution, and in consequence frequent quarrels ensue. The city is overrun with merchants, and overstocked with goods. More than 30 magazines or warehouses can be counted, so that one injures the price of the other. It is a town teeming with idlers, and according to the report of respectable persons, they are a people resembling Sodom. Yet they hope that this place, as well as the others on the north bank of the Ohio, will perhaps in time, or soon, be purged of this wicked class, for experience teaches, that as soon as they are made subject to the law, they leave for Kentucky which lies just across the Ohio, and if they are stopped there, they push on to the extreme boundary along the Cinch or Cumberland River, or even down as far as New Orleans. * * * Although according to the description, this city consists principally of bad inhabitants yet a clergyman resides there. The present *one* belongs to the Presbyterian Church. I was really astonished to find so many, and partly attentive listeners in the Sunday services. What adds to the beauty of the city of Cincinnati, and contributes to its advantages, is the fact, that just opposite, on the south side of the Ohio, the beautiful Licking River (about 3/4 as broad as the Lehigh) empties into it. A city has also been located and begun there, which is called New-Port. From the mouth of this river, which flows from a rich inhabited country, a main road leads to Lexington, the capital of Kentucky. They expect that in future a lively traffic from there to this place, and from here down the Mississippi may be carried on. At present two fer-

ries are maintained here, one of them belongs to a German by the name of Pickel."

Curiously enough Heckewelder was at Cincinnati at the time of the taking of young Oliver Spencer on July 7, 1792, and gives an account of the episode.

The erratic habits of the Ohio showed themselves even at this early date, for the river rose 11 feet on the 9th, which enabled a number of boats from Pittsburg to come down.

On the 12th William Wells who had been taken prisoner by the Indians when a boy of 12 years of age some eight years before came in from Louisville. He was pressed into service by General Putnam as an interpreter. He found among the prisoners his adopted mother and sisters and their meeting evoked many tears. Wells, it will be remembered, afterwards became one of the most valuable of Wayne's scouts. Two days later two soldiers who had been among the Indians were brought in and described the death of the peace mesengers, Trueman and Freeman. On the same evening the news came of an attack of thirty Indians upon Columbia where three men had been taken captive. A company of cavalry was sent in pursuit and followed the trail for thirty miles but were unable to take the redskins. On the 16th the head chief, one of those who had come in a few days before, died at Fort Washington. "The funeral march was beaten on the drum draped in mourning. They granted him a resting place in the cemetery believing that this might be of advantage to them, among the relatives as well as among the Nation in general. Malicious people dug up the body again at night, tore down the flag and post, threw them into a mud-hole and dragged the body down along the street and stood it up there. The generals had the body buried again immediately in the morning and a flag raised. Governor St. Clair's secretary issued a proclamation offering 100 dollars reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. On the following night however the flag and proclamation were torn down, but the body remained unmolested. For a second time a new flag was raised, a guard placed near by, and nothing further happened."

An incident of the 22nd was the punishment of a soldier who had attempted a revolt. "He was obliged to run the gauntlet, have his head shaved, a collar put around his neck and in this manner be drummed out of the fort and city. He had formerly been tied to the Wheelbarrow in Philadelphia."

Heckewelder took trips across the river from which side he found Fort Washington in Cincinnati presented a very pleasant view. He describes the sermons delivered at various times by the Presbyterian minister (Kemper) and by a Mr. Clark, a Baptist from Columbia. The sermon of the latter in which he depicted the heathen and the calamity of November 4th (St. Clair's defeat) as a chastisement of the Lord inflicted as a scourge because of the unbelief and disobedience of the settlers seems to have been received very favorably. Mr. Heckewelder's journal makes almost daily mention of reported attacks by the Indians, of the movement of soldiers to and from the Indian country and the passage of boats up and down the river. On August 16th, the Indians who had been prisoners for more than a year at an expense to the United States of sixty thousand dollars were forwarded to Post Vincennes and on the 18th General Putnam and his party including Heckewelder left the settlement on the way to Louisville. They passed South Bend and North Bend and were impressed with the extent of the settlements along the river where five years before had been a wilderness. There were between three and four hundred people in the neighborhood some living in town and others on farms. These settlements had not been troubled by Indian raids for over two years. This was attributed to the friendly feeling of the Indians for Judge Symmes who was regarded by them as a father. Evidently a favorite story with the Judge was the explanation of the United States coat-of-arms given by one of the Indians which he reported in one of his letters already quoted, for he tells this story over again to Heckewelder.

In October the party returned. They stopped at Judge Symmes' where they were delayed by the fact that the Indians of their company were given so much brandy that they could scarcely stand. When the party arrived at Fort Washington on October 24th it was saluted by 15 cannon shots. Two days later they witnessed the hanging of a murderer who with another man in a fit of drunkenness had vowed to murder the first man they should meet. A few minutes afterwards they were caught in the act, imprisoned and upon trial one was acquitted and the other condemned to death. As is usual, the murderer on the gallows ascribed his misfortune to association with evil companions.

The next day Secretary Winthrop Sargent gave a dinner to the party, including the Indians. On Sunday, the 28th, General Wilkinson gave a similar dinner at the fort. At this meal the

healths of the President, General Knox, Putnam and each of the chiefs present were drank and as each was named a salute was fired. One of the Indians seemed disturbed by the preparations for war which he noticed all about him and arose from his seat and asked an explanation. General Wilkinson reassured him, whereupon the Indians arose and each shook hands with General Wilkinson and all the officers and gentlemen present (there were about thirty of them). Each nation separately returned thanks for the General's explanation and for the dinner. At this dinner the Indians were seated mixed with the other guests and great cordiality prevailed.

Two days later an Indian prince died and at his funeral all the officers and gentlemen of the city were present. Three salutes were fired over his grave, each answered by a cannon shot from the fort. After the coffin was lowered, the Indians and the others present each threw a handful of earth upon it. In the coffin were placed the gun of the deceased, his tomahawk, powder-horn and balls, tobacco and pipe, several pairs of shoes and leather wherewith to mend them, a tin flask, knives and such like provisions and a bottle of brandy to be used on the journey in the new country. A long pole stripped of its bark was put up at the head of the grave and a white flag suspended from it. The party left the fort on the evening of the 1st of November.

Another account is contained in a letter of a Gallipolis merchant, E. J. D. Le Ture, written at Cincinnati July 6, 1792:

"I have had the pleasure to receive your last by General Putnam. Would to God that my anxiety could alleviate yours. Since the opening of the store again, except the first days, I do not sell a d—n's worth a day. New stores flock in every day, and with large assortments. The officers at this place give no more company orders. Platt and McPherson, who were my friends, are out of the service, and all of the storekeepers content themselves with small profits. There is now neither flour nor corn at this place. If some could be got soon somewhere on the river, I am confident I could sell a thousand bushels of the latter. This is worth attending to, for there are many months at the settlement who will eat, let it be at what price it will.

"In my opinion the best speculation that could be done in this country would be to have a store in the fall of the year up the Kentucky River, or at Washington, near Limestone, to take corn for the goods, which should be brought here before planting time. It is astonishing the quantity of that produce that is here. The transport in canoes, if proper measures are taken, will be trifling. Then will be the time that horses will flock in, and the Militia Horse will give their breeches for food. Cheese, bacon, gammons, tobacco, hemp, and some butter will always find a good market here. Home-made sugar fetches a quarter of a dollar a pound.

"The situation of the colony alarms me much. I can not think so many people will be sacrificed to a few speculators. Should any thing turn up that would oblige me to go into the settlements, I believe it will be in my power to advise them on the methods they are to take in order to have justice done them." (Quoted by George M. Roe, in *Times-Star* History.)

EARLY BUILDINGS.

An important building erected in 1792 was the Presbyterian meeting house that stood at the northwest corner of Fourth and Main. It will be remembered that in laying out the town the proprietors dedicated the south half of this block to school and church purposes. During the next year Rev. David Rice of Kentucky organized a religious society of the Presbyterian faith and proceeded to occupy the premises thus set apart. The society was not able at the time to erect a church edifice and the only use made of the premises at first was that of a graveyard. Their meetings were held at the horse-mill and occasionally at private houses.

In 1791 Rev. James Kemper arrived and a subscription was soon set on foot to erect a meeting house. The trees had already been cleared from a portion of the lot at Fourth and Main and within a small circle, seated upon the logs, the people with rifles by their sides met for worship in the open air. After the meeting house was completed in 1792, the whole four lots were enclosed with a post and rail fence. The timber for the building was taken from the spot upon which it was erected. It was a plain frame, about 30 by 40 feet in dimensions, roofed and weatherboarded with clapboards but neither lathed, plastered nor ceiled. The floor was of heat plank laid loosely upon sleepers. The only ornamentation was a small semicircle cut in the front gable above the door. The seats were formed by rolling in the necessary number of logs which were placed at suitable distances and covered with boards whipsawed for the purpose at proper spaces for seats. They were of course

without backs and, for a time it is said, the rough logs served the purpose of seats. On one side of the room a breastwork of unplaned cherry boards was constructed which was styled the pulpit behind which the preacher stood upon a boat plank supported by two blocks of wood. This building was finally removed in 1804 to Vine below Fifth about the spot where the Emery Hotel is now located and became known for many years as Burke's Church. It was replaced by a large brick building. (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 136-139.)

Dr. F. C. Monfort in "One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in the Ohio Valley" states that the picture usually given as that of the first church is inaccurate. It represents a two-story building with a stone foundation whereas the church was one story and rested on blocks of wood. The picture represents Burke's Church, as it was reconstructed from the material of the old building. Dr. Monfort gives a copy of a sketch of the first church drawn by Isaac McFarland which he says is more accurate though not so pretty. (See also Martin's Schools of Cincinnati, p. 24.)

President L'Hommedieu, in his address to the Pioneer Association delivered in 1874, stated that the pews and pulpit sounding board of the old pioneer meeting house were still in use in a small German Lutheran Church on the river road within the present corporate limits of the city. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 11.)

During this same year (1792) about fifty persons were added to the population by immigration and several more cabins with three or four frame houses were put up. The first school was also established this year and was attended by about thirty scholars. Two important stores were established, one by James Ferguson who had been a volunteer under Harmar, another by James Smith and James Findlay under the name of Smith & Findlay. The advertisements of both these stores appear frequently in the early numbers of the *Centinel*. Ferguson's store was at the corner of Third and Sycamore while that of Smith & Findlay was on Front near the foot of Broadway.

The first of Cincinnati's many great floods after the year of the settlement itself occurred during this year and as a result the town, that is to say the Bottom which was in fact all of the town, was flooded to the average depth of five feet. The same thing happened the next year.

THE FIRST FIRE.

Some idea of the physical appearance of the settlement above the bottoms is given by the account of Goudy's fire which happened in 1794. For three or four years prior to this time, according to the statement of Judge Matson, there had been a worm fence enclosing a number of out-lots which extended about Sixth street north to Court street and from Main street west to the section line about where is now John street. There were but a few buildings on this space. One of them a small frame east of Main street on what is called the St. Clair square between Seventh and Eighth had been put up by Thomas Goudy, the pioneer lawyer, as an office. He found however that this was too far out of town and the place was abandoned by him for office purposes. In the early spring of the year one of the occupants of this enclosure, while engaged in clearing up land for farming purposes, built a brush fire at the west end. The fire spread over the whole clearing and soon had occupied the entire territory, feeding on the dead trees which had been girdled and had become perfectly dry. The high wind blew the conflagration eastward as far as Main street, carrying in its course large flakes of the sap wood fully ablaze. The sight of more than one hundred acres of dry timber in flames must have been not only magnificent but terrifying. The whole population turned out in the endeavor to save the rails but in this they were not very successful. A number of men were stationed on Goudy's building with buckets of water and succeeded in saving it. This was the first important fire in the city and it was most important in its results. It brought clearly to the minds of the settlers the danger in which they lived by reason of the girdled dry trees standing all about and induced them to clear out the out-lots more rapidly than they otherwise would have done.

The defeat of the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers and the treaty of Greenville which followed changed very materially the conditions of the settlement. Prior to this time there was no certainty of continued life but from 1794 the uncertainty vanished and the settlement's progress though slow was sure. Another element which contributed to the advance of the settlement was the final issue of the patent to Judge Symmes which ended the annoyance about the titles to the section within the town limits. A very important factor as well was the establishment of a line of keel-boat packets by

Jacob Myers which ran between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. A more complete announcement of this enterprise is contained in the extracts from the *Centinel* published in another chapter.

The peace of Greenville was "hailed by the infant settlements as the era of peace and security. They now looked forward to an exemption from ravage, danger and distress and all the horrors of savage warfare. The return of peace gave them new ambition and new hopes. They removed from their forts into the adjacent country, selected farms, built cabins and began to subdue the forest. They were soon joined by other emigrants who upon the news of peace began to flock across the mountains in great numbers. * * * In 1795 the town contained ninety-four cabins, ten frame houses and about five hundred inhabitants. In 1800 the population was estimated as about seven hundred and fifty and five years afterwards, 1805, it amounted to only nine hundred and sixty." (Directory of 1819, p. 29.)

THE ARRIVAL OF JUDGE BURNET.

During the year 1796, Judge Burnet arrived and he found a small village of log cabins, including about fifteen rough unfinished frame houses with stone chimneys. Not a brick had then been seen in the place. His account of the town with its lower and upper plain and the swamp extending at the base of the upper plain has already been given. The chief hotel of the village he tells us was that of Griffin Yeatman and the most remarkable object in the city was Fort Washington with the artificers' yard on the bank of the river. Among other important structures he mentions Colonel Sargent's residence north of Fourth street behind the fort and that of Dr. Allison to the east of the fort on what is now Ludlow street. The Presbyterian Church on Main street and the school house on the north side opposite to where St. Paul's Church afterwards stood (where now the St. Paul Building stands) are also mentioned by him. The frame school house was unfinished but enclosed at that time. Upon the north side of the public square, there was a strong log building erected and occupied as a jail. A room in the tavern of George Avery near the frog pond at the corner of Main and Fifth streets had been rented for the accommodation of the court; and as the penitentiary system had not been adopted and as Cincinnati was the seat of justice it was ornamented with a pillory, stocks and whipping post and occasionally with a gallows. These were all the structures of a public character then in the place. The frog pond referred to by Burnet as at the intersection of Main and Fifth streets was a pond of water and full of alder bushes from which the frogs serenaded the neighborhood during the summer and fall, and rendered it necessary to construct a causeway of logs, to pass it. That morass remained in its natural state with its alders and its frogs for several years.

SAMUEL STITT'S REMINISCENCES.

Another arrival of this year who gives us some account of the settlement was Samuel Stitt, who died in 1847 at the advanced age of 78 years. He had been born in Ireland in 1769 and came to America twenty years later. He arrived in Cincinnati in May, 1796, and settled on the river bank. His description of the town at the time of his arrival is published by Mr. Cist:

"Facing the river, at the time I came, was entirely a bluff bank, the surface being cleared, excepting a large elm tree, east of what is now Commercial Row (Southwest corner of Main and Water streets), from which, for several years, the martins took their departure. It stood many years, until struck by lightning, when it was cut down to keep it from setting on fire the adjacent houses. There was a large cove opposite Griffin Yeatman's, at the mouth of Sycamore street. This cove, and at Joel Wilkins', now Latham's Corner (foot of Main), were the principal landings. There was another cove at Ludlow street. An old woman, named Wright, who did washing for the garrison, had a cabin at this cove, and was obliged to remove to the upper bank when the river was high. There was a duck and snipe pond, a hundred feet across, where Walker kept store, reaching half-way to Sycamore street. A post and rail fence extended along Main from Columbia (Second) street, which, in extremely wet weather, was our only means of getting on foot to the hill. There was no horse-path at this period up the hill, on Main street, which was a bluff, gravel bank; and it required a pretty active man to climb it; but there was a cow-path up Broadway, and a very steep wagon road up Sycamore street. The timber was all cut down on the town plat in 1796, when I first saw it.

"Gibson had a frame house at the corner of Main and Front streets, in which he kept store. D. C. Cooper, who afterward laid out Dayton,

DR. DANIEL DRAKE.

REV. JAMES KEMPER.

JUDGE JACOB BURNET.

EDWARD D. MANSFIELD.

had the opposite corner, now Bates', which he rented of Israel Ludlow. There were no other houses between Front and Columbia streets, except a few one-story frames; at Mitchell's corner there was an uninhabited log house.

"Geo. Gordon kept tavern above Resor's (on Main), and there was no other house on that side toward Second street; all up to the corner was a pasture-lot, belonging to and occupied by Israel Ludlow.

"William Ramsay kept store where Kilgour & Taylor have since, at the corner of the alley (on Front) below Main street. Isaac Anderson and Samuel Dick owned and occupied the lots, west on Front, as far as Walnut street. William McCann kept tavern at Liverpool's corner (Front and Walnut). Freeman, the printer, resided between Walnut and Vine streets.

"Martin Baum, William Ramsay, and myself, clubbed together and paid *one dollar*, per year, to a man for mowing down the gympson weeds in front of the houses on the Public Landing. We all had our pasture-lots; mine was on Deer creek, a little north of Fox's sawmill. On this lot was a large hollow sycamore tree, which was occupied as a dwelling by a woman who washed for the garrison. A large limb had been broken off, and the stump of it left, served for a chimney. It was as much blacked by the smoke as any brick chimney I have seen since.

"General Wilkinson commanded the garrison in 1796. He had a carriage, with two handsome horses. It was the only carriage in the place at that period.

"J. W. Browne kept store where Manser's iron store now is—William and Michael Jones across the alley (Front east of Main). Duffy had a store next east, and Baum where Shoenberger's iron store has been since built. Major Ziegler kept store next to the corner of Sycamore, where Yeatman had his tavern.

"The first jail was on Water street, west of Main. It could be readily seen from the river. The debtors and criminals were all shut up together; but in daylight the jailor allowed them the liberty of the neighborhood, they taking care, whenever the sheriff was about, to make tracks to the jail as rats to their holes. There was a whipping-post, when I came to Cincinnati, about one hundred feet west of Main, and fifty feet south of Fifth street, near the line of Church alley. Levi McClean (McLean), the jailor, did the whipping. I saw a woman whipped for stealing. McClean would get drunk at times, and in these irolics would amuse himself by whipping, with a cowhide, the prisoners in jail, all round, debtors as well as criminals.

"The second jail was built at Stagg's corner of Walnut and Sixth streets. It was burnt down, after standing some years. The third was built on Church alley, nigher Walnut than Main street. The court was held on the Gano property, Main, between Fifth and Sixth streets. The Supreme Court, of which Symmes was a judge, was held at Yeatman's Tavern.

"When I first saw the mound on Fifth street, it had timber on it, like Loring's woods. There were poplars growing of immense size in the hollows below Hathaway's.

"I never saw Indians but once, in early days, and this was a party which came down Main street, in single file—all in a row, like wild geese. The squaws came last. They were quartered in the artificers' yard, just where Strader & Gorman's warehouse now stands." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 145.)

THE FIRST JAIL.

The first jail referred to had been built in 1793. It was a mere log cabin, a story and a half high and 16 feet square. The ground in its neighborhood was cleared out and it was distinctly visible from the river. Most of its occupants were debtors and were not treated with great strictness. The erection of the jail was a matter of some considerable discussion as is shown by a letter from Symmes to McMillan, written December 8, 1792. From this we learn that the jail had been begun and was going on briskly but that the people of Cincinnati were voting on the question whether the jail should be built on the first bottom or on the second bank. Symmes gave his voice for the second bank for the reason that the ground could be had much cheaper, fuel at less expense and that the situation would be more elevated and healthy, in addition to its more magnificent appearance. The soil was much more dry, the prisoners would at no time be drowned like pigs in a sty and great expense would be saved in carting the timber, and this was already more in the center of the town. This would be "more convenient than Cincinnati for the people of the other villages in the county." Water could be had by digging a well which ought to be within the liberties of the prison and if it stood on the bank of the Ohio a well would be necessary that privileged prisoners for debt might draw for themselves. In time the increase in population resulted in an increase of prisoners

and a new jail of hewed logs with a lapped shingled roof two stories high and larger than its predecessor was erected within less than two years at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Its size was 15 by 20 feet. Late in 1795 this building was moved by the public teams of eight yoked oxen in charge of Capt. John Thorpe, the quartermaster, who was assisted by John Richardson, to the lot at the corner of Church alley (now Church place) and Walnut street. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 51.)

Another early settler who gave some account of the town was Hezekiah Flint who was one of the 48 that formed the settlement at Marietta in 1788. He came to Cincinnati on a flat-boat loaded with corn on April 7, 1794. He also speaks of the pond, the home of the alder bushes and the frogs. He bought a lot of James Lyon 100 by 200 feet on Walnut below Fourth street for $150 and the southeast corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, the same size, three years afterwards for a horse valued at $400. He was offered a lot at Fourth and Main streets, 100 feet on Main by 200 feet on Fourth (afterwards the Harrison drug store corner), in 1796 for $250. This was the same year that Francis Menessier of Gallipolis bought the lot 100 feet on Main and 200 feet on Third street, (where the trust company's bank afterwards stood) for an old saddle.

Flint cultivated the square opposite the Cincinnati College, that is the square between Fourth, Fifth, Walnut and Vine streets, from 1795 to 1800 as a corn field.

Judge Matson, as well as Flint and Stitt, speaks of the difficulty of communication between the Hill and Bottom in the infancy of the city. Even at a later date he says wagons would stall going up Walnut street opposite the corner of Front. On Main from Front to Lower Market street, now Pearl, which was then many feet below its present grade from "Hill's store, No. 31, to Lower Market street, boat gunwales were laid as footways, part of the distance, and the citizens walked, in very muddy weather, upon the rails of the post and rail fences, which inclosed the lots of that street. When Pearl street was opened, some twenty-eight years ago, and the building extending from the corner to Neave & Son's store was putting up, in digging the foundations, a number of panels of posts and rail fence, the relics of those days, and which had been covered up for, probably, thirty years, were found and dug up absolutely sound. Causeways of logs, generally a foot in diameter, were laid in various parts of Main street, and it was but a few years since, in re-grading Main from Eighth to Ninth street, that a causeway of such logs were taken up, sound, but water-saturated, which extended from near Eighth street to a spot above Pfau's tavern, probably one hundred and twenty feet in distance.

"As late as the year 1800, Broadway, opposite Columbia street, and for one hundred feet north of that point, was the centre of a pond, three or four acres in extent, to which the early settlers resorted to shoot plover. Another pond, of considerable size, spread on every side from the northeast corner of Fifth and Main streets, over which persons, still living, have crossed on decayed logs. A bluff gravel bank occupied the line of Third street, for two or three squares east and west of Main street. This overhung the lower ground to the south, and was frequently caving in upon it. A faint idea only of the elevation of the bluff can be formed by observing the ascent of Main street, from Lower Market to Third. The hill, at an early date, presented its front below the line of Hopple's alley, nearly thirty feet above the present level, while Lower Market must have been thirteen or fourteen feet below its present grade. A swamp extended through Lower Market street its entire distance west of Ludlow street." (Cincinnati in 1850, p. 141.)

Judge Matson tells a curious anecdote about the erection of one of the first brick houses put up in the city, the well known tobacco establishment on Lower Market (Pearl) street. This building, which was three stories high, although one of its stories was covered up in the repeated fillings of the street, "was built upon boat gunnels." Casper Hopple, one of the early pioneers, superintended the building. "Fourteen feet above what then constituted the sill of his door, he placed the joists of the next story, and while that tier was laying, our old fellow-citizen, Jonathan Pancoast, passed by, and, after gazing at the improvement, without comprehending its design, asked of Mr. Hopple what he meant by what he was doing? Mr. H. observed, that, as accurately as he could judge, that would be the proper range of the floor, when Lower Market street would be filled to its proper level, to correspond with what he supposed would prove the final grade of Main street opposite. When the first filling of Lower Market street took place, Mr. H. was compelled to convert some five feet deep of the lower story into a cellar, to which he had access by a trap-door; and after the estab-

lishment of the present grade, of that street, the level at which he had built his joists corresponded exactly to its purpose, giving him a sill at his door and a cellar of the ordinary depth with one, as already described, below it." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 142.)

Another pioneer, Capt. Hugh Moore, had his store on the west side of Main street erected with boat planks for the inside walls, lined with poplar boards and with boat gunnels for a foundation. "When he had bargained for the house, which he rented at one hundred dollars per annum, and which, with the lot, one hundred feet on Main, by two hundred on Pearl street, he was offered, in fee simple, at three hundred and fifty dollars, he brought the flat-boat which was loaded with store goods from the Ohio, via Hobson's Choice, not far from Mill street, up Second or Columbia streets, and fastened the boat to a stake near the door, as nearly as can be judged, the exact spot where the lamp-post now stands, at the southwest corner of Main and Pearl streets." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 143.)

In 1707 Francis Baily, who afterwards became president of the Royal Astronomical Society, visited the town. His life was afterwards written by Sir John Herschel and with it was included Baily's "Journal."

According to Baily, at this time Cincinnati contained about three or four hundred houses, mostly frame-built. "The inhabitants are chiefly employed in some way of business, of which there is a great deal here transacted, the town being (if you may so call it) the metropolis of the Northwestern Territory. This is the grand depot for the stores which come down for the forts established on the frontiers, and here is also the seat of government for the Territory, being the residence of the Attorney-General, Judges, etc., appointed by the President of the United States, for the administration of justice. On the second bank there is a block fort put up with two ravelins; and between the fort and the river, and immediately upon the borders of the latter, is the Artificers' Yard, where a number of men are kept continually employed in furnishing the army with mechanical necessaries, such as tubs, kegs, firearms, etc., etc. On the second bank, not far from the fort, there are the remains of an old fortification, with some mounds not far from it. It is of a circular form, and by walking over it I found the mean diameter to be three hundred and twelve paces, or seven hundred and eighty feet, which makes the circumference very nearly half a mile. There are on the ramparts of it the stumps of some oak trees lately cut down, which measured two feet eight inches diameter, at three feet from the ground. The mounds, which were at but a short distance from it, were of the same construction as those I have described at Grave creek." (Journal of a Tour in North America in 1796-97, p. 228.)

A little later description is that of Jeremiah Butterfield who in 1798, passing down the Ohio on a flat-boat, visited the town, "which was then but an inconsiderable village, composed mostly of log cabins, with few good brick or frame buildings, containing not more than one thousand inhabitants. It contained one bakery, at which Mr. Butterfield applied for bread to supply the boat's crew; but without success, the baker having but three loaves on hand, and these engaged by other persons."

THE ARRIVAL OF DR. DRAKE.

The best description of the early town at the end of the century is of course that of Dr. Daniel Drake, who came to Cincinnati a boy of 15 years on December 18, 1800. In his address delivered many years later, January 9, 1852, before the Cincinnati Medical Association at the hall of the Mechanics' Institute at Sixth and Vine, he gives us a description of the settlement as he first saw it, which has ever remained the most vivid picture of the city's early days:

CINCINNATI IN 1800.

"In the first year of this century the cleared lands at this place did not equal the surface which is now completely built over. North of the canal and west of the Western row there was forest, with here and there a cabin and small clearing, connected with the village by a narrow, winding road. Curved lines, you know, symbolize the country, straight lines the city. South of where the Commercial Hospital now administers relief annually to three times as many people as then composed the population of the town, there were half-cleared fields, with broad margins of blackberry vines; and I, with other young persons, frequently gathered that delicious fruit, at the risk of being snake-bitten, where the Roman Catholic Cathedral now sends its spire into the lower clouds. Further south the ancient mound near Fifth street, on which General Wayne planted his sentinels seven years before, was overshadowed with trees which, together with itself, should have been preserved; but its dust like that of those who then delighted to play on its beautiful slopes, has mingled with

the remains of the unknown race by whom it was erected. The very spot on which we are now assembled, but a few years before the time of which I speak, was part of a wheat field of sixteen acres owned by Mr. James Ferguson and fenced in without reference to the paved streets which now cut through it. The stubble of that field is still decaying in the soil around the foundations of the noble edifice in which we are now assembled. Seventh street, then called Northern row, was almost the northern limit of population. Sixth street had a few scattering houses; Fifth not many more. Between that and Fourth there was a public square, now built over. In one corner, the northeast, stood the Court House, with a small market place in front, which nobody attended. In the northwest corner was the jail, in the southwest the village school house; in the southeast, where a glittering spire tells the stranger that he is approaching our city, stood the humble church of the pioneers, whose bones lie mouldering in the centre of the square, then the village cemetery. Walnut, called Cider street, which bounds that square on the west, presented a few cabins or small frames; but Vine street was not yet opened to the river. Fourth street, after passing Vine, branched into roads and paths. Third street, running near the brow of the upper plain, was on as high a level as Fifth street is now. The gravelly slope of that plain stretched from east to west almost to Pearl street. On this slope, between Main and Walnut, a French political exile, whom I shall name hereafter, planted, in the latter part of the last century, a small vineyard. This was the beginning of that cultivation for which the environs of our city have at length become distinguished. I suppose this was the first cultivation of the foreign grape in the valley of the Ohio. Where Congress, Market, and Pearl streets, since opened, send up the smoke of their great iron foundries, or display in magnificent warehouses the products of different and distant lands, there was a belt of low, wet ground which, up to the settlement of the town twelve years before, had been a series of beaver ponds, filled by the annual overflows of the river and the rains from the upper plains. Second, then known as Columbia street, presented some scattered cabins, dirty within and rude without; but Front street exhibited an aspect of considerable pretension. It was nearly built up with log and frame houses, from Walnut street to Eastern row, now called Broadway. The people of wealth and the men of business, with the Hotel de Ville, kept by Griffin Yeatman, were chiefly on this street, which even had a few patches of sidewalk pavement. In front of the mouth of Sycamore street, near the hotel, there was a small wooden market house built over a cove, into which pirogues and other craft, when the river was high, were poled or paddled, to be tied to the rude columns.

"The common then stretched out to where the land and water now meet, when the river is at its mean height. It terminated in a high, steep, crumbling bank, beneath which lay the flat-boats of immigrants or of traders in flour, whiskey, and apples, from Wheeling, Fort Pitt, or Redstone Old Fort. Their winter fires, burning in iron kettles, sent up lazy columns of smoke, where steamers now darken the air with hurried clouds of steam and soot. One of these vessels has cost more than the village would then have brought at auction. From this common the future Covington, in Kentucky, appeared as a corn field, cultivated by the Kennedy family, which also kept the ferry. Newport, chiefly owned by two Virginia gentlemen, James Taylor and Richard Southgate, but embracing the Mayos, Fowlers, Berrys, Stubbs, and several other respectable families, was a drowsy village set in the side of a deep wood, and the mouth of Licking River was overarched with trees, giving it the appearance of a great tunnel.

"After Front street, Sycamore and Main were the most important of the town. A number of houses were built upon the former up to Fourth, beyond which it was opened three or four squares. The buildings and business of Main street extended up to Fifth, where, on the northwest corner, there was a brick house, owned by Elmore Williams, the only one in town. Beyond Seventh, Main street was a mere road, nearly impassable in muddy weather, which at the foot of the hills divided into two, called the Hamilton road and the Mad River road. The former, now a crooked and closely built street, took the course of the Brighton House; the latter made a steep ascent over Mount Auburn, where there was not a single habitation. Broadway, or Eastern row, was then but thirty-three feet wide. The few buildings which it had were on the west side, where it joins Front street; on the site of the Cincinnati Hotel there was a low frame house, with whiskey and a billiard table. It was said that the owner paid seven hundred dollars for the house and lot in nine pences; that is, in small pieces of "cut money" received for drams. North of this, towards Second street, there were sev-

eral small houses, inhabited by disorderly persons who had been in the army. The sidewalk in front was called Battle row. Between Second and Third streets, near where we now have the eastern end of the market house, there was a single frame tenement, in which I lived with my preceptor (Dr. Goforth) in 1805. In a pond, directly in front, the frogs gave us regular serenades. Much of the square to which this house belonged was fenced in, and served as a pasture ground for a pony which I kept for country practice. * * *

"Between Third and Fourth streets, on the west side of Broadway, there was, in 1800, a corn field with a rude corn-field fence, since replaced by mansions of such magnificence that a Russian traveler, several years ago, took away drawings of one as a model for the people of St. Petersburg. Above Fourth street, Broadway had but three or four houses, and terminated at the edge of a thick wood, before reaching the foot of Mount Auburn.

"East of Broadway and north of Fourth street, the entire square had been enclosed and a respectable frame house erected by the Hon. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory. He had removed to Mississippi Territory, of which he was afterwards Governor; and his house and grounds, the best improved in the village, were occupied by the Hon. Charles Wylling Byrd, his successor in office. Governor Sargent merits a notice among the physicians of the town, as he was the first who made scientific observations on our climate.

"Immediately south of his residence, from Fourth street to the river east of Broadway, there was a military reserve. That portion of it which laid on the upper plain was covered by Fort Washington, with its bastions, port-holes, stockades, tall flag-staff, evening tattoo, and morning reveille. Here were the quarters of the military members of our profession, and for a time for one of its civil members also; for, after its evacuation in 1803, my preceptor moved into the rooms which had been occupied by the commander of the post. In front of the fort, where Congress street now runs, there was a pond, in which ducks and snipes were often shot; and from this pond to the river, the tract through which Second and East Front streets now run was overspread with the long, low sheds of the commissaries, quartermasters, and artificers of the army.

"The post office was then and long after kept on the east side of this military common, where Lawrence street leads down to the Newport ferry. Our quiet and gentlemanly postmaster, William Ruffin, performed all the duties of the office with his own hands. The great Eastern mail was then brought once a week from Maysville, Kentucky, in a pair of saddle-bags.

"East of the fort, on the upper plain, the trunks of large trees were still lying on the ground. A single house had been built by Dr. Allison where the Lytle house now stands, and a field of several acres stretched off to the east and north. On my arrival this was the residence of my preceptor. The dry cornstalks of early winter were still standing near the door. But Dr. Allison had planted peach trees, and it was known throughout the village as Peach Grove. The field extended to the bank of Deer creek; thence all was deep wood. Where the munificent expenditures of Nicholas Longworth, Esq., have collected the beautiful exotics of all climates—on the very spot where the people now go to watch the unfolding of the night-blooming cereus—grew the red-bud, crab-apple, and gigantic tulip tree, or the yellow poplar, with wild birds above and native flowers below. Where the Catawba and Herbemont now swing down their heavy and luscious clusters, the climbing winter vine hung its small, sour branches from the limbs of high trees. The adjoining valley of Deer creek, down which, by a series of locks, the canal from Lake Erie mingles its waters with the Ohio, was then a receptacle for driftwood from the back water of that river, when high. The boys ascended the little estuary in canoes during June floods, and pulled flowers from the lower limbs of the trees or threw clubs at the turtles, as they sunned themselves on the floating logs. In the whole valley there was but a single house, and that was a distillery. The narrow road which led to it from the garrison—and, I am sorry to add, from the village also—was well trodden.

"Mount Adams was then clothed in the grandeur and beauty which belongs to our own primitive forests. The spot occupied by the reservoir which supplies our city with water, and all the rocky precipices that stretch from it up the river, were buried up in sugar-trees. On the western slope we collected the *sanguinaria Canadensis, geranium maculatum, gillenia trifoliata,* and other native medicines, when supplies failed to reach us from abroad. The summit on which the Observatory now stands was crowned with lofty poplars, oaks, and beech; and the sun in summer could scarcely be seen from the spot where we now look into the valleys of the moon

or see distant nebulae resolved into their starry elements.

"Over the mouth of Deer creek there was a crazy wooden bridge, and where the depot of the railroad which connects us with the sea has been erected, there was but a small log cabin. From this cabin a narrow, rocky, and stumpy road made its way, as best it could, up the river, where the railway now stretches. At the distance of two miles there was another cabin—that from which we expelled the witch. Beyond this all was forest for miles further, when we reached the residence of John Smith, who was afterward mixed up in Burr's conspiracy, and died in exile in Pensacola. The new village of Pendleton now covers that spot. Then came the early, but now extinct, village of Columbia, of which our first physicians were the only medical attendants." (Drake's Discourses, p. 31.)

THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN CINCINNATI.

The names of many of the early settlers and the times of their arrivals have already been given in the descriptions of the town, but it may be well to note particularly some of them. One of the earliest arrivals in the first year of the village was that of William Moody (the son of a baker from Marietta) who is said to have been the first child born here. The date of his birth was St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, and the place a cabin on the southwest corner of Fourth and Main. Julius Dexter, than whom no one was more accurate in statement, in his brief note of introduction to King's "Hand Book of Cincinnati," says: "A single lifetime has covered the existence of Cincinnati: for the first white child born in the place (William Moody, March 17, 1790), died in 1879."

Moody's claim to the honor mentioned was recognized in many other ways and when he was sergeant-at-arms to the City Council he was referred to both in the city reports and in the directories as the first white child born in Cincinnati. At the time of his death in 1879 he was referred to by the mayor in his message as follows:

"Within a few days has died, on Barr street, William Moody, who, as extraordinary as it may appear, was generally accredited with being the first white child born in this city. Mr. Moody was born in a log cabin which stood not far from the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Cincinnati, or Losantiville, as it was then called, consisted of a few log cabins mostly located south of Third street, and had a population of less than two hundred people, the soldiers stationed in Fort Washington included; yet this child grew to manhood and lived long enough to see Cincinnati become the Queen City of the West, teeming with an active, energetic, thrifty population of over three hundred thousand people. How hard it is to realize the fact that such wonderful, marvelous changes could take place within the lifetime of a single citizen."

We have already seen that others laid claim to the same distinction. Dr. Drake in the address already referred to, while enumerating the early practitioners of medicine, puts in a claim for David Cummins in the following words:

"But truth and gallantry alike demand, that in this enumeration, I should not omit the first *Sage-femme* of the infant village, which in its first year, began to be a village of infants. The eldest-born, of a broad and brilliant succession, was DAVID CUMMINS, whose name is appropriately perpetuated in our little neighbor—Cumminsville, the site of which was then a sugar-tree wood, with groves of papaw and spicewood bushes. I have not been able to learn the native place of the venerable Mrs. McKnight. The scene of her first professional achievement, in the young village, was an humble log cabin, in front of where the Burnet House now stands. I do not know when she died, but this I *do* know, and record with pride, that her night-errandry was not only professional but chivalrous, for the cry of Indians did not frighten her to the other side of the river." (Drake's Discourses, p. 20.)

Another claimant for this distinction is Maj. Daniel Gano (born May 27, 1794), for many years clerk of the old Court of Common Pleas and Supreme Court and afterwards clerk of the old Superior Court. Judge Carter says: "He was, I believe, among the first white children, if not the very first white child born in the city of Cincinnati. He was born and grew up here, and he lived here, and he died here. Near fourscore years of age, he departed this life, which had been rewarded through the whole long line of it, by the highest regard and esteem of his fellow citizens. He was a worthy, clever man, and most efficient officer, and was certainly one of the best looking men in the city and country. He was distinguished for wearing a large perfectly white, cambric ruffle, down the open bosom of his shirt adorned with a beautiful breastpin, and the *old-fashioned Revolutionary* plaited cue of his hair, tied with black ribbon in a bow, and hanging down his back between his shoulders; and even for modern times, he never gave it up, and retained in his toilet this mark of the old

Revolutionary forefathers of this country, to the day of his shroud and coffin. He was buried with it, and no doubt, it is in his grave, and flourishing still. His ancestors were among the first settlers of Cincinnati, clear back in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and his posterity are still with us, in respect and esteem, and long will the name of GANO be remembered and respected in this Queen City of the West." (The "Old Court House," p. 59.)

David R. Kemper who was born on Sycamore street in Cincinnati in May, 1793, has been frequently referred to as the first born Cincinnati child, but this statement arises from a remark by Mr. Cist, who in 1845 said that he could not find any individual living at that time who was a native of Cincinnati at an earlier date than May 17, 1793, which was Kemper's birthday. Moody was alive at that time.

The minute book of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association contains a record of many births and arrivals in Ohio. Among these appear the names of the following early residents born in Ohio: William Moody, born on Fourth and Main on March 17, 1790; Daniel Gano, born in the house at Front and Lawrence, afterwards styled Major Ruffin's, May 29, 1794; William Maxwell, son of the publisher, born November 9, 1794; Thomas D. Kennedy, born on the northwest corner of Main and Columbia streets August 6, 1795; Fergus Anderson, born on Front street (near Walnut) June 14, 1797; Samuel B. Demoret, born at head of Broadway near Canal crossing, July 8, 1798; Elizabeth Reynolds, daughter of Benjamin Griffith, born in 1797; Sophia B. Williamson, daughter of Samuel Williams, born October 23, 1798; Charles Kilgour Smith, son of Sheriff James Smith, born February 15, 1799; Isabella Anderson, daughter of Griffin Yeatman, born October 12, 1799; John H. Ewing, born October 2, 1801; and the following born in 1802,—Ezekial Walker, Margaret Douglass, Abigail Bernard and Melancthon S. Wade. The following names are those born in the county outside of Cincinnati: 1790,—in the picket fort at North Bend, Daniel G. Howell; 1792,—Columbia, David M. Miller; 1794,—James Sampson and Drusilla C. Williams, daughter of Allen Culbert; 1795,—Stephen Schooly; 1796,—Springfield township, Daniel Cameron; 1797,—Eliza Yeatman; 1798,—at North Bend, David Gerard; 1799,—Mill Creek township, Maria Williams, daughter of Peter Mills; Springfield township, Cyrus Brown; 1800,—Francis Burns and Henry S. Earhardt; 1801,—Julia Delaplaine, daughter of William Cullum, five miles below Cincinnati; 1802,—Anderson township, John H. Gerard—Springfield township, Cornelius Sprong—North Bend, Thomas J. Silvers, son of Judge James Silvers—White Water township, Sarah Gerard, daughter of John Gerard and Phoebe M. Wilson, daughter of Benjamin Cutler.

As marriages are usually placed next to births the first ceremonies of the kind that are remembered may as well be mentioned. 'Squire William McMillan married two couples in 1790,—Daniel Shoemaker and Elsy (Alice) Ross and Darius C. Orcutt and Sallie McHenry. A little later Peter Cox was married to Frances McHenry. The death of Cox which took place shortly afterwards at the hands of Indians is described in another chapter.

The same magistrate married Benjamin Orcutt and Ruth Reynolds of Columbia, March 17, 1790, and 'Squire John S. Gano married Joseph Kelley of Cincinnati and Kesiah Blackford of Columbia, on April 22, 1790.

EARLY SETTLERS.

The arrival of Benjamin Van Cleve on January 3, 1790, has already been noted. He did not remain in Cincinnati many years, but removed to Dayton in 1796.

Samuel Dick with his wife and two children came from Washington County in September, 1790, and purchased the lot at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets where he built his residence in which he kept tavern. He was one of those who subscribed to the first church and afterwards marched to the relief of Dunlap's Station. He purchased a number of pieces of property and opened a grocery and engaged in the forwarding of supplies to the various forts. He did not remain a permanent resident but removed in 1801 to Butler County.

In October of this year (1790), Ezekiel Sayre came from Stony Hill, New Jersey, with his four sons and two daughters. He finally settled at Reading. One of his daughters, Huldah, married Col. John S. Wallace. She survived until November 29, 1850, being at the time of her death one of the oldest continuous residents in Cincinnati. She retained her faculties to the last and from her have been obtained many of the reminiscences of early days.

A son of Sayre, Maj. Pierson Sayre, who was a soldier of the Revolution, came to Cincinnati some years afterwards and for a time kept the Green Tree Inn. He returned very soon to Butler County from which point he had come, where he lived until 1852.

Another settler of 1790 was Col. John Riddle from New Jersey who became a prominent citizen. He was a blacksmith by trade and shod the horses for the garrison at Fort Washington. He accumulated enough at this trade to purchase from Judge Symmes the section of land near the subsequent site of the Brighton House, at that time two miles northwest of the village. On this, for which he paid 66 cents an acre, he settled in 1793 and lived until his death on June 17, 1847.

The most important arrival of the following year, 1792, was William Henry Harrison who after attempting for a time the study of medicine in Philadelphia had concluded to enter the army and had been appointed ensign in the infantry. He was about 19 years of age and, as he tells us in his autobiography, was not pleasantly received by his fellow officers as he had displaced the son of one of them who desired his appointment.

Among the immigrants of the following year was James Smith who soon formed the partnership with James Findlay already spoken of. Smith held many offices including that of sheriff of the county which he retained until the formation of the State, at which time he was elected to the office by the people and continued in that position for eight years. He was also collector of taxes and of the Federal revenue, private secretary to Governor St. Clair, captain of the first company of light infantry and paymaster in the War of 1812. He was among the foremost of the early settlers as respects character, influence and capacity for business, and possessed in a large degree that public confidence most highly prized by gentlemen, the trust reposed in an honest man. He moved to a farm near Hamilton in 1805 where he died in 1834. (McBride's Pioneer Biography.)

James Findlay, his partner, has been referred to frequently. He also was a man of great prominence in the settlement. He was receiver of the Land Office for many years, major general of the first division of Ohio militia, and a member of Congress from 1825 to 1833.

In April, 1793, David McCash and his family emigrated to Cincinnati, landing at the Stone Landing near Broadway.

"They bought out a settler's right to a log cabin, on Walnut, north of Third street, being the lot north of that on which the Masonic Building has been recently built, and purchased an outlot of four acres for as many dollars, being the ground now including Miles Greenwood's foundry, the Bavarian Brewery, and bounded south by the Miami Canal, and worth now, without including the improvements, three hundred thousand dollars.

"The oldest brother, William, constructed a water-cart, the frame of which was formed of two poles, in the middle of which a crosspiece was fastened; pegs to hold the barrel were driven into the lower part, and the ends served for shafts. This was the first convenience for supplying the city with water for cooking or drinking uses.

"The next step in the progress of vehicles for transportation, in this city, was the construction, by McCash, of a wheeled cart. This was effected by making a pair of wooden wheels, perhaps six inches thick, and two and a half feet in diameter, connected with—not running on—an axle, which was held by large staples in which it rolled, that secured it to the bed and shafts. McCash hauled the first barrel on his car and the first load of goods on his dray or cart, ever transported through the streets of Cincinnati.

"James, the younger brother, from whom I have these facts, recollects, when but five years old, planting the four-acre lot alluded to, in pumpkins, which he dropped into the hills of corn, prepared by the old man, and planted by the elder brother." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 130.)

Another early trader, who staid but a short time however, was a Virginia tanner named Matthew Hueston, who landed April 17, 1793. His experience in the city was unfortunate. He had brought with him a stock of leather goods part of which he sold in Cincinnati to a man who took away the goods but failed to pay the money. Hueston thereupon went to work in the tannery afterwards owned by Jesse Hunt and later took service under William and Robert McClellan, packhorse masters for Wayne's army. He served for a time as commissary in the army but in 1795 he resigned and took up the business of trader. He formed a partnership with John Savre, who had charge of the business in Cincinnati and he himself conducted for a time a branch establishment at Greenville so as to be nearer the forts. The business was profitable for a time and quite a fortune was accumulated but Savre became intemperate and took to gambling and finally sold the stock and ran away, leaving Hueston to pay the debts. This he did in part and then he took employment as a cattle herdsman driving cattle to Detroit. For this service he was paid two and one-half dollars per head. He was successful and shortly returned

to Cincinnati and soon paid off the remaining debts of his firm. He finally bought a tract of land near Hamilton where he settled and lived until the time of his death in 1847.

Another noted arrival of the same year was Col. John Johnson, so many years Indian agent and quite a prolific writer of early history. Many of his articles, contributed to Mr. Cist's "Miscellany" and other periodicals, are of great value.

A citizen whose name appears as frequently as that of any of the early inhabitants was Griffin Yeatman, who arrived June 20, 1793.

The arrival of Francis Menessier, who had been an advocate in France and a member of the French Parliament, took place in the following year. He had been one of those who were compelled to leave France just prior to the Revolution and had joined the Gallipolis settlement. He finally gave up the struggle at that point and came to Cincinnati. Here the lawyer and statesman took up the occupation of a pastry cook and innkeeper at Main and Third streets.

Isaac Anderson who had been a lieutenant under Colonel Laughery and with his expedition had been defeated and captured just below the Great Miami in 1781 came back to Cincinnati as a settler in 1795. He took up his residence at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets in a cabin already erected there. Subsequently he built a larger house on the lot in which he kept a tavern known as the Green Tree Hotel. This tavern appears on the well known map of Cincinnati in 1802. About 1800 he was succeeded by Major Sayre and moved to Butler County.

The following year as already stated was the year of the arrival of Judge Burnet and his brother George W. Burnet. This was the most distinguished family in the early history of the city. The death of the brother George is pathetically mentioned by the Judge in his "Notes." Another brother, Isaac G. Burnet, was mayor of the city and editor of *Liberty Hall*. A fourth brother, David G. Burnet, finally went to Texas where he became the first president of the Texan Republic. This too was the year of the arrival of Rev. William Burke.

In addition to Francis Baily, whose visit has already been mentioned, two other distinguished strangers passed through Cincinnati in 1796.

One was the famous French philosopher, Volney, the author of the "View" and "Ruins." He stopped at Yeatman's Tavern while in the city, where his visit excited much curiosity.

Another visitor was Andrew Ellicott, commissioner on behalf of the United States for determining the boundary between this country and Spain. Mr. Ellicott in his journal spoke of Cincinnati as the capital of the Northwest Territory situated on a fine high bank and for the time it had been building a very respectable place. The latitude by means of three good observations he determined to be thirty-nine degrees five minutes and fifty-four seconds north. He was entertained while here by Mr. Sargent and Captain Harrison who commanded at Fort Washington.

In 1798 among the arrivals were John M. Wright, Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden, David Kautz and William Legg.

The last of the old century, 1800, contributed an unusual quota of distinguished settlers. Dr. William Goforth came in the early part of the year and his pupil Dr. Daniel Drake towards the end of the year.

Another prominent arrival was Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church and for many years one of Cincinnati's most distinguished citizens.

Martin Baum, one of the early members of the powerful German constituency which has done so much for Cincinnati, probably arrived this year.

Mr. Cist in his "Miscellany" published the following list of pioneers of Cincinnati which of course was very incomplete. (Although obviously inaccurate in some particulars, it is given without change):

1790—James Ferguson, John Riddle, Mrs. Mary Gano, Christop'r Smith, Mrs. H. Wallace.
1792—Asa Holcomb.
1794—Dan'l. Gano, Jonathan Lyon (?), Griffin Yeatman (?).
1795—Jonah Martin.
1796—Jacob Burnet, Isaac Burton, William Burke, Sam'l. Stitt, Wm. Saunders.
1797—John Mahard.
1798—David Kautz, Wm. Legg, Nich. Longworth (?), Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden.
1800—Daniel Drake, Jno. B. Enness, Edward Dodson, Charles Faran, A. Valentine, Stephen Wheeler, John Wood, J. L. Wilson, Caleb Williams.
1801—Robt. Wallace, John Whetstone.
1802—Sam'l. Perry, Wm. Pierson, Ethan Stone.
1804—Ephraim Carter, James Crawford, William Crippen, Henry Craven, Caspar Hopple, Andrew Johnston, Benjamin Mason, Peter McNicoll, Adam Moore, Wm. Moody, Jona. Pancoast, Jos. Perry, Jos. Pancoast, Robt. Richardson, P. S. Symmes, Benj. Smith, P. A. Sprigman, G. P. Torrence. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 255, 271.)

This publication called forth a letter from Thomas Irwin who, referring to the trip already described at length, states that when he was

seventeen years of age he with James Burns landed from Washington County, Pennsylvania at Cincinnati between the 1st and 10th of April, 1789, and continued here until the second week in June. There were but four families here when they landed. Mr. McHenry had a large family, two sons and two daughters; Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Dement and Mr. Ross had small families. "Mr. McMillan, John Vance, David Logan, Mr. Reeves, Hardesty, Van Eaton and McConnell all lived in one shanty being perhaps the first that was ever put up in the place as nearly all of them had been out with the surveyors surveying Symmes' purchase and were there when the town was laid out and all had lots in it." Irwin returned again in 1790 on Harmar's campaign and was also in Cincinnati in 1791. In the winter after Harmar's campaign he recollected Mr. Riddle, Mr. Ferguson, who married a Miss Reeder, and Mrs. Wallace, whose maiden name was Sayre, as being at Cincinnati.

Another list of arrivals is as follows:

1790—Samuel Dick and family, Ezekiel Sayre and family, John Riddle.
1791—W. H. Harrison.
1792—James Ferguson, (?) James Smith, James Findlay, Asa Holcomb, Captain Spencer.
1793—Matthew Huestion, David McCash, John Johnson, William Maxwell, Griffin Yeatman. (?)
1794—Hezekiah Flint, Francis Menessier, Daniel Gano, Jonathan Lyon (?).
1795—Benjamin Perlee, Jonah Martin, Isaac Anderson.
1796—Jacob Burnet, George W. Burnet, Samuel Stott, J. W. Brown, Rev. William Burke, William Saunders, John Mahard.
1798—John M. Wright, Nicholas Longworth (?) Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden, David Kautz, William Legg.
1799—Aaron Lane.
1800—Dr. William Goforth, Dr. Daniel Drake, Joshua L. Wilson, Stephen Wheeler, Mr. Pierson, Charles Cone, John B. Enness, Edward Dodson, Charles Faran, A. Valentine, John Wood, Caleb Williams, Martin Baum.
1801—Robert Wallace, John Whetstone, Robert Parkhalter, Ephraim Morrison, William Austin, C. Avery, Thomas Frazer, Levi McLean, Dr. Holmes, Thomas Thompson, Michael Brokaw, James and Robert Caldwell, Aaron Cherry, Daniel Grube, Andrew Westfall, Nehemiah Hunt, Thomas Williams, Benjamin Walker, Edmund Freeman, John C. Williams, James Conn, Uriah Gates, Richard Downes, Lawrence Hildebrand, D. Conner, Larkin Payne, Henry Furry, George Fithian, Lewis Kerr, Joseph Blew, Isaac Anderson, William McCoy, James Wilson, and Andrew Brannon.

Another list of pioneers and times of arrivals of more or less authority is as follows:

1788—Mrs. General Gano.
1798—Mrs. Col. Strong.
1799—Mrs. Dr. Goforth.
1793—P. S. Symmes.
1791—Nehemiah Wade.
1790—William Ludlow.
1792—John Whetstone.
1795—Jonah Martin.
1795—Stephen Schooley.
1799—Jane Wade.
1800—Dr. Daniel Drake.
1800—Samuel Perry.
1801—Robert Wallace.
1801—D. C. Wallace.
1801—Daniel Van Matre.
1803—William Dennison.
1804—Mrs. Squire Merrie.

According to the signed statements in the records of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association, Jesse Coleman arrived in Columbia, December, 1788, with Captain Stites' company; Samuel Hahn, 1789; Ezra and Abram Ferris arrived at Columbia December 12, 1789; Jonathan W. Lyon and Sarah Brown Gillespie arrived in 1790; Samuel Doddridge Kemper, Edward Young Kemper, R. Cunningham, John Covert and Joseph Benham Covert arrived in 1791; John Whetstone arrived at Columbia in 1792; John Johnston and Hester Reilly arrived in 1793; Elijah Peirce and Stephen Howell arrived in 1795; William M. Badgely arrived in 1796; John Loder, Benjamin Loder, G. C. White, Daniel Cost and Isaac L. Malcott arrived in 1797; Samuel Arthurs, Samuel J. Browne, Thomas Corwin and S. R. Strong arrived in 1798; James Orr and Sarah Burdge arrived in 1799; Thomas Armstrong, Zadock Williams, William Moore, Robert Reilly, William Pierson, Stephen Wheeler, Ebenezer Wheeler and William Betts arrived in 1800; Benjamin Stewart, Thomas Autmen, Martha Hubbell and Abraham Larew arrived in 1801; Morton Wheatley, Rebecca Conklin, Robert Cary, William Carey, Bradbury Cilley and Jonathan Spinning arrived in 1802; Nicholas Longworth arrived in 1804; William Perry and J. Craven arrived in 1805; Jonathan Pancoast and Joseph Pancoast arrived in 1806; J. L. Avery arrived in 1807. (Minute Book, Cincinnati Pioneer Association.)

The following list includes the names of many of the pioneers who were the invited guests of the city at the semi-centennial celebration on December 26, 1838. The original signatures taken by John D. Jones were deposited in the archives of the city:

Signatures	When arrived in the West	Where Born	Age.
James Taylor,	May 1, 1792	Caroline Co., Va.	70
Clark Bates,	April 1, 1791	Massachusetts	67
Isaac Dunn,	Dec. 23, 1788	New Jersey	57
Ezra Ferris,	Dec. 12, 1789	Greenwich, Conn.	55

J. Bartle,	Dec.,	1789	New York City	94
Jacob Williams,	April,	1798	New Jersey	61
Israel Donaldson,	Nov.,	1787	New Jersey	67
Peter McNicoll,	May,	1804	Highlands of Scotland	68
Reuben Reeder,	March,	1791	Virginia	54
Hezekiah Flint,		1788	Massachusetts	68
Charles Cone,	May,	1800	Connecticut	64
John Mahard,	June,	1797	Ireland	68
Stephen Wheeler,	October,	1800	New Jersey	47
J. L. Wilson (Rev.)	Oct.,	1781	Virginia	64
T. Henderson (Judge)	June,	1806	London	70
John Matson,	April,	1798	Pennsylvania	68
David Griffin,	Dec., 25,	1793	Pennsylvania	50
Aaron Valentine,	Nov.,	1797	Ohio	41
Wm. Burke (P. M.)	Jan. 13,	1793	Virginia	68
Adjel McGuire,	April,	1785	Pennsylvania	60
James Lyon, Sen.,	October,	1790	New York	85
John Riddle, Sen.,		1790	New Jersey	77
Robert Wallace,		1801	Delaware	49
Asa Holcomb,			Virginia	60
John Whetstone,	Dec.,	1792	Pennsylvania	50
Aaron Gano,		1798	Ohio	40
Daniel Gano,		1794	Ohio	44
Thomas Stansberry,			Maryland	60
Alexander Gibson,			Pennsylvania	55
David Kacety,		1798	Maryland	57
Elmore Williams,	April,	1794	New Jersey	60
Edward Dodson,	Dec.,	1795	Maryland	55
Henry Craven,		1805	New Jersey	52
Daniel Drake (Orator)	Ky., Cincin.,	1788 1800	New Jersey	53
Charles Hammond,	April,	1787	Maryland	60
J. Burnet, (Judge)	July,	1796	Newark, N. J.	69
Wm. H. Harrison,	Nov.,	1791	Virginia	66

The most casual inspection will show that there are many points of disagreement in these lists; it is obviously impossible to reconcile them or at this late date to decide between them. They are therefore given as they have been handed down.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CINCINNATI VILLAGE (1790-1802)—II.

THE PIONEER CHURCHES—THE EARLY SCHOOLS—AMUSEMENTS—EARLY PHYSICIANS—THE COURTS—EARLY LAWYERS—ARTISTS—THE POST OFFICE—THE WATER SUPPLY—FIRE PROTECTION—COMMERCE—PRICES OF LAND—BRIDGES—HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS—SOCIETY.

THE PIONEER CHURCHES.

Despite the fact that among the first settlers there seem to have been men of strong religious feeling and that throughout its history Cincinnati has occupied an important position in the religious history of the country, it can hardly be said that the religious enthusiasm of the early days was of a marked character. The Ordinance of 1787 which was the fundamental law of the Territory recited that religion, morality and knowledge were necessary to good government and happiness and therefore that schools and the means of education should be encouraged. Curiously enough, churches are omitted from this statement; however in the original plat of the city an entire quarter of a square was dedicated for church uses. The most important use however to which the lot was first put was that of a cemetery. The establishment of the first church of Hamilton County, the Baptist Church at Columbia, has already been described and reference has been made to the organization of the first Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati. The latter settlement was first visited in the fall of 1790 by Rev. James Kemper who was the pioneer in the cause of religion in Cincinnati.

James Kemper was born at Cedar Grove, Warrenton, Fauquier (then Prince William) County, Virginia, November 23, 1753, the son of John Peter Kemper and his wife Elizabeth Fishback. The manor house in which he was born is still the residence of a descendant of his father. According to his own statement he was born, baptized, raised and happily married in the Episcopal Church. He was married on July 10, 1772, to Judith Hathaway, the daughter of a distinguished jurist and soldier of the Revolution. He began his married life on a farm near that of his father, but soon added to the vocation of farmer that of school teacher.

One inclement day, we are told, when farm work could not be done and scholars were not in attendance, he took the opportunity to read and ponder over certain books that came accidentally into his hands including the "Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism and Confession of Faith," together with the "Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church," and from that moment he became a Presbyterian and in that church his 15 children were baptized.

Finding that farming and school teaching were not profitable, he took up the vocation of civil engineering and became deputy county surveyor and was afterwards appointed a government surveyor. As such he was sent to Tennessee in 1783. In 1785 he started with his wife and six children on horseback for Kentucky having been induced by Rev. David Rice to undertake the vocation of a minister. He was convoyed at the time by a mounted escort of forty men and after a trip of eighteen days he arrived at the forks of Dick's River near Danville, which was then the residence of Rev. Mr. Rice. On the day after the arrival, his seventh child was born.

By reason of a misapprehension of the laws relating to the payments for government land he was soon in financial straits but finally accepted the use of a twenty-acre strip of land whose rent counted to him as salary. Here he began reading divinity, teaching school, catechising the churches and overseeing the farm, and his wife by her spinning and weaving supplied the livelihood for the family.

In May, 1785, he became the teacher in a school then established by Mr. Rice which was the first grammar school in Kentucky. This was in a log cabin whose remains were still visible as late as 1884.

In 1789 he was licensed by the Presbytery to preach "under the direction of Mr. Rice while he continues in the study of divinity." Under this authority he visited Cincinnati in November and December of 1790. On April 27, 1791, his examinations were completed and he was licensed and appointed "to supply in the churches of the Miami at discretion." This was the first appointment of the kind for any place north of the Ohio and he was the first preacher under any denomination regularly empowered to act in the settlement.

He visited Cincinnati again in June, 1791, and then agreed to return for a year. An armed escort including Daniel Doty of Columbia and a man named French set out from Cincinnati to convoy Kemper and his family from Dyck's River. They traveled through the deep woods along a trace where two men had been killed by the Indians but a week before.

Kemper and his family reached Cincinnati October 25 or 26, 1791, about nine days before St. Clair's defeat. Almost immediately afterwards came the fearful panic of this defeat and the newly arrived clergyman was most prominent in his efforts to give succor to the sick, wounded and weary, and encouragement to the frightened populace. At the stated session of the Presbytery, April 2, 1792, it was ordered "that Mr. Kemper supply one Sabbath at the North Bend of the Miami, and that he supply the rest of his time at Columbia, Cincinnati, and Round Bottom. That Mr. Rice supply at the Miami settlement two Sabbaths."

After his first year's service in this capacity, on October 2, 1792, a formal call was extended to Rev. Mr. Kemper by the united congregations of Cincinnati and Columbia, and on October 22nd and 23rd he was ordained as pastor of the church at those two points by Revs. David Rice, James Connel and Terah Templin, who constituted the Presbytery of Transylvania, and had been escorted by an armed convoy from Danville to Cincinnati by way of Limestone.

Kemper's personal appearance is described by his grandson, as follows: "When he came to Cincinnati, he measured five feet nine inches, weighed one hundred and sixty pounds, and was full of health, strength and endurance. He wore knee breeches, silver knee and shoe buckles, three high collars to his coat, a queue, a voluminous neckcloth, and was a careful dresser. He was unsurpassed as a horseman. He was winning in his manners and slow to speak. His eye was dark, commanding and attractive. His countenance was open, serious, preoccupied and expectant. His personal appearance attracted attention. He was not pretentious, brilliant nor profound, but plain, simple, unassuming, ready and reliable, and endued with an exquisite common sense. He shrank from personal controversy yet never chose the line of least resistance for its own sake. In his family he was quiet, gentle, reserved, and obeyed. In his habits he was regular, abstemious, temperate, and a total abstainer from spirits and tobacco. He was hopeful and cheerful, never cast down." (Rev. James Kemper by Dr. A. C. Kemper.)

Kemper wrote of the church at Cincinnati as being still unorganized because they thought the number of male members too small to select a promising session and that the church consisted of six males and two females in Columbia and Cincinnati. The date of the informal organization is variously stated as October 16, 1790, and August 20, 1791. Eight persons constituted the first society—Joseph Reeder, Annie Reeder, Jacob Reeder, Samuel Sering, Sarah Sering, David Kitchel, Jonathan Ticknor, and Isaac Morris. On September 5, 1793, the number had increased to 19 adult male members from whom were selected five ruling elders and two deacons. At the time of Kemper's arrival October 17, 1791, it had been agreed that the organization should attempt to raise seven hundred dollars which should be used in building a meeting house on the corner of Fourth and Main streets from the timber upon the lot. A subscription paper was started on January 17, 1792, as follows:

"We, the subscribers, for the purpose of erecting a house of public worship in the village of Cincinnati, to the use of the Presbyterian denomination, do severally bind ourselves and ex-

ecutors, firmly, and by these presents, the several sums of money and commutations in labor respectively annexed to our names, to be paid to John Ludlow, Jacob Reeder, James Lyon, Moses Miller, John Thorpe, and William McMillan, or either of them their heirs or administrators, trustees appointed for the business of superintending the building aforesaid, payments to be made as follows: One-third part of our several subscriptions to be paid so soon as the timbers requisite for the aforesaid building may be collected on the ground where the said house is to be built. Another third when the said house is framed and raised. And the other third part when the aforesaid house may be under cover and weather-boarded. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, on the day affixed to our names."

The following list of subscribers is interesting as it seems to constitute almost a directory of the inhabitants:

June 17, 1792

John Ludlow,	James Bury,
Jacob Reeder,	Thomas Gibson,
James Lyon,	Henry Taylor,
Moses Miller,	Elias Wallen,
John Thorpe,	Thomas Cochran,
William McMillan,	James Richards,
John P. Smith,	John Bartle,
David E. Wade,	J. Mercer,
James Brady,	H. Wilson,
Joel Williams,	William Miller,
Levi Woodward,	James Reynolds,
William Woodward,	Thomas Brown,
Jeremiah Ludlow,	Matthew Deasy,
James Demint,	Ensign William H. Harrison,
Richard Benham,	Margaret Rusk,
John Cutter,	Samuel Martin,
Joseph Lloyd,	Moses Jones,
Nehemiah Hunt,	J. Gilbreath,
Cornelius Miller,	Winthrop Sargent,
Abr. Boston,	Captain Mahlon Ford,
Gabriel Cox,	M. McDonogh,
Samuel Pierson,	Matthias Burns,
Daniel Bates,	Jabez Wilson,
Benjamin Fitzgerald,	James Lowry,
James Kemper,	Alexander McCoy,
Isaac Bates,	David Hole,
John Adams,	James Cunningham,
William Miner,	Major Joseph Taylor,
James Miller,	Captain William Peters,
Seth Cutter,	H. Marks,
S. Miller,	Ezekiel Sayre,
John Lyon,	W. Elwes,
James McKane,	Daniel Hole,
Benjamin Valentine,	James McKnight,
Asa Peck,	John Darragh,
Robert Hurd,	Daniel C. Cooper,
Samuel Dick,	Francis Kennedy,
Robert Benham,	General James Wilkinson,
Joseph Shaw,	Dr. Richard Allison,
Isaac Felty,	Ensign John Wade,
James Wallace,	

Robert Caldwell,	Samuel Kitchell,
Jonathan Davies,	Samuel Williams,
Thomas Ellis,	David Logan,
Daniel Shoemaker,	David Long,
John Blanchard,	Joseph Spencer,
Benjamin Jennings,	James Blackburn,
John Gaston,	J. Mentzies,
Jonas Seaman,	James Kremer,
Reuben Roe,	W. H. Mills,
John Cummins,	Matthew Winton,
Elliott & Williams,	Samuel Gilman,
Thomas McGrath,	John Dixon.

The highest subscription is said to have been eight dollars, most of them were two or three dollars. Those who could not give money contributed materials or labor. The building has already been described in this chapter.

Previous to the erection of this building, meetings had been held at private houses and at the horse-mill on Vine below Third at the foot of the hill. John Smith, the Baptist preacher from Columbia (afterwards Senator), had preached a number of times to the settlement. The ground itself had already been used as a graveyard. The title to the land remained in the government until the time of the patent to Symmes who afterwards on December 28, 1797, conveyed the lots to Moses Miller, John Thorpe, John Ludlow, James Lyon, William McMillan, David E. Wade and Jacob Reeder, trustees for the Presbyterian congregation of Cincinnati. This title was afterwards assailed but was confirmed almost a half century afterwards by the Supreme Court. In the very month after the completion of the building it was used as a court house and here in October, 1792, John or James Mays was tried for murder and sentenced to hang, the first to undergo that sentence in the settlement.

Another important event of somewhat dissimilar character was the installation of Mr. Kemper as pastor on October 23rd. At the same time the Presbytery of Transylvania held its annual meeting in Cincinnati, the first meeting of an ecclesiastical body in the town.

On June 11, 1794, another subscription paper was circulated "to finish the meeting house, to pale the door-yard and fence in the burying-ground." The list of subscribers to this paper is also preserved and is valuable as giving the names of many of the early citizens of the town:

Moses Miller	$ 8.00
Jacob Reeder	8.00
James Lyon	5.00
James Kemper	8.00

John Lyon	2.00
Ezra Fitz Freeman	2.00
David E. Wade	10.00
John Brown	10.00
Nathaniel Stokes	2.00
Elliott & Williams	8.00
Thomas Irwin	1.00
Joseph Brice	3.00
C. Avery	1.00
Jacob Lowe	1.00
Edward Kelly	1.00
John Galbraith	1.00
Andrew Paul	1.00
M. Winton	3.00
John Adams	3.00
Robert McClure	3.00
William Maxwell	3.00
Robertson & Mackay	3.00
O. Ormsby	2.00
John Riddle	4.00
Job Gard	3.00
Stephen Reeder	6.00
William Reddeck	1.00
Thomas Denny	2.50
Robert Mitchell	2.00
William Harris	4.00
Christopher Dickson	4.00
Matthias Person	1.00
Frederick Coons	1.00
J. Gibson	1.00
Robert McCray	2.00
A. Hunt & Co.	20.00
Samuel James	5.00
James Ward	1.00
James Garrison	1.00
Duncan Steward	1.00
Thomas Underlevy	1.00
Alexander Darlington	1.00
Martin Baum	1.00
Enos Terry	2.00
A. J. Caldwell	1.00
Mrs. Willcocks	1.00
Peter Kemper	2.00
Thomas Goudy	4.00
G. Yeatman	2.00
Ezekiel Sayre	3.00
Samuel Robinson	3.00
Luther Kitchell	5.00
Stophel Oldrid	1.00
William Irvin	1.00
Nehemiah Hunt	1.00
John Dixon	3.00
James Brunton	2.00
William Miller	2.00
D. C. Orcutt	2.00
Nathan Barnes	1.00
Evan James	1.00
Joel Williams	3.00
Ziba Stebbins	3.00
John McCay	1.00
John Miller	1.00
William Darragh	1.00
Michael Fox	1.00
James Ferguson	5.00
Miss Henderson	2.00
Thomas Kebby	2.00
Patrick Dickey	2.00
Samuel Creigh	10.00
William Irwin	1.00
Azarias Thorn	1.00
James Gillespie	1.00
John Welsh	1.00
Samuel Freeman	1.00
Moses Bradley	1.00
George Gillespie	1.00
Caleb Mulford	1.00
John Miller	1.00
Ham. Flaugher	1.00
David Logan	1.00
Joseph McKnight	2.00
Noadial Albord	7s. 6d
J. Strickland	7s. 6d
James McKee	7s. 6d
Nathan Moody	3.00
Samuel Kitchell	4.00
Samuel Foster	2.00
McElwee & Duffy	3.00
Isaac Felty	3.00
Cornelius Van Nuys	3.00
William Woodward	2.00
Moses Jones	2.00
Elijah Craig	5.00
Timothy Scanan	1.00
Adam Galliger	1.00
Alexander Lewis	2.00
Benjamin Davis	1.00
John True	1.00
Ferd. Brokaw	1.00
Israel Ludlow	10.00
T. Hole	8.00
William Cummins	3.00
Robert Kepe	3.00
Thomas Kennedy	6.00
Joseph Kennedy	3.00
Samuel Kennedy	3.00
Samuel Dick	3.00
John Hamilton	3.00
Russell Farmer	2.00
Abel Sprague	2.00
Kennedy Morton	1.00
James Campbell	1.00
Francis Kennedy	1.00
Levi Sayre	2.00
William M. Bothero	1.00
Abraham Parker	2.00
George Dougherty	1.00
William Bedell	4.00
James Bedell	4.00
Philip Cook	1.00
Leonard Teeple	2.00
Benjamin Jenning	7s.6d
James Brady	7s.6d
Starking Stafford	1.00
Thomas Williams	1.00

Enos Potter	3.00
Thomas Cochran	4.00
A. Andrew	1.00
Thomas Gibson	8.00
Love Marcelof	3.00
William McMillan	8.00
Thomas Fream	2.00
Samuel Williams	3.00
James Lowry	2.00
John McKane	1.00
Matthias Ross	4.00
Daniel McCarry	1.00
Allyn Baker	5.00
John DeHass	1.00
John McKane	3.00
Reuben Kemper	2.00
William McLain	1.00
James McLain	1.00
Elijah Davis	1.00
Jonathan Davis	2.00
Daniel Hole	1.00
Richard Hoells	2.00
Daniel Ferrel	2.00
John Mercer	1.00
David Bay	2.00
David Reeder	3.00
Jedediah Tingle	2.00
Jabesh Phillips	2.00
Isaac Bates	3.00
Simeon Nott	1.00
Samuel Pierson	1.00
Total	$43.00

Among these subscribers are a number of the officers and soldiers of the garrison.

As a result of this subscription the entire four lots including the church, school and graveyard donations were enclosed with a post and rail fence.

In February, 1795, the distribution of pews took place but the church was not entirely completed until 1799, from which time until 1814 it occupied the ground on which it was erected and it then was sold and moved, as stated before, to Judge Burnet's lot on Vine street at the site of the present Emery Arcade.

Shortly after the building was ready for occupancy, Rev. Mr. Kemper is said to have built at his own expense a school house on the lot. It subsequently after the abandonment of Fort Washington was removed to Arch street. In this school Kemper's son Caleb was teaching in 1798. Kemper remained as pastor of the church until October 7, 1796, from which time Rev. Peter Wilson took charge of the church for two years from the middle of 1797 until the time of his death July 20, 1799. He was succeeded by Rev. Matthew G. Wallace, who preached in the church some six or seven months and was finally installed October 7, 1800. He remained in the church until April, 1804.

In the language of Rev. Dudley Ward Rhodes "Methodism came riding into Cincinnati on horseback in the person of Rev. John Kobler in 1798." Kobler was presiding elder of a Kentucky district and was sent as a missionary to the Northwest Territory. In an account long afterwards written by himself, he states: "I rode down the Miami River thirty-six miles to explore this region of country. I found settlements very sparse indeed, only now and then a solitary family. About four o'clock in the afternoon I came to an old garrison called Fort Washington, situated on the bank of the big river, which bore very much the appearance of a declining, time-stricken, God-forsaken place. Here are a few log buildings extra of the fortress, and a few families residing together, with a small printing office just put in operation, and a small store opened by a gentleman named Snodgrass. This, I was told, was the great place of rendezvous of olden time for the Federal troops when going to war with the Indians. Here, alas, General St. Clair made his last encampment with his troops before he met his lamentable defeat; here I wished very much to preach, but could find no opening or reception of any kind whatever. I left the old garrison to pursue my enterprise, with a full intention to visit it again, and make another effort with them on my next round; but this I did not do for the following reasons, namely: When I had gone a second round on my appointment, and further explored the settlements and circumstances of the country, there were some places where the opening prospects appeared much more promising than what I had seen in Fort Washington; and I was eager to take every advantage of time and things, by collecting what first was already apparent, by forming societies and building up those already formed; so that in a few rounds, I had nearly lost sight of old Fort Washington, and finally concluded that it would be most proper for me, under the existing circumstances, at least for the present, to omit it altogether."

Kobler was described as tall, well proportioned with long black hair coming down over the cape of his coat. He was always neatly dressed in a garb of decided clerical cut. He never smiled but often wept. He was a man of considerable intellectuality, great sweetness of disposition and remarkable devotion. Both his

preaching and his prayers were very impressive, beginning in a very deliberate manner and finally rising to considerable eloquence.

In the following year another circuit rider came in the person of Lewis Hunt, whose labors took him throughout the whole of the southern part of the State. Associated with him was Rev. H. Smith and also Rev. Elisha Bowman, both of whom preached at the fort on several occasions.

Rev. Francis McCormick, called the founder of Methodism, preached in Columbia in 1801 and organized a society there. A Methodist class had been organized at the fort before the end of the century.

These churches, the Presbyterian and Methodist of Cincinnati, and the Baptist Church at Columbia, seemed to form the religious life of the community during the territorial days.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS.

The education of the children naturally demanded attention from the earliest days of the settlement, although there is no positive record of the fact. Tradition relates that teaching began almost immediately after the settlers had established themselves. This of course was in the homes of the pupils and the teachers were the parents themselves. Some mother would take from her household duties a little time each day to instruct her own children (and those of the neighbors who would come in) in the rudiments of knowledge.

The school established by John Reily at Columbia opened its doors to pupils June 21, 1790. Judge Dunlevy then a young man joined in the enterprise a year later and in November, 1792, the institution developed into an academy under the patronage of Judge William Goforth, Rev. John Smith, Maj. John S. Gano and Mr. Dunlevy himself. This has been referred to in an earlier chapter.

William D. Ludlow, writing in 1856, says that the first school house stood on the river bank opposite Main and Sycamore streets. It was placed here in order that the scholars should not be exposed to the Indians. The first teacher he says was an Irishman named Lloyd.

Again, we are told that in the year 1792 the first school was erected in Cincinnati and was attended by about thirty pupils. It is supposed that this school was held in a log cabin erected in the immediate proximity of Fort Washington at about Third and Lawrence. The name of the teacher unfortunately does not seem to have been preserved. It is probable that this is the school referred to by Ludlow.

At a little later time a better structure of frame was built in the southwest corner on the public square near Fourth and Walnut streets. At the time of Judge Burnet's arrival in 1795 he says that this frame school house, which stood on the north side of Fourth street opposite where St. Paul's Church afterwards stood (St. Paul Building), was enclosed but unfinished.

The Presbyterian Church itself was used for a time for a school house and subsequently we are told that Kemper built a school house on the church lot which was afterwards, after the destruction of Fort Washington, removed to Arch street.

The *Centinel* in the issue of December 27, 1794, contains the announcement by Stuart Richey of his intention of opening a school in the house lately occupied by David Williams nearly opposite James Ferguson's store where he proposes teaching the rudiments of education. His advertisement which is printed in another chapter gives in detail the branches taught which are entirely mathematical. This school therefore was at Third and Sycamore. Mr. Richey about a year later announces the opening of his school for December 16th and limits the number of pupils to thirty. This circumstance and the location of the school suggests the possibility that the school supposed to have been established in 1792 at Third and Lawrence and that of Mr. Richey were identical.

Jonathan Lyon, who came to Cincinnati in 1791, attended school in a cabin near Riddle's blacksmith shop which it will be remembered was on the Public Landing near Sycamore street. This was probably the same school described by Ludlow. Lyon's teacher was Kennedy Morton, who was a great believer in the use of the rod. He frequently whipped grown young men and women with a long hickory gad until they would fairly jump off the floor.

Francis Menessier advertised in the *Western Spy* September 10, 1799, that at his coffee house at the foot of the hill on Main street at the sign of "Pegasus the bad poet fallen to the ground" he taught the French language and that his school was to begin on the following Monday with teaching every evening with the exception of Saturdays and and Sundays.

James White was another pioneer school teacher who in October, 1799, announced the removal of his English school to a place next door

to Thomas Williams, skin dresser. He also announced an evening school to be held four evenings in each week for three months at which the terms were two dollars for each scholar and the scholars to find fire-wood and candles.

In the same paper for December 8, 1799, R. Haughton advertised a dancing school where he taught the minuet, cotillion and country dances as well as the Scotch reels. His advertisement is quoted elsewhere in its entirety.

The suspicion forces itself on the mind of the reader of the present day that Mr. Haughton failed to pay for his advertisement for a few months later the editor of the *Spy* felt called upon to indulge in the following tirade against dancing:

"It is melancholy to observe the prevailing rage for dancing schools, the nurseries of dalliance, frippery and folly. The most important and solemn considerations are daily sacrificed to those pernicious idols. Nothing is capable of stemming the current which prostrates reason and common sense. It must be allowed that some external advantages result from dancing schools, and I know it will be contended that a graceful deportment, ease and 'suaviter in modo' entirely depend on these institutions. No man of sense will doubt such propositions unqualified; and they are only true in part. But let us reverse the song. Young misses are sent to a dancing school previous to their having progressed in reading or writing. The case is strikingly in point, for innumerable instances of the kind pass daily under my immediate inspection. Great heavens! What is the consequence? Everlasting ignorance. Parents, does the idea affect your hearts? The truth of it is indubitable. Not many persons will personally apply the case. 'My daughter,' exclaims a fond mother, 'is far removed from the alluded-to predicament. She is advanced in her education, and therefore may, without the smallest impropriety, obtain the last polish.' Such reasoning is certainly vague and inconclusive. If the loss of time were the only loss sustained, it would not be of such serious importance. A culpable volatility presides there, tainting the virtuous plant which so much demands assiduous culture. A certain degrading lightness of carriage is the natural inherent gift of the place. *Idiocy* is another *precious* boon bestowed on the victims under the domination of a dancing master, not indeed as regards dancing, but as it relates to every essential vocation in life.

"Let me ask if the most distant affinity can exist between a combined incantation of music, fanatical gambols, etc., and the stating of a question in arithmetic? The latter requires cool, collected thought and collected mind and a regular habit of mind; the former is directly calculated to eradicate solid thought, expel sober reflections and introduce a crude chaos of fluttering ideas tending to no particular point. Thus a thirst for knowledge is expelled, and every trifling idea is substituted in lieu thereof. In fact, volatility of mind, hatred for study or sober reflections, are the inseparable companions of dancing schools, and the miseries resulting therefrom are virtually incalculable."

Not only was the gentle art of tripping the light fantastic provided for in the settlement but on December 27, 1800, there was a notice calling for those disposed to patronize the singing school to assemble at the Court House in the evening at candle light and to bring their books.

In 1801, Levi McLean, the butcher and a man of many offices, also taught singing at the rate of one dollar a member for thirteen nights and two dollars a quarter; subscribers to find their own wood and candles. McLean, who was subsequently a candidate for constable, instituted in 1802 the habit of delivering an address to the citizens, asking for their vote.

In the early part of 1800 the paper contained a notice that a good schoolmaster was wanted on the Great Miami and that one with a family was preferred.

Another frequent advertisement was that of "Rev. Robert Stubbes, Philomath," an Englishman who kept the Newport Academy two miles from the Ohio opposite Cincinnati in Campbell County, Kentucky. Here he taught "English grammar, Latin, Greek and arithmetic—all the most useful and some of the ornamental branches of mathematics" and "should any feel inclined he will also teach the use of the globes at stated periods in Cincinnati."

AMUSEMENTS

Naturally the singing schools and dancing schools were patronized more for the sake of amusement than for any more serious reason. In the rigorous life of the frontier, entertainment was not always at hand and the residents of both the fort and village were obliged to devise such amusements as they could.

We learn that at Fort Washington there was a band and its effectiveness was added to in a way to remind one of Berlioz' "Requiem" for on

July 4, 1799, we are told that "Captain Miller furnished a piece of artillery which, with Captain Smith's company of militia, accompanied by martial music, made the woods resound to the toasts that were made." A couple of years later a band on Independence Day played "The President's March, French Grenadiers' March, George Washington's March, Yankee Doodle, Guardian Angels, Rural Felicity, Soldier's Joy, Reveille, Anacreon in Heaven, Madam You Know My Trade Is War, Fair American, Love in a Village, Goodnight be wi' you a', Flowers of Edinburgh."

Klauprecht tells us that at the entertainments "a band of music accompanied them with the harmonies of Gluck and Haydn, and the reports of the champagne bottles transported the guests from the wilds of the Northwestern Territory into the Lucullian feasts of the European aristocracy."

There were other sources of amusement as well. We know that at the artificers' yard there were a number of theatrical entertainments given by amateurs and the advertisement of the Cincinnati races is quoted elsewhere.

The very day of the town meeting to consider the propriety of its incorporation, September 30, 1801, there appears in the *Spy* a reference to the Cincinnati Theatre as follows: "Subscribers will receive their tickets of admission by applying to Mr. Kilgore. Subscriptions not yet paid will be received by Mr. Seamons. Tickets cannot be granted to subscribers who have not paid. The Managers regret that they have not had it in their power to present the subscription list as generally as they wished. Such ladies and gentlemen, therefore, as are desirous of subscribing are requested to send their names to Mr. Seamons."

The advertisement of December 12th, quoted elsewhere, indicated how soon the impresario fell into difficulties. We do know that there were enacted just before Christmas "The Poor Soldier" and "Peeping Tom of Coventry."

EARLY PHYSICIANS.

No profession in the early history of the city was better represented than that of medicine and none has had so faithful a portrayer as this. Dr. Drake in his "Discourses on Early Physicians, Scenery and Society of Cincinnati" has given us a picture of the profession and the times which is unrivaled in the literature of municipal history. Any one who writes to-day on the subject can do little more than paraphrase this address.

The pioneers of the profession were the surgeons of the army who not only gave gratuitous attendance on the people of the village, but furnished medicines from the army hospital chests at a time when they could be obtained in no other way. The first of these was Dr. Richard Allison, who remained after the army left, and became a prominent citizen. He was born in New York State in 1757. He never graduated in medicine, but in 1776 he entered the army of the Revolution as a surgeon's mate and continued in this position throughout the war. At its conclusion he practiced for some years, but reentered the service for the campaigns in the West and was surgeon-general under Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. His experience at St. Clair's defeat has been mentioned. During the summer of 1792 he was stationed at Fort Finney, the second of that name, located on the site of Jeffersonville. After Wayne's victory he resigned from the army and settled in Cincinnati. In 1799 his taste for agricultural pursuits induced him to move to a farm on the east fork of the Little Miami. He returned to the city in 1805 and resumed his practice, residing on the southeast corner of Fourth and Sycamore streets, until the time of his death, on March 22, 1816. Dr. Drake says of him that "though not profound in science, he was sagacious, unassuming, amiable and kind. As he was the first physician of Cincinnati, resided in or near by it twenty-seven years, and was the first who died within its limits, he may be called the Father of our Profession."

Another army surgeon mentioned by Drake was Dr. Adams, who came from Massachusetts, to which he returned. Practically nothing else is known about him.

Of Dr. John Carmichael, who was among those who received their discharge from the army in 1802, but little is known. He subsequently settled in Mississippi Territory, and acquired great wealth as a cotton planter and died there at an advanced age.

Dr. Joseph Phillips was a native of Lawrenceville, New Jersey, who came out with Wayne's army and after the treaty of peace returned to his birthplace, where he lived respected as a physician and citizen to be more than 80 years of age.

Dr. John Elliott came out from New York with St. Clair and was stationed at the fort

several times. He left the service with his regiment in 1802 and subsequently resided in Dayton until 1809. Dr. Drake says that he saw him in 1804, "a highly accomplished gentleman, with a purple silk coat, which contrasted strangely with the surrounding thickets of brush and hazel bushes."

Another of Wayne's surgeons was Dr. Joseph Strong, who was at the battle of Fallen Timbers and also attended the Greenville treaty. He was a graduate of Yale from Connecticut but not a graduate in medicine. He returned to Philadelphia in 1795 where he acquired a respectable practice and died in April, 1812, at the age of 43 years. His daughter married Colonel Bond, long a resident of Cincinnati.

Included in the list of army surgeons is the name of William Henry Harrison, who studied medicine in Virginia, attended a course of lectures in the University of Pennsylvania and was prosecuting his studies in Philadelphia when under the impulse of military taste he entered the army as an officer of the line instead of the medical staff. His professional knowledge enabled him frequently to give assistance when a physician could not be had. His sympathy with the medical profession was shown throughout his life, especially twenty-five years afterwards when as a member of the Senate of Ohio he spoke vigorously in behalf of the bill for establishing the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum of Ohio. He acted for a time as one of the trustees for the Medical College of Ohio.

Dr. John Selman was born in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1764. He entered the army as surgeon's mate and came to Cincinnati with Wayne in 1793. At the end of the Indian war in 1794, he resigned and took up his residence on Front street between Sycamore and Broadway. Here he practiced his profession until his death at the age of 63 in 1827. At the time of the establishment of the arsenal and barracks in Newport, Dr. Selman was employed for many years as citizen surgeon. None of the army surgeons mentioned were graduates in medicine.

The same is true of Dr. William Burnet, Jr., who is regarded as the first citizen physician, apart from the army surgeons who settled in Cincinnati. He was a brother of Jacob Burnet but he arrived in Losantiville in 1789 bringing with him a few books and medicines. There was not much opportunity for the practice of his profession and he spent a part of his time at North Bend with John Cleves Symmes. In the spring of 1791 he revisited his native State with the intention of returning here for permanent residence. While there he obtained from the Grand Masonic Lodge of New Jersey a warrant under which the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge, No. 2, of this city was constituted and was appointed its first master. The death of his father who had been surgeon of the army kept him East and he never returned to the city. His medical books were left here, the first ever brought to the city.

Dr. Calvin Morrell was appointed an officer of the projected lodge at the same time. The exact date of his arrival in the city is not known, although he was present at the organization of the lodge, December 27, 1794. Shortly afterwards he moved some thirty miles up into the country and became associated with the Shakers of the Union village near Lebanon, where he died.

Dr. John Hole is said by Dr. Drake to have arrived in 1790 or 1791. He participated in the drawing of donation lots in May, 1789, where he drew lot 227, the northeast corner of Front and Race streets. He appears as a purchaser of a number of lots in the list of lots sold by the proprietors of the town of Losantiville. He is said not to have been a man of much education or social rank and before the end of the Indian war, in 1794, he left the town. He practiced inoculation for smallpox both in Cincinnati and at Columbia in the winter of 1792-93.

One other doctor practiced here whose name Drake does not give "for the honor of the profession." He was frightened away by an alarm of Indians.

Dr. Robert McClure came here from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in 1792. He resided on Sycamore between Third and Fourth streets. In 1801 he moved into the country and subsequently returned to his native place. Drake said that he did not seem to be a man of great education but that he did a respectable business for the reason that his wife was a lady of such excellent kindness of heart that she greatly commended him to the people "a biographical fact, which it may be well for the younger members of our Association to treasure up. * * * Our aged people relate that in those days it was customary with the officers of the army to drink bitters in the morning—those of Dr. Stoughton of London being preferred; but as medicines were sometimes suspended, Dr. McClure made a tincture, and putting it up in small vials, labeled them—'Best Stoughton's

Bitters, Prepared in Cincinnati by Dr. Robert McClure.'" Dr. Drake probably does the worthy McClure injustice as his advertisement quoted in another chapter is to the effect that his bitters are made agreeable to the London dispensatory and are equal if not superior to any made by Stoughton.

Dr. John Cranmer arrived in Cincinnati in 1798. He had been employed about the office of a distinguished physician of Pittsburg, Dr. Bedford, and "acquired some knowledge of the symptoms of disease and the properties and doses of medicines, the latter of which he kept in a table drawer at his residence between Main and Walnut streets on the north side of Second" street. He was not a man of education but he attained a position of considerable personal and professional respectability. He advanced in reputation up to the time of his death from cholera in 1832.

Dr. William Goforth was the most renowned of the early and regular practitioners in the early days of the settlement, after his arrival in the spring of 1800. He was no less renowned from the fact that he was the tutor of the leader of the profession,—Daniel Drake.

Goforth was born in New York in 1766 and received his training under Drs. Young and McKnight. In 1787 he with other students were dispersed by a mob raised against the cultivators of anatomy. He was a brother-in-law of Gen. John S. Gano and thereupon decided to accompany him West. He arrived at Limestone on June 10, 1788, and for a time settled at Washington where he had the chief business of the county for eleven years. He was a man fond of change as his subsequent life showed and in 1799 he moved to Columbia, where his father, Judge Goforth, then resided. The following year (1800) he came to Cincinnati and occupied Dr. Allison's Peach Grove house. He soon obtained an extensive practice by reason of his high reputation, his influential family connections and the fact that he was Dr. Allison's successor. He was a man of very winning manners and great courtesy; he dressed with great precision "and never left his house in the morning till his hair was powdered by our itinerant barber, John Arthurs, and his gold-headed cane was grasped by his gloved hand. His kindness of heart was as much a part of his nature as hair-powder was of his costume; and what might not be given through benevolence could always be extracted by flattery, coupled with professions of friendship, the sincerity of which he never questioned. In conversation he was precise yet fluent, and abounded in anecdotes, which he told in a way that others could not imitate. He took a warm interest in the politics of what was then the Northwestern Territory, being at all times the earnest advocate of popular rights. His devotion to Masonry, then a cherished institution of the village, was such that he always embellished his signature with some of its emblems. His handwriting was peculiar, but so remarkably plain that his poor patients felt flattered to think he should have taken so much pains in writing for them. In this part of his character many of us might find a useful example."

He is accredited as having been the first of the Cincinnati physicians to introduce vaccination as a preventive of smallpox, which he did on November 20, 1801. One of his patients in this particular was Dr. Drake. He was much interested in the study of antiquities and natural history and in the year 1803 he dug at Big Bone Lick in Kentucky the largest, most remarkable and diversified mass of huge fossil bones that was ever disinterred at one time or place in the United States. Subsequently when the impostor Thomas Ashe visited this country in 1806, traveling under the name of a Frenchman, D'Arville, he induced Dr. Goforth to entrust him with this large collection in ten boxes. These he took abroad with him and exhibited throughout Europe and the United Kingdom and finally sold to the Liverpool Museum for a large sum of money. His arrangement was a partnership one with Dr. Goforth but he not only did not pay the latter a cent of the proceeds but gave him no credit in his publication concerning the relics. This loss did much to impoverish Goforth, although he was not of a temperament to retain money. He was constantly looking for precious metals and all the neighbors brought him specimens for his analysis in the hopes of finding gold. The discoverers usually managed "to quarter themselves on his family" on the strength of their supposed finds. Among others there was a man in the village named Hall who had a glass through which he could see many thousand feet into the earth. This naturally was a very impressive accomplishment. Another scheme of Dr. Goforth was the clarification of ginseng and its shipment to China; at the same time he thought that he had discovered the genuine East India columbo root in our surrounding woods. None of these schemes

succeeded in making his fortune and he finally thought of moving to the Mad River country. He took a winter trip to Mechacheck, but arrived there at night and found no inhabitants; he could not make a fire and almost froze to death. He chose the summer time for his next trip, on which he was accompanied by Drake. However "the most popular and peculiar physician which had appeared in the ranks of her infant profession, or indeed ever belonged to it," to quote Drake's language, left Cincinnati for an entirely new field.

Goforth was a strong sympathizer politically with the French Revolutionists, but the exiles whom he had met were of the other party "and pictures of the beauty and elegance of French society began to fill his imagination." He cultivated the acquaintance of the exiled Paris lawyer, M. Menessier, whose bake shop occupied the lower story of his residence at Third and Main streets. The upper story was occupied by the Masonic lodge. "The Doctor's association with this member of the beau monde of course raised his admiration for Gallic politeness still higher; and just at the time when he began, in feeling, to prefer French to Anglo-American society, President Jefferson purchased Louisiana from Bonaparte, first consul of the Republique Francaise."

Goforth emigrated southward in 1807 and according to the peculiar habits of those days of electing men of one profession to positions in the other, he was appointed a parish judge and was afterwards a member of the constitutional convention of the State of Louisiana. He later resided at New Orleans and during the British invasion acted as surgeon under the Louisiana volunteer regiment. He got enough of French manners in time and on December 28, 1816, after a voyage of eight months up the river on a keel-boat he reached Cincinnati landing.

Mr. Mansfield in his "Memoirs" says that Goforth wrote to his father that "if ever there was a hell upon earth New Orleans was the place." In this feeling he was not unlike a somewhat well known Ohio politician of the present day who fled from New Orleans a few years since to escape an attachment for contempt issued by a Columbus judge. A few weeks later he was met on a train returning to Columbus and upon an expression of surprise at his return to the scene of danger he replied that he would rather be in jail in Ohio than the guest of honor of the city of New Orleans. Dr. Goforth's return to his beloved city did not avail him much for he died the following spring from a disease contracted from his trip up the river.

By no means the least important matter connected with his life is the fact that it was in his office which was also a drug store that Daniel Drake, who came to Cincinnati in the year 1800 a boy of 15, studied for almost four years. The latter's prominence and activity belong, however, to the next phase of the community's life and will be touched upon there.

The conditions of the practice are given by Dr. Drake in the address already quoted. There were, of course, empirics in those days, but they were in the main merely ignorant pretenders to knowledge and not decriers of scientific methods. The predominance of the military element, as has been said by Judge Burnet, influenced the social life of the people and necessarily affected their relations to the doctor. At those times Columbia and Newport both depended upon Cincinnati. A trip to Columbia took half a day and a call to Newport involved ferrying over the river in a canoe and the climbing up a steep, icy or deep muddy bank. The country practitioners frequently rode 12 to 15 miles and occasionally 20 or 30 miles on bridle paths. On one occasion Goforth started early on a freezing night to visit a patient 11 miles in the country. His horse was not as gentle as he had thought and before he got out of the village he had to dismount and walk the distance. He reached his patient before day. His charge for such a service was 25 cents a mile, half of which was paid in provender for his horse or produce for his family. The pioneers did their own bleeding and cupping and also practiced dentistry not less than physic. The charge was a quarter for pulling one tooth with a reduction for a wholesale order. Tin foil was used in plugging teeth instead of gold leaf "and had the advantage of not showing so conspicuously." Every physician kept his own drug shop and ordered his drugs through the dry goods merchants who brought them out from the East once or twice a year. Dr. Drake refers to James Ferguson who kept a store on Third and Sycamore streets, and whose advertisements appear so frequently in the *Centinel*. It took him from twenty-five to thirty days to go from Philadelphia to Brownsville and as much more by the river to Cincinnati. To bring medicine from the East required four or five months. The price of medicines was such as

25 cents for an emetic, a Dover's powder, a dose of Glauber's salt or a draught of "Paregoric and Antimonial Wine," 50 cents for a vermifuge or blister and 75 cents an ounce for pale Peruvian bark and one dollar for the best red or yellow. On the other hand the doctor received 25 cents for bleeding a patient and for sitting up all night one dollar. An ordinary visit was from 25 to 50 cents. Frequently the physician carried his medicine in his pocket, but the usual practice was to return home and make them up and send them out. This was Dr. Drake's duty during the time of his pupilage under Goforth. Dr. Drake says that his preceptor had the principal position of the village and fleetness was necessary in the delivery of the drugs and there being no pavements he found that the shortest way through a mud hole was the best, which conclusion he thinks has been generally adopted by the profession in later times.

THE COURTS.

On January 5, 1790, the Governor issued a proclamation directing that "the justices of the peace hold their Courts of General Quarter Session of the Peace at the town of Cincinnati, on the first Tuesdays in February, May, August, and November; and the judges of the Court of Common Pleas hold their courts at the same place on the first Thursdays of May and November." After having established the county, named the city and appointed the officials to administer the affairs of the place, Governor St. Clair left on the 5th for the Illinois country not to return to the Symmes purchase for some months.

The first session of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace seems to have been held on the ensuing 2nd of February. There attended at this court the three judges presided over by William McMillan; Justice Jacob Tapping (Topping); Sheriff John Brown, Levi Woodward and Robert Wheelan, constables.

At this session Justice Jacob Tapping complained of Josiah White, saying that he had slandered him. White offered his excuses and apologies and was released. The grand jury failed to bring in any bills and was discharged. This was very fortunate as it appeared by a protest of the sheriff that there was as yet no jail and for that reason he did not wish to be held responsible for prisoners. At the May term the session was more exciting.

"May term, 1790.—Present, the judges, justices, constables, and sheriff. The commissions of the peace and the Governor's proclamation were read. The names of grand jury were called; Robert Benham, foreman. Adjourned to 2 P. M.

"On sitting again, Abel Cook was called up for breach of the peace; also Josiah White, for selling liquor to soldiers; also Jacob Tapping, esq., for possessing four shirts and one pair of stockings, bought from a soldier; another count of the same sort appeared against the said Tapping. A call was ordered for Sylvester White and David Strong, for having 'on account' public clothing. The same charge was made against Scott Travers, viz.: that a pair of overalls and a woolen vest belonging to the Federal service were found in his possession. Abel Cook plead guilty to hitting Hames Sowards, and was fined fifty cents. Thomas Cochran had fifty cents fine for selling whiskey. Tapping was fined seventy-five cents, and Scott Travers was lett off. White failed to put in his appearance. Captain David Strong cleared up the matter as to his acquaintance with Tapping's clothes business, and was dismissed. The jury came in with a bill against Asa Hartshorn, Mahlon Ford, and David Strong for thrashing Isaac Taylor. The court adjourned."

At the August sessions of 1790 Robert Benham and James Miller were each fined two dollars for an assault and James Seward one dollar and a half for the same offense.

In May, 1791, the fines seem to have increased, for John McLaughlin and Henry McLaughlin were obliged to pay four dollars each for assault while Francis Luce for libel was fined eight dollars.

In 1792 at the February session William Paul was convicted of larceny and fined thirty dollars and George Paul convicted of forgery escaped with a fine of four dollars.

Even the most prominent citizens seem to have been given to fighting and in the November session of 1792 the well known merchant and militia officer, Scott Traverse, was obliged to pay one dollar for assault. The same fine was assessed on Magdala Pickle for the same offense.

When the court was involved, the fines were more serious; we find that Mathew Winton for contempt was obliged to pay sixteen dollars. A year later at the February session Paschal Hickman for contempt of Justice McMillan paid a fine of eighteen dollars. Levi Munsell was before the court several times and in 1792 was

fined one dollar and a half for discharging firearms contrary to law and in 1794 three dollars for contempt. The more serious crimes naturally involved more serious punishments. Samuel Ralston in 1793 was fined ninety-three dollars for forgery and John Burgarot for larceny the following year was fined sixty dollars. Stephen Chandler for tolerating gaming paid at the May session of 1794 one hundred dollars. Other prominent citizens were arraigned at this same session. William Stanley for assault was fined two dollars and John Cleves Symmes for selling spirituous liquor contrary to the statute, twelve dollars. In 1797 Griffin Yeatman was fined one dollar for failing to attend when summoned as a juror and Seth Cutter a dollar for assault.

The matter of discharging firearms seems to have disturbed the community a great deal and a number of cases are with reference to this offense. We find in William McMillan's original docket preserved in the files of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio that Abraham Garrison was arrested on April 9th for discharging firearms on Saturday night the 7th but as he was able to show that the discharge was an unavoidable accident he was discharged. Three weeks later Uriah Gates celebrated Saturday night by discharging firearms twice. Each shot cost him two and a half dollars.

The first civil case tried by the County Court consisting of Judges William Goforth and William McMillan assisted by Justices John S. Gano, Benjamin Stites and Jacob Tapping with John Brown as sheriff and Israel Ludlow, clerk, is that of Henry Reed against Joseph White. It was for a debt of three dollars which was settled by mutual consent as White had already been in jail for a month and agreed to work for Reed for another term. A later case is that of Peter Clark against Mary Simpson. Mary had been Clark's servant and owed him three dollars but concluded to get married without paying her debt. She finally agreed to go to jail until her husband could make enough money to pay her premuptial debt.

The first criminal jury included John Scott, Isaac Bates, Jonathan Fitts, James Dement, John Van Cleff, Scott Traverse, Zilla Stebbins, Henry McLaughlin, Aza Peck, Thaddeus Bruen, Daniel Seward and Cornelius Miller. They found Catherine Fortie guilty of stealing an iron kettle. She was ordered to receive 25 lashes on her bare back but as her husband had been a soldier and she had served as a nurse during the entire Continental War and for other reasons the punishment was modified to 10 lashes. On the back of the writ was the return: "Agreeably to the order of court the within mentioned Catherine Fortie was taken and tied to a public whipping post, her back bared and ten stripes well administered with a stout hickory gad."

At this term of court Thomas Goudy was admitted to practice, the first admitted in the county.

Ensign William Henry Harrison took it upon himself to chastise one Daniel Rian, a recently discharged soldier. Rian had a warrant sworn out for Harrison but the sheriff was not permitted by the commandant, Gen. James Wilkinson, to serve the same; thereupon Judge Goforth instructed the officers of the court to arrest Harrison whenever they found him outside of the fort. This a young deputy sheriff attempted to do and Harrison knocked him down with a walking stick. He subsequently delivered himself up to the court and received a lecture and was sentenced to 24 hours' confinement at McHenry's tavern, where it is said that he and his friends passed a very agreeable day.

Another interesting case of the early days was a suit of John Ludlow against William Woodward and Archibald Johnson for a debt of three dollars and a half which they refused to pay. Under Judge Goforth's order the founder of Old Woodward and his associates were arrested and placed in jail until the trial.

On July 30, 1792, the well known citizen, Samuel Dick, was sued by James McKean for being assaulted "with staves, swords, guns, pistols, fists and greatly endangering his life," to quote the phraseology of the old indictment. The real fact was that Dick slapped McKean. The matter was left to three arbitrators who decided that Dick not being the first aggressor and being a smaller man be fined four barrels of flour and ordered to refrain from fighting the plaintiff for the space of two weeks, certainly not a very serious deprivation.

At this time John Blanchard and Francis Taylor appeared as prominent lawyers.

Dr. William Goforth claimed to have cured one Samuel Blackburn, an early settler, of the itch, for which he asked £18. Blackburn was placed in jail to await trial which resulted in a verdict of four dollars for the Doctor. A new trial was granted and the Doctor at this time took depositions in Limestone and Lexington as to the value of his services. At the trial Blackburn appeared without any legal advice.

but when asked to plead offered his hands in evidence and even suggested that the judge and jury might examine them. They seem to have been a sufficient defense for the jury brought in a verdict of sixteen dollars and costs for the defendant to reimburse him for the expense of taking the depositions.

In another case David Voorhees endeavored to replevin a dark brown Indian pony from Col. Oliver M. Spencer. Several Indians were called as witnesses but Blue Jacket and Crooked Horn disagreed as to the identity of the pony. The jury did the same and the matter was settled by drawing straws, as a result of which Colonel Spencer kept the horse.

Benjamin Flinn sued William Shaw for assault and battery. The trial of the case was postponed and in the meantime Flinn gave Shaw a terrific beating. Upon the trial Shaw withdrew his action on the ground that the matter had been satisfactorily compromised.

Jacob Fowler sued General Wilkinson for pay as a scout which the General refused to give on the ground that Fowler's only occupation had been loafing around the Indian camps with his Indian wife, both continually drunk. The jury found a verdict for Fowler and the judge ordered the General to jail until the money was paid.

John Pennington Smith presented a recommendation from John Cleves Symmes and others certifying as to his fitness to practice law. The Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, protested against his admission to the bar on the ground that he was a man of loose morals. Judge Goforth appointed John S. Gano, Benjamin Stites and William McMillan to investigate and they reported that Smith was no worse than other lawyers and he was admitted.

On August 6, 1793, the Governor commissioned William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano and Aaron Caldwell, judges of the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas.

John Torrence sued William Curry for trespass and Curry was sent to jail to await trial. Torrence subsequently discovered that there was no trespass but that the surveyor had made a mistake and endeavored to have Curry released. As there was no court in session, this he could not do. When the court convened Curry was released and Goforth sent Torrence to jail for the length of time Curry had remained there.

Capt. George Gordon, who kept the city inn, insisted on being paid for drinks and for their refusal to comply with this reasonable demand Dr. Calvin Morrell, James Smith, Thomas Trueman, John Evans, Rice Bullock and Evan Freeman occupied the jail for a short time.

James Ferguson sued John LeCount for a debt of one dollar and a half for beer and cakes. On the trial LeCount spoke disrespectfully to the court and consequently received 25 lashes at the public whipping post.

Mary Thomas, wife of Casper Thomas, was prosecuted as a common scold and on May 2, 1796, having been convicted on testimony of her husband, she received 21 stripes on her bare back and was sent to jail for 30 days.

A discharged soldier, Peter Kerrigan, married Mary Murphy without publishing the banns; thereupon William Maxwell, the owner of the *Spy*, who felt that he was entitled to the advertisement, caused him to be arrested and Peter received 10 stripes on the bare back and stood four hours in the public pillory and went to jail for three months.

In those days the protective tariff was thoroughly enforced and no foreign competition was permitted. James Ferguson, a well known merchant, sold an English-made penknife for which he was obliged to pay a fine of $100. Harvey James ferried a neighbor across the river for a pound of tobacco. As this competed with the regular ferryman, James was arrested for ferrying without license. His tobacco cost him 10 stripes on the back and $20.

The collector called upon Ebenezer Ayres for taxes, whereupon Ayres kicked him out of his shop. This little exploit cost him $100 and a week in jail.

Another well known merchant, Capt. Hugh Moore, of the "Brick House," sold an old flintlock French musket, forgetting its foreign origin. Fined $100. Another veteran, Capt. John Mercer, started a billiard saloon without complying with the law and paid several fines of $25 each before he concluded to give up the business.

Rev. Joab Monters concluded that he was a Savior and so announced himself on the street corners. After being incarcerated in jail, he delivered his addresses from the window each morning at ten o'clock and on the trial offered to prove his divine character by performing miracles. This undoubtedly insane man received 50 lashes. He subsequently traveled throughout the country in the same character and was finally killed, while endeavoring to carry his religious doctrines to the savages.

Wakepah, a big Indian chief from the territory beyond the Big Miami, brought his squaws to town and celebrated with fire water. He started to paint the town red and with his tomahawk and scalping knife in hand announced his determination to eat up anybody who came his way. He sobered up in prison and the promise to reform was impressed upon his mind by 50 lashes and the carrying of ball and chain about his ankles for 30 days.

Abraham Mezner was so fond of matrimony that he married two women. He got 75 lashes and was confined for 90 days and fed on bread and water only. At the end of his imprisonment some of his second wife's early admirers furnished him with a coat of tar and feathers and rode him out of town on a rail. Both wives married again and their children became prominent citizens.

Among the early trials was that of John Brewster, an ex-soldier of King George IV, who was arrested for using insulting language to the government of the United States. He had been a soldier of England in the effort to subdue the Colonies, but had been taken prisoner and decided to remain in this country. In the course of a hot political discussion he remarked that he desired to see the Colonies, as he called the United States, once more under the dominion of England. He was arrested as a spy and thrown into prison. He was defended by Jacob Burnet, who had come West but a year before (1796), and who based his client's defense on a somewhat daring appeal to the jury. He asked them if they would not be glad to see England under our subjection and as they naturally responded from the box that they would, he asked that people of other countries should have the same liberty. Brewster was acquitted by the jury.

Another trial was that of Mary Kelly, charged with whipping one Katherine Farrell, the newly wedded wife of Michael Farrell. Michael, it seems, had made love to Mary, but on the day fixed for his marriage he had wedded another girl, Kitty McGuire, the most intimate friend of his promised bride. Mary met Katty at a party but a few days later and thrashed her soundly. She was convicted and punished by receiving 33 lashes on her bare back and was carried from the whipping post in almost a dying condition. She recovered, however, and soothed her grief by marrying one Daniel Cline.

Another trial was that of Capt. George Gordon, the tavern keeper, who insisted upon appropriating for his own use a street which had not been used for some time. Here he planted potatoes, and when a man named Simpson insisted upon driving through the potato patch both on going to town and returning Gordon assaulted him. Simpson caused his arrest and he was convicted and fined and sentenced to imprisonment, but as he was the deputy postmaster and the regular postmaster was said to be in jail for debt the imprisonment part of the sentence was remitted so that he could attend to the duties of his office.

The General Court of the Territory also sat from time to time in Cincinnati and its first "docquet" is of interest. It is as follows:

"DOCQUET."

"of the first general court, of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, held within and for the county of Hamilton, which commenced at Cincinnati on October the fourth, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the independence of the United States of America the fifteenth.

"*October 4, 1790, eleven o'clock, A. M., Monday.*

"The Honorable Judge Turner, escorted by the sheriff and attended by the clerk and other judicial officers of the said county, present. Court opened agreeable to proclamation at the instance of the honorable the judge, above mentioned, whose commission being openly read, and the necessary proclamations duly made for the judicial and ministerial officers of the county to make their return, the sheriff presented his list of grand-jurors summoned:

"Of Cincinnati—1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kuchell; 12, Henry Taylor; 13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward. Of Columbia—17, Benjamin Davis; 18, Eliiah Mills; 19, Samuel Newell; 20, William Gerrard; 21, Eliiah Stites; 22, James Matthews; 23, John Manning; 24, Nathaniel Stokes.

"Returned to serve, the first sixteen, viz.: 1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kuchell; 12, Henry Taylor;

13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward.

"One judge only attending, court, without proceeding to business, was adjourned until eleven o'clock of to-morrow, A. M.

"*Tuesday, fifth October*, 1790.

"Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Absentees (grand-jurors), Francis Kennedy, John Cummings, Luther Kitchell, David Logan.

"Proclamations duly made, court was adjourned till twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"*Wednesday, sixth October*, 1790.

"Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Absentees of yesterday obtained a remission of their respective fines. Necessary proclamations being made, court was adjourned, ut supra, until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"*Thursday, seventh October*, 1790.

"Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Absentees (grand-jurors), Seth Cutter, Richard Benham, Luther Kitchell, Joseph Cutter.

"Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"*Friday, eighth October*, 1790.

"Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Joseph McHenry attended to serve on the grand jury. The same jurors absent to-day that were yesterday.

"Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"*Saturday, twelve o'clock, ninth October*, 1790.

"Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Grand jurors absent—John Terry, Nathan Dunnals, likewise the absentees of Thursday.

"Court adjourned until five o'clock of this day, afternoon.

"*Eodem Die, five o'clock, afternoon.*

"None of the judges present, the sheriff proceeded to adjourn the court without delay.

"No business entered upon at this term by reason of there not being present, of the honorable the judges, a number sufficient to constitute a quorum.

(Signed) "W. McMillan."

"In behalf of John S. Gano, deputy to Israel Ludlow, *clerk*."

Another interesting original record reads as follows:

"1792 SUPREME COURT OF THE TERRITORY."

"John C. Symmes, judge. Present, six justices—William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano, George Cullum and Aaron Cadwell; Joseph LeSure, clerk pro tem; Robert Bunten, coroner; John Ludlow, sheriff; Isaac Martin, sub-sheriff; Benjamin Orcutt, crier; Robert Wheelan, Samuel Martin, Sylvanus Runnels, constables. The grand jury was called over, David Davis, foreman. The jury retired. Witnesses were called for the United States court business, assaults and habeas corpus. Job, a negro man, vs. John Tanner; also United States vs. James Mays, for the murder of Matthew Sullivan; Same vs. Joseph Paxton as accessory with Mays; Same vs. George Turner, on certiorari; Same vs. Matthew Winton and Matthew Derough, charged with riot. The sheriff called forty-eight names, from which these twelve were chosen to try Mays: Robert Benham, Robert Mitchell, Samuel Dick, Benjamin Jennings, Matthew Winton, Henry Pickle, James Dement, Charles Bruce, William Kelly, Samuel Rolston, James Miller, Steward Wilkins.

"In this case Mr. Dunn was prosecutor, and Messrs. Goudy and Smith were counsel for Mays. The jury out an hour, and came in with a verdict of 'guilty.' The court received the verdict in the house of Isaac Martin."

The crime for which Mays paid the penalty occurred shortly after the military riot in 1792. Mays had been drinking and carousing with an old friend named Sullivan. The bout ended in a quarrel about some trifle and the men came to blows. Sullivan, who was a smaller man than Mays, was getting the better of the affray and friends stepped in and separated them. Mays seemed much incensed at the idea that he had been whipped by a man smaller than himself and threatened in public to kill Sullivan whenever he met him. Shortly afterwards both were present at a party given by Hardin Smith at his log cabin near the corner of Sixth and Main streets. Sullivan offered his hand to Mays with the request that he should overlook the trouble and that their friendly relations should be resumed. Mays responded that he had sworn to kill him and that this was as good a time as any; thereupon he drew a hunting knife which, of course, every settler in those days carried in his belt, and stabbed Sullivan to the heart, bringing about his immediate death. Mays was arrested and put on trial for his life and finally

convicted. The execution was in charge of Sheriff John Ludlow. It took place on the gallows erected on the south side of Fifth street a little east of Walnut. The execution was public, as all such affairs were at that time, and the people gathered from every direction to see it. Excursions were brought into the city and many came as far as fifty miles to be present. Costs were allowed to Ludlow by the commissioners for "gallows, coffin and grave digging, fifteen pounds, eight shillings, and nine pence." This bill was not paid for six years after its rendition.

Another conviction for murder was that of a man named Bradley, for the killing of a man at North Bend. He had already been taken to the gallows (this time at Fifth and Broadway), when he was reprieved.

Jonathan Lyon describes in his reminiscences how, in 1795, he saw four men march out from Fort Washington to be executed; three of them were reprieved, however, while the fourth was hung. Afterwards he saw two more shot on Fifth street near Walnut, where Cavagna's grocery (now Peebles') formerly stood. Six soldiers fired and one of the men fell dead and another squad of six marched up and killed the other.

EARLY LAWYERS.

The lawyers of course formed an important element in the community from the outset. The officers of the Territory were in the main composed of lawyers and the government during the territorial times was practically in charge of the courts.

Judge Burnet in his "Notes" gives us a most interesting account of the practice in the early days. At the time of his arrival there were four counties in the Territory—Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair and Knox, with county seats at Marietta, Cincinnati, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, then called Au Post. In each county there were courts of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. The General Court, consisting of three judges appointed by the President, was the highest judicial tribunal in the Territory, and its proceedings were not subject to review. It met at Cincinnati in March, Marietta in October and at Detroit and the Western counties at various times designated by the judges. These seats of justice were separated from each other by extensive tracts of uninhabited wilderness stretching from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles without roads, bridges or ferries. Despite this fact, until the formation of the State government, the various members of the bar of Hamilton County were called upon to practice before tribunals at all these points and for many years Judge Burnet, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Daniel Symmes never missed a term in either Marietta or Detroit. They rode the circuit in companies of five or six and with packhorses to carry their necessary supplies; although they frequently passed through Indian camps and villages where corn could at times be purchased, they could not rely upon these accommodations. The trips from one county seat to another frequently took from six to eight and sometimes ten days. As they were compelled to swim rivers which were too deep to be forded, an important element in the value of a horse was his ability as a swimmer. In illustration of this, Burnet gives an anecdote of his return from a court at Marietta in the fall of 1801. The rains had been heavy and the streams were unusually high. As he approached White Oak he hesitated, but finally rolling his saddle bags in his cloak and tying this behind him he entered the water and waded to the margin of the creek. Here he calculated the velocity of the current by the driftwood and put his horse's head up stream, aiming to strike a pathway which had been cut through the bluff on the opposite bank. The horse, however, chose to steer for himself, and seeing the landing place at the opposite side made directly for it. As he was a fine swimmer, he struck it at the lower point so as to enable his rider to seize a bush and extricate both himself and the horse from danger. He swam another stream two miles beyond and a few miles still further the east fork of the Miami, at Williamsburg, and on the following day at Batavia and afterwards the Little Miami itself. At another time a party of a half dozen accompanying Judge Symmes to Marietta crossed the Hocking River near where Athens now stands. Here they found a cabin and were told that six or eight miles below there was a path leading from the river direct to Marietta which was a better way than the usual one by the mouth of the river. They reached the path late in the afternoon but as the clouds threatened rain they determined to proceed on their journey. The gathering darkness made it impossible to keep the path and finally a halt was made. They concluded to proceed and one at a time dismounted and took the way on foot relying on the sense of feeling to keep the path. Shortly after midnight

Burnet, who was leading his horse in front and feeling for the path, stepped down a precipice about three feet. His horse being frightened drew back and prevented him from falling. Further investigation showed that a little to the rear the path turned to the left at nearly a right angle and went down the side of the hill some fifty feet or more to a creek which proved to be Wolf's creek. They finally reached Marietta in safety. On the return Burnet investigated the path and saw that within three feet of the point where he had stepped off there was a perpendicular precipice to the bed of the creek from the top of which he could see the tops of the trees waving in the air below him.

The description of the visit by Burnet and his companions to the village of Blue Jacket has already been given. On another occasion, while returning from Detroit they visited this same village and found the whole community, male and female, drunk from drinking a large quantity of whiskey which Blue Jacket had brought from Cincinnati. An old withered squaw, who was very drunk, made herself particularly attentive to St. Clair, whom she knew was a high official of the Territory. She kissed him, exclaiming, "you big man—Governor's son," and then turned to the rest of the party, saying with marked contempt, "you be milish." She then kissed Mr. St. Clair again. Burnet commented on this: "It was certainly one of those rare occasions on which men of sensibility and delicacy feel the advantage of being placed at a low grade, on the scale of dignity."

On another trip to Vincennes, Burnet and young St. Clair descended the river in a Kentucky boat or ark, which they left at the falls of the Ohio. They resumed their journey on horseback and spent the night with a camp of Indians. The following night they were surrounded by panthers. On the next day they came suddenly upon eight or ten buffaloes who were sheltering themselves from a heavy snow storm behind a fallen beech tree. Their camp that night was an old cabin on White River, which was occupied by a large wild cat, who required considerable persuasion to vacate the premises. This was in December and during a season of heavy snow storms. Their usual meal was a frozen chicken with a biscuit and some peach brandy which they carried with them. It was necessary to kindle a fire to thaw out the chicken. At night they scraped away the snow and with their saddle-bags for pillows and coats for blankets they slept on the ground. It was at the conclusion of this trip that Burnet and St. Clair abandoned the idea of engaging in the practice of the law in that county, thinking the profits inadequate to the fatigue and loss of time.

The trips to other sections were not altogether without pleasures, for the Judge states that "during a large portion of the year, they had to endure the fatigues and privations of the wilderness; and as often as they returned from those laborious excursions to their families and comfortable homes, they indulged most freely in the delicacies and luxuries of high living. Scarcely a day passed without a dinner party, given by some one of them, at which the best of wine and of other liquors, and the richest viands furnished by the country, and by commerce, were served up in great profusion, and in fine taste. Genteel strangers who visited the place were generally invited to their houses, and their sumptuous tables; and although at this day, such a practice would be considered a breach of moral duty, as well as of good breeding, they competed with each other for the honor of drinking the most, as well as the best wine, without being intoxicated themselves, and of having at their parties the greatest number of intoxicated guests. This revel was kept up in a greater or less degree, during the season they remained at home, as an offset to the privations and suffering of their excursions into the wilderness.

"At one of those sumptuous dinners, given by Angus McIntosh, the bottom of every wine glass on the table had been broken off, to prevent what were called heel-taps; and during the evening, many toasts were given, which the company were required to drink in bumpers." (Burnet's Notes, p. 285.)

The very first party that landed included in its midst one of the most distinguished lawyers of the early days of the Territory, William McMillan. In fact it is his testimony as to the date of the landing that has finally been accepted as the most authoritative statement on the subject. He has been mentioned so many times in the course of the narrative and in connection with so many phases of life in the settlement that an extended notice would seem unnecessary. Mr. Cist's statement that he was the master spirit of the place in the early days and a man who would have been a distinguished member of society anywhere seems to be borne out by his career. He died at the early age of 44; his untimely death made him the first of that long list of fa-

vorite sons that Cincinnati has never ceased to mourn, especially because they died at an age when so much of usefulness still seemed before them.

McMillan was of Irish parentage, but born in Virginia. He graduated at the old College of William and Mary, but during his early days engaged in farming. He was about 28 years of age when he arrived in the Miami country, but took a prominent position from the outset. As has already been stated, he was the first magistrate chosen by the people before provision had been made by law for official appointments. He was commissioned by St. Clair as the first justice of the General Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace in 1790. He was a member of the first Territorial House of Representatives, was the representative of the Territory in Congress to succeed General Harrison and was finally commissioned the first United States attorney for Ohio. The tributes of his nephew, William M. Corry, and his associate, Judge Burnet, have already been quoted.

His standing in the community was probably better shown by his appointment to the United States attorneyship than by his previous appointments, as party feeling at this time began to creep into the Territory and the contest for such offices was usually a spirited one. Judge Burnet says that "he possessed an intellect of a high order, and had acquired a fund of information, general as well as professional, which qualified him for great usefulness in the early legislation of the Territory. * * * He was the son of a Scotch Presbyterian of the strictest order, who had educated him for the ministry, and who was, of course, greatly disappointed when he discovered that he was unwilling to engage in that profession, and had set his heart on the study and practice of the law. After many serious discussions on the subject, the son, who understood the feelings and prejudices of the father, at length told him that he would comply with his request, but it must be on one condition—that he should be left at perfect liberty to use Watts' version of the Psalms. The old gentleman was very much astonished, and rebuked his son with severity, but never mentioned the subject to him afterwards." (Burnet's Notes, p. 280.)

A letter of St. Clair to Ross in December, 1799, mentions him: "I am personally acquainted with him. He is a man of large application of his strong and not uncultivated mind, and awkward appearance and dress and is an indifferent speaker but has a fair reputation and is in great esteem with the people." That this characterization was not written in an unfriendly spirit is shown by St. Clair's subsequent letter, January 27, 1800, to the President, in which he encloses a written request of the gentlemen of the bar of Hamilton County for the appointment of McMillan to a judgeship:

"I have taken the liberty to inclose to you the written request of the gentlemen of the bar of Hamilton County for the appointment of Mr. McMillan. The object of it I know to be a man of integrity; much esteemed, and of considerable influence. Of his political principles, I have learned that some doubt has been made in Philadelphia, and that the representative has mentioned to some persons here that an explicit declaration that he would support the administration, to be made by him or some person in his behalf that could be depended upon, would be required in order to his being nominated. Although I have ever thought it wrong that offices should be trusted to enemies of the Government, I doubted of Mr. Harrison's authority to say that an express declaration that he would support the administration would be required of any person, and it has not even been hinted to Mr. McMillan. Though he has rather leaned toward democracy, I can say with truth that he has always been moderate, and a single session in the assembly has entirely removed the prejudice he had in favor of a single branch of legislation, which he openly and candidly acknowledges." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 488.)

We are told by Judge Burnet that "only four individuals in Cincinnati are now remembered who then (1800) advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson against Mr. Adams. These were Major David Zeigler (Ziegler), William Henry Harrison, William McMillan and John Smith." (Burnet's Notes.)

In his will William McMillan in 1804 left lot 135 to the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge of Masons, of this city. It was considered of so little value as to be allowed by the lodge to be sold for taxes and so left unredeemed for a considerable period of time. This lot, the northeast corner of Third and Walnut streets, is now occupied by the Masonic Temple.

The first lawyer to be admitted to the practice we are told was Thomas Gowdy (sometimes spelled Gowdy), who arrived in 1789. He was one of the settlers who formed Ludlow's Station in 1790 and his name has already appeared in a number of anecdotes of the time. In 1793 he married Sarah Wallace, a sister of Col. John S.

Wallace. His name appears very frequently in the columns of the *Centinel*, more so perhaps than that of any other lawyer and he it was whose gorgeous apparel including waistcoats and breeches of many colors and (paist) knee buckles were stolen on November 20, 1793, as we learn from a notice in that paper. His office it will be remembered was on St. Clair square between Seventh and Eighth streets and was the only building for many years between Sixth and Court and Main and John. Near it was the first great fire of the settlement. One of Goudy's children married Alexander C. Clark of Sycamore township near Reading.

One of the trio mentioned by Judge Burnet as riding the circuit with him was Daniel Symmes. He was a son of Timothy Symmes and a brother of John Cleves Symmes. Timothy Symmes had been a judge in New Jersey before he came West and was the pioneer settler at South Bend, where he died in 1797. Daniel Symmes, born in 1772, was a graduate of Princeton. He was for a time clerk of the Territorial Court and after Ohio became a State was Senator from his county and presiding officer of the State Senate. Upon the resignation of Judge Meigs in 1804 he was appointed to succeed the latter on the Supreme bench of the State. At the expiration of his term he was appointed register of the Cincinnati Land Office. This position he held almost to the time of his death, which occurred May 10, 1817. He was one of the early presiding officers of the Cincinnati Council and as such the executive head of the town. He built the well known stone house at the corner of Lawrence and Congress streets which figures on the early maps of the city and which afterwards as the residence of his son, Peyton S. Symmes, was one of the best known in the social life of the community.

Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the third of the trio mentioned by Judge Burnet, was a son of the Governor. He was brought West by his father to take the position of attorney for the Territory and succeeded in gaining a very reputable position at the bar. He was the prosecuting attorney of the county in 1797 and afterwards in 1799 to 1807. At the first election of a delegate to Congress he was the principal candidate against General Harrison by whom he was beaten by but two votes.

Judge Burnet was of course the most prominent lawyer in the community. A history of the early days of Cincinnati without constant reference to him and to Dr. Drake would be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. An account of his career is almost a repetition of the history of the settlement. He was a native of New Jersey, a son of Dr. William Burnet of Newark who was a member of the Continental Army and surgeon-general. His father was dining with Gen. Benedict Arnold at the time the news was conveyed to the latter of the capture of a spy who turned out to be Andre, and a brother was a member of the court martial that ordered the execution of this unfortunate English officer.

Jacob Burnet was born on February 22, 1770, and educated at Nassau Hall, Princeton. He was admitted to the bar of Ohio in 1796 and located at Cincinnati, in which city until the time of his death he was one of the most prominent residents, not only in his profession but in every phase of the city life. As a member of the Legislative Council he drew most of the important laws of the Territory. He was afterwards a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio but resigned his place to take a seat in the United States Senate to succeed William Henry Harrison. To Burnet is chiefly credited the management which resulted in the election of Harrison to the presidency of the United States and throughout the entire career of the latter he was his closest friend. He was during the years that he continued at the practice the head of the bar and was employed in every case of importance. One of the most notable cases was that of Blennerhasset charged in being involved in the Burr conspiracy. He was Blennerhasset's leading counsel. Judge Burnet's name occurs so frequently in the text that an extended account of his life is unnecessary. Until the time of his death in 1853 no man was more prominent in the community and no house more hospitable than his. His early residence was in the block bounded by Third, Fourth, Race and Vine streets. This he was obliged at the time of the financial troubles of the United States Bank to part with and he then moved his residence to his farm. Here on the northeast corner of Seventh and Elm he erected the house which occupied that spot until it was removed a few years since to make way for the Odd Fellows' Temple. It has been well said that there has never been in Cincinnati any residence within whose walls have been gathered so many illustrious men.

Other lawyers prominent in the early days were Abner M. Dunn, who also was postmaster and at another time register of deeds, Ezra Fitz Freeman, the unfortunate Isaac Darneille, John S. Wills and George W. Burnet, each of whom was at one time or another attorney for

the United States. John S. Wills was a native of Virginia who was admitted to the bar in 1794 and practiced in Cincinnati but for a few years. George W. Burnet was a brother of Judge Burnet who says of him that he was a young man of high promise whose life was terminated by rapid consumption in the summer of 1801. John Blanchard, Francis Taylor and John Pennington Smith were also prominent lawyers of the time. Blanchard it will be remembered was the attorney for Bartle in his controversy with an officer of the garrison. His speech reflected so upon the officer that a sergeant and thirty soldiers were sent to whip Blanchard. The citizens, headed by Col. John Riddle and William McMillan, rallied to the attorney's defense and drove off the soldiery. Smith was one of the attorneys for Mays in his murder trial.

Samuel Findlay, who afterwards became a celebrated lawyer, is mentioned as a member of the bar in the early days and Harrison himself practiced a little bit at the bar. It is to be hoped that none of these lawyers is referred to in the statement of Judge Burnet that when he came to the bar there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice, all of whom with the exception of himself and his brother became confirmed sots and descended to premature graves. (Burnet's Notes, p. 37.)

Ford in his history mentions two lawyers named Clark and Glover who made preparations to fight a duel. Fortunately the affair was settled without bloodshed, but not until one of them had pulled off his shoes to fight more conveniently in his stocking feet. (Ford's Cincinnati, p. 312.)

The courts, during the first year of the settlement, were held for a time at the various taverns. We know that Isaac Martin's tavern was not only the seat of Justice McMillan's court, but also of all the courts during the first year or so. Judge Burnet tells us that afterwards a room in the tavern of George Avery near the frog pond at the corner of Fifth and Main had been rented for the accommodations of the court in front of which was a pillory, stock, whipping post and at times the gallows. In February, 1795, the court ordered the erection of a Court House 30 by 40 feet in dimensions, to be all log and frame, two stories high, and to be placed on public land near the intersection of Fifth and Main. This was erected on the west side of Main about twenty feet back from the street. Thomas Gordy and Seth Cutter were appointed commissioners to superintend the building and John Ludlow and Isaac Hamilton were the commissioners who built the jail near by. The old log Court House was replaced, by a contract let in 1801, by one of brick and stone. This erected in 1802 remained the seat of justice until 1814, when it was burned by a company of soldiers who were using it as a barrack.

ARTISTS.

In the line of artistic endeavor the only name of any consequence during the village period is that of George Jacob Beck, a German who was a painter of some ability. He was one of a company of scouts during the Wayne campaign and was at the battle of Fallen Timbers. After the termination of the war, he settled at Cincinnati, where he married the daughter of Menessier. He remained here until 1800, at which time he moved to Lexington, where he died in 1812. His wife returned to the city and opened a school of drawing for young ladies at the corner of Third and Walnut streets, which continued with varying success for a number of years. Beck was particularly successful in the painting of landscapes and many of the scenes of this part of the beautiful Ohio Valley were the subjects of his brush. It has been suggested that he was the artist who decorated General Wilkinson's famous barge.

Another artist who is said to have visited Cincinnati, although he could not have remained here long, was William Edward West, who afterwards became known for his portraits of Irving, Byron, Shelley, Mrs. Hemans and the Countess Guiccioli, executed in Europe, and his figure pieces, the "Pride of the Village," the "Confessional" and "Judith." West was born in Lexington in 1788 and if he came here at all it must have been while he was quite a boy.

The subject of music is of such importance in the history of the city that it is treated in a special chapter by Mr. Glover. Some idea as to the musical ability of the early inhabitants can be gathered from the advertisements quoted elsewhere from the *Centinel*, as well as from the comment on the singing and dancing schools in the earlier part of this chapter.

THE POST OFFICE.

The difficulties experienced by the early settlers with regard to the mails are referred to very frequently in the letters of the time. There was no regular mail service so far as the West was concerned, and packets were entrusted to passing travelers of greater or less responsibility. Although a post office had been established in Boston as early as 1692 and letters were

THE ART SCHOOL AND ART MUSEUM.

AT THE "ZOO."—THE CARNIVORA.

ELSINORE ENTRANCE TO EDEN PARK.

delivered in Virginia from plantation to plantation as early as 1757, there was no general system throughout the Colonies until the middle of the 18th century, when Dr. Franklin became the deputy postmaster for the Colonies. He was dismissed by the crown in 1774 because of his sympathy with the colonists and for a time the colonial post office was in confusion. In 1775 he became the first postmaster general. The reorganization of the postal service under the new government was not effected until 1792. At the time Franklin resigned his office in 1776, there were but 75 post offices in the whole United States. It was Franklin's boast that this branch of the service, which had never paid a penny of revenue to the royal coffers under him, yielded more than three times the income of the Irish post office. This was largely due to the high rates which were necessary in view of the great risks. Under the act which established the post office in 1792, the rates varied from six cents for distances of 30 miles or less to 25 cents for distances of 450 miles or over, with like amounts for each enclosure. Newspapers paid a cent for every hundred miles and less and a cent and a half for greater distances. Mails were carried by post-riders in a pair of saddle-bags and long periods of time were occupied in transmission. Post day, the most important day of the week, was the occasion for the assembling of half the village. The package for the whole village was generally made up of a roll of newspapers, two weeks or more old, and a few bundles of drugs for the doctor. Great excitement prevailed if there were letters included in the saddle-bags. The post-boy was himself a sort of a traveling newspaper and in advance of his official burden of papers he detailed the gossip of the towns through which he passed. Although it was a capital offense to rifle the mails, letters and packages were frequently opened. Jonathan Dayton complains in his letter to Symmes of September 8, 1789, of the great expense of the mails. One letter forwarded by Major Willis was thrown into the post office and it cost Dayton six shillings and eightpence in specie.

It can be well understood that a news item which appeared in *The Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* in the issue of June 28, 1794, was the occasion of great excitement. It read as follows: "We learn that there is a Post established from Pittsburgh to this place and that Abner M. Dunn, Esq., is appointed Deputy Post Master General in this place." Two weeks later came the announcement that the post had arrived from Pittsburg and that the post office was kept at the dwelling house of Abner M. Dunn. This was at the corner of what is now Butler and Second streets, beyond Fort Washington in the artificer's yard.

The post was not very regular, however, for on November 15th Mr. Maxwell, the printer, announced that by reason of the uncertainty of the arrival of the mails he had concluded to fill the first page of each week's paper with the laws of the Territory, probably as interesting matter to the readers of those days as the murders, suicides and other tragedies which occupy so much space in our modern newspapers. Not only was the mail infrequent, but the citizens were not always ready to pay for their news, for a little later in March of the following year Mr. Dunn notifies "those who have a right to calculate on receiving letters or papers at his office that in future they must come prepared with ready cash in hand or no letters or papers."

Postmaster Abner Martin Dunn, having served the citizens well and faithfully, departed this life in 1795 and the announcement of his death is contained in the *Centinel* of July 25th of that year. He was buried on the site of the post office.

Mr. Maxwell, who had complained of the infrequency of the mails was given an opportunity to better the service, for on October 20, 1795, appears the announcement that he was appointed postmaster in lieu of Mr. Dunn. "Gentlemen and others wishing to send letters by the post may leave them at the Printing Office where the Post Office is now kept."

During the year following the appointment of Mr. Dunn, M. T. Green of Marietta made a contract by which he contracted to carry the mails between Cincinnati and Pittsburg in a pirogue. He also carried freight and passengers. The service to the interior of the Miami country was by the old-fashioned method, that of a post-boy carrying saddle-bags on horseback. For a time the post-boy was the son-in-law of Mr. Dunn, William Olin. Dunn himself added to his exchequer as postmaster by practicing law. Under Mr. Maxwell the service was considerably extended. John G. McDowell, we learn from a letter printed in the *Centinel* on October 3, 1795, was the contractor from Graham's Station to Cincinnati. Announcement was made that by his contract he was to arrive at Cincinnati on Monday at twelve o'clock noon and that he would not leave until the next morning, "which

is giving a sufficient time for the inhabitants of Cincinnati to answer their letters."

On April 2, 1796, another item with reference to the post office is the notice of the postmaster requesting those indebted to the post office to make immediate payment, and those who expect newspapers by post are requested to call and pay the postage.

Maxwell was succeeded in turn by Daniel Mayo, who however remained in office but a short time. His removal to Newport, Kentucky, necessitated his resignation. That his services were appreciated is shown by the fact that he was appointed postmaster at his new residence, and acted in that capacity until his death. He is said to have been an upright citizen and one highly esteemed in public and private life.

Mayo was succeeded by the man who was known in the early days as the postmaster, Maj. William Ruffin. He was appointed by President Washington in 1796 and served throughout the administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson and the greater part of that of Madison. He resigned to enter into mercantile business with his son-in-law, Major Oliver. During his term the office was located at his residence, a red two-story frame on the corner of Columbia and Lawrence streets. A corner covered with glass doors furnished a sufficient receptacle for all the mail matter of the day. The postage on a single letter in those days was 25 cents in specie. The mail occupied frequently four weeks in transit from the Eastern States.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

Naturally the problem of water was one of the first the settlers were called upon to solve. The village, being immediately on the bank of the river, was near the source of supply so far as water for purposes other than drinking was concerned. Drinking water, however, was obtained at first from springs in the hillsides, of which there were a number, particularly on the line of the bank about where Third street now runs. This supply was, however, very irregular and much of the water was carried in buckets from the river. One of the largest springs was on the site of the Little Miami freight depot, where was originally a tan-yard. This, known as "Kilgour's Spring," supplied the whole neighborhood. Another large one was at Deacon Wade's tan-yard on Congress street, between Pike and Butler streets. Another was in Deer creek valley at the foot of Harrison street. In Hunt's tan-yard, northeast of Court street, was another. All of these continued to flow up to the "thirties," and some up to the memory of those now living.

In 1791, the eccentric genius, John Robert Shaw, the well digger, was at Fort Washington, "where I dug the first well that ever was in Cincinnati, and by my directions the well in the garrison was finished, besides a number of other wells which I laid off, and which have been finished since my leaving there, which is a clear demonstration of the infallibility of the forked rod. For I do maintain that there is no danger of failing in procuring water, provided a man digs to the depth prescribed by the man who carries the rod, and understands the efficacy of it."

The time referred to is more than two years after the beginning of the settlement, and it seems hard to believe that during this time no one had resorted to the simple device of digging wells, a device with which all the settlers would be familiar.

The water carts of David McCash and his sons have already been referred to. Mr. Cist tells us of the dry summer of 1802, when most of the springs failed. Among the rest was one that supplied Deacon Wade's tan-yard. "Without water the business could not go on—not a dray in the settlement—what was to be done? An inventive genius, James McMahan, came to their relief; with an axe and auger he repaired to the adjoining fields, cut a couple of saplings, pinned cross-pieces, and upon them secured a cask. To this dray by aid of a yoke, or wooden collar, he geared his bull, and with this 'fixin' the water was furnished, and the business of the yard kept in operation."

A former Hessian soldier named Port, who lived in a hut under the bluff at the corner of Third and Main for a time, is said to have carried on the business of supplying the citizens with water. (Recollections of Jonathan Lyon.)

In June, 1801, Messrs. Avery and Fithian advertised in the *Spy* under the head "Living Water,"—"that they have completed their well of excellent water, at a heavy expense, and that four dollars per year will be expected from every person or family using the water." As an explanation of this high charge the information is given "that the well will have to be kept in order and supplied with buckets, rope and windlass, and cleaned out at least once a year." There were other private wells and also public ones supported by assessment. These latter included wells on the north side of Lower Market street, between Main and Sycamore, one on the east

side of Main, and one in front of the Miami Exporting Company's bank.

FIRE PROTECTION.

The matter of protection against fire occupied the serious attention of the villagers. The inadequacy of the water supply and the fact that the buildings in the settlement were all frame and that throughout the clearings were many dry and decaying stumps and logs, combined with the compactness of the settlement, necessitated by the fear of the Indians, made the community particularly susceptible to danger from this source. A good sized fire would have wiped out the settlement. There was reason to believe too that many of the little conflagrations were of incendiary origin. The soldiers were charged with these offenses, whether with justice or not it is hard to tell, but after the garrison had moved across the river the fires decreased very considerably in number. No regular department was in operation during the village life of Cincinnati.

The *Spy* of December 19, 1801, contains a call for a public meeting to take measures towards procuring a fire engine. The engine was not procured at this time, but on July 17, 1802, and later during the year provision was made by ordinance for an organization to fight the fire. "Every freeholder and every person being a householder and paying an annual rental as high as thirty-six dollars must be provided with a black-jack and leather bucket of a capacity of two and one-half gallons and contribute the use of it and his own physical exertions whenever he should hear a cry of fire. Every male between sixteen and fifty years of age had to serve. Such was the first step for fire protection in that Cincinnati that was to produce the first fire engine to be operated by steam—a blessing that the entire world now appreciates." (Henderson's Council, p. 23.)

COMMERCE.

The general character of the business as well as the manufacturing carried on here is indicated by the advertisements published in the chapter of newspaper quotations.

The commerce of the village and the means of communication with other points have been frequently referred to. The arks, keels, flat-boats and barges so familiar to pioneers continued to be the principal method of transportation by river for some time. Martin Baum's firm and others carried on a regular line of barges in the New Orleans trade. The regular packet line to Pittsburg was established, as seen by the advertisement quoted elsewhere, in January, 1794. An important event was the arrival on April 27, 1801, of the brig "St. Clair," in charge of Commander Whipple, bound for the West Indies and the ocean. As he passed the village "the banks were crowded with people all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country."

We have also seen the notices for the meetings at Yeatman's Tavern to consider a new method of propelling boats by steam or elastic vapor. It was not, however, until well into the next century that steamboats began to displace the keel-boats and flat-boats and the original business of the community was accommodated in these primitive conveyances.

PRICES OF LAND.

Among the early purchases reported in the gossip of the city was that made in July, 1795, by Robert Benham, who traded an old musket worth less than $10 in the inflated Continental currency for lot 51, 100 by 200 feet, and lots 56 and 57, 200 by 200 feet, at the northeast corner of Front and Sycamore and out-lots 16, 17, and 18 being the ground included between Main and Sycamore and Seventh and Canal.

During the next month Joseph Hahn traded his ax, valued at $1, for a lot, 50 by 200 feet, on Sycamore street, between Second and Third streets. The same time Samuel Dick traded a cow for out-lot 54, being a square bounded by 14th, Jefferson, Canal and Elm streets, and out-lots 58 and 59, bounded by Court, 12th and Canal streets and Central avenue. Two days before this, Dick traded a hat somewhat the worse for wear for lots 130 and 131, 200 feet, at the northeast corner of Second and Walnut streets, lot 151 at the northwest corner of Front and Walnut streets and lot 157 at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets.

Thomas Doyle of the garrison in August, 1795, gave a pair of moccasins valued at $2 in Continental scrip for lot 108 at the west side of Main near Third, 100 feet front. In October he traded a neat, second-hand great coat valued at $8 for out-lots 32 and 39 and in-lots 85 and 109. These included the squares between Court, Canal, Walnut and Race streets and the southwest and northeast corners of Third and Main.

In 1795 lots 83 and 84, 200 feet on Main at the southeast corner of Third, sold for $3 in depreciated certificates. Eight dollars in scrip bought the northeast corner of Third street and

Central avenue and three lots on the southeast corner, as well as almost all of the west side of Race from Second to Third. Four dollars in scrip bought 300 feet of this Race street purchase a day later. In the same year Benjamin Van Cleve paid $4 scrip for the southwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore, the northwest corner of Vine and Longworth, and out-lot 50 on Liberty and Elm streets.

In February, 1795, Dr. Allison paid £25 in depreciated scrip for six lots of 60 square yards each, lying just east of Fort Washington and north of Third street. Smith & Findlay, the merchants, moved their store in 1795 from the west side of Broadway to a lot on Front street, where the Bethel was afterwards built, for which lot they paid the high price of $4. The Isaac Bates' farm of 78 acres of land near the House of Refuge was purchased in 1795 for £19, 10 shillings. Lot 54, on the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore, was bought in the same year for nine cattle worth about $2 each. The Ludlows, Benjamin and William, bought a thousand acres of land near the present site of Spring Grove Cemetery for $630. Thomas Gondy, the lawyer, as may be seen from the various notices in the newspapers, became the owner of a great many notes of the earlier pioneers, which unfortunately were considerably below par. One for $21 he traded off for a little strip of ground 100 by 200 feet, on the southeast corner of Front and Elm, and the squares now bounded by Betts, 14th and Canal streets and Central avenue, and by Walnut, Vine, Seventh and Eighth streets and by 12th, 13th, Vine and Main,—four whole squares and a good corner lot. In Columbia the elder Mr. Goforth gave £10 for eight out-lots, each of five acres. S. Freeman gave $40 for a little over 27 acres in Columbia township and a number of out-lots and lots in Cincinnati, among which was the square from Seventh to Eighth and Race to Vine, that from Ninth to Court and Walnut to Vine, that from Fifth to Sixth and John street to Central avenue, that from 13th to 14th and Race to Vine and that between Fifth and Sixth and Plum and Elm. The purchase also included two lots on the west side of Vine between Second and Front and two on the east side of Race between Second and Front, running back to the Vine street lots, one on the north side of Front, between Plum and Western row and the southeast corner of Central avenue and Second street. These are but few of the many absurdly low prices obtained by Symmes for property which has since become worth millions. It must be remembered, however, that although these transactions all bear date of 1795 that probably they had actually taken place at least five years earlier, that is the bargains had been made at the earlier time. Symmes was not able to give deeds of course until he had obtained title from the government. Still, lands did not increase much in price during the first few years of the settlement. As late as 1799 Burnet, in a letter to Boudinot, says that "lands in this purchase have certainly fallen in price at least twenty-five or thirty percent in twelve months and I see no prospect of their taking a sudden rise, but on the contrary I fear that the sale of the public lands above the patent and below the Miami will bring them still lower."

BRIDGES.

In 1798 an attempt was made to connect the shores of Mill creek by a bridge. A subscription paper dated April 10th of that year was drawn up by Judge Symmes and subscriptions to the amount of $433 were obtained "for the express and sole purpose of forming and erecting a bridge over Mill creek at its mouth, either of stone or wood, on pillars or bents, so high as to be level with the top of the adjacent banks, and twelve feet wide, covered with three inch plank, and so strong that waggons with three tons weight may be safely drove over the same, and so durable that the undertaker shall warrant the bridge to continue, and be kept in repair for passing loaded waggons, seven years after the bridge is finished."

Judge Symmes headed the paper with a $100 subscription. Israel Ludlow followed with $70. Thomas Gibson, William H. Harrison, Cornelius R. Sedam $40 each, Joel Williams $30 and J. and Abijah Hunt $20. Among the other subscriptions for smaller amounts appear the names of Smith & Findlay, merchants, Samuel Dick, Andrew Park, Culbertson Park, Stephen Wood, Griffin Yeatman, Benjamin Stites, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., William McMillan, Jacob Burnet, Dr. J. Salmon, Aaron Reeder, George Gordon, Joseph Prince and Thomas Gondy. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 37.)

This bridge we are told was never built, as the amount of subscriptions was not sufficient. A floating bridge, however, was maintained with a ferry alongside which was used when the high waters made the bridge useless. These were in charge of a man named White and he is said to have carried on a profitable business.

There was a bridge across Deer creek, where the ravine in 1800 was not more than 12 feet across and overhung with evergreen and water willows, built of a single string piece from bank to bank with a descent at each end. This was protected at each end from freshets by piling loads of stone on the edges for 30 feet or more each way from the banks.

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS.

As is natural in a small community, the public celebrations and holidays were participated in by the populace generally. It was to attend one of these celebrations on the Fourth of July in 1792 that Oliver M. Spencer came from Columbia to Cincinnati at the time he was captured by the Indians. Two years later the day was celebrated by a salute from Fort Washington, at that time in command of Captain Pierce, and a dinner at Maj. George Gordon's tavern in the frame house of Ludlow. In the following year there was another dinner at the same place at which 13 regular toasts were drank by the participants; in Columbia the celebration was equally elaborate and the number of toasts were 15. Two years later the dinner was at Yeatman's Tavern at the sign of the "Square and Compass." In 1798, in addition to the other regular exercises, there was a militia muster in charge of Lieut.-Col. Daniel Symmes. The following year there was a procession in which the military in the fort took part. Afterwards there was a dinner at Yeatman's and an address by Governor St. Clair. By 1800 the celebrations became more partisan in their character and the Republicans dined at Major Ziegler's, next door to Yeatman's. There was also a dinner at Frazier's in Columbia, where there were 16 toasts. In the following year the celebrations were more numerous. Governor St. Clair took part in a dinner at Yeatman's Tavern. Sixteen rounds were fired by the Cincinnati Light Infantry. Another party, presided over by Judge Symmes, picnicked on the Rock at Republican Springs in the East End. Major Goforth presided over the celebration in Columbia. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 6.)

SOCIETY.

Dr. Drake speaks as follows of the society of the early days: "Now, the state of society in our olden time was very different from the present. In many respects the contrast between the two is scarcely less than the contrast of the primitive and the present scenery. From the beginning, the military element was predominant, and up to the end of the first era, its influence was still perceptible, not in the generation of ferocious passions and dueling practices, but in fostering indolence, apathy and a love of pleasure. High aims and great enterprises, with intense efforts for their accomplishment, did not belong to those times, even in the older settled portions of the Union, and if they sprang up, as indeed they did, in the minds of some of our pioneers, they had to contend against many adverse and discouraging circumstances. The army, at this time so emulous of civil society, in propriety and purity of manners, was then much further behind a far worse condition of general society. Drinking to intoxication, public balls, theatrical amusements, horse-racing, billiards, and various games of chance, prevailed to a degree exceedingly unfavorable to habits of study or business. Cards, the most dangerous of all family amusements, were a part of the means of wasting time, in the majority of the houses of the village; and the whisky bottle was a symbol of hospitality in the whole. Every body drank, but every body was not a drunkard; nor must it be supposed that there was no minority of industrious, sober-minded and pious persons, who sought by example, as well as precept, to rectify the morals of the majority. Yet even these were temperate drinkers; and when they dispatched a messenger for the family physician, would examine the bottle, and if by chance they found it empty, would start another to the distillery or nearest tavern. In his morning and his evening rounds the doctor was expected to drink wherever he stopped, and would even give offense by refusing, unless he never drank at all. Public lectures, now so common and instructive or amusing, on almost every branch of human knowledge, were then unthought of; and I can not recollect any associations for mutual improvement, except that primitive, old-fashioned organization, which I really think has done much good in the world—the Young Men's Debating Society. Of those who belonged to ours, a large number have since become respectable and useful men, while three have earned a national reputation—John McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Joseph G. Totten, Chief Engineer, and Thomas S. Jesup, Quarter Master General of our army." (Drake's Discourses, p. 49.) The debating society was, however, of later date.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PIONEER NEWSPAPERS (1790–1802).

NEWS ITEMS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE CENTINEL OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY—FREEMAN'S JOURNAL—THE WESTERN SPY AND HAMILTON GAZETTE.

THE CENTINEL OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY.

The first newspaper published in Cincinnati was entitled *The Centinel of the North-western Territory*. It was published by William Maxwell at the corner of Front and Sycamore streets, beginning with the number of November 9, 1793. The motto of this paper was "Open to all parties—but influenced by none," a noble sentiment representing the vain aspirations of many editors. It consisted at first of four pages of eight and one-half inches by ten and one-half inches. In July of 1794 the size of the pages increased to about eight and one-fourth inches by fourteen inches and in September, 1795, the pages were again increased in length to about nine and one-half inches by fifteen inches. During the period of the first size referred to, each page contained three columns, while the later papers contained four columns to a page. The price per annum of the paper was two hundred and fifty cents, or seven cents for a single copy. This paper was continued for a period of about two and one-half years. In the summer of 1796 the proprietorship changed and thereafter the paper appeared under the name of *Freeman's Journal*, under which it was continued until November, 1800.

The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati contains almost a complete set, 118 numbers, of this earliest publication, probably the only set in existence.

The paper is made up of communications on subjects of local interest, foreign intelligence, in which the news from France receives the most consideration, letters from various parts of the East concerning American affairs and usually one or two items under the head of Cincinnati. The most interesting part of the paper is of course the advertisements which give many side-lights upon the life of the inhabitants of those early days. They abound with rewards for the return of lost or stolen property, for the sale of lots and land and also of merchandise and runaway slaves. Among the most frequent advertisements are those of rewards offered for deserters from the army and of husbands whose wives have proved faithless to them and who therefore warn the public that they will no longer be responsible for their debts. Another common form of advertisement is to the effect that the subscriber will not pay some note or obligation which he has signed and therefore warns any person from purchasing the same. A recital of some of these advertisements will give an excellent view of the conditions of the time.

The conditions of life were shown by the statement of the printer: "This country is in its infancy, and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, not content with taking away the lives of men in the field, have swept

away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of a regular and certain trade down the Mississippi deprives this country, in a great measure, of money at the present time. These are discouragements, nevertheless I am led to believe the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press* from its known utility will receive proper encouragement."

An early discussion was with reference to the law of the Territory requiring merchants and tavern people to take out a license. This seems to have been a very important matter and brought forth several learned disquisitions signed according to the fashion of the time by such classical names as "Plebius" and "Manlius." We learn on November 23rd, that on the 20th the house of the lawyer Thomas Goudy was broken into and that the thief seemed particularly interested in the matter of clothing for he took "one waistcoat and breeches, black silk; one buff casimer waistcoat, one black florentine do. one purple and white striped do. one pair yellow breeches, ribbed worsted; one pair paist knee-buckles, with a small range of purple stones set inside the white do.; nine ruffled shirts; one marked W. F. the rest marked T. G. 5 neck cloths, 3 pair silk stockings, 2 pair silk and cotton striped do. one pair cotton do. 2 pair shoes, one red cotton handkerchief, with white spots interspersed." For the discovery of the thief of this gorgeous raiment Goudy offers the sum of eight dollars reward and a generous reward for the property if returned to him.

The same number contains an offer of two dollars reward for the return of a coat lost between Griffin's Station and Fort Washington and several small articles enclosed therein; to wit: One shirt, one pair of small clothes, one muslin neckcloth and sundry papers.

John Ludlow offers four dollars reward for the thief and two dollars for "a Dark Bay horse, fourteen hands and a half high, in middling order, with a square docked tail, trots and canters, about 14 years old," which horse was stolen in Cincinnati and is supposed to have been taken to Kentucky.

From an advertisement of Jacob Myers we learn that two Ohio packet boats were in the service from Cincinnati to Pittsburg, performing a round trip in four weeks. "The proprietor of these boats having maturely considered the many inconvepiences and dangers incident to the common method hitherto adopted of navigating the Ohio, and being influenced by a love of philantrophy (sic), and desire of being serviceable to the public, has taken great pains to render the accommodations on board the boats as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made.

"No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made proof against rifle or musquet balls, and convenient port holes for firing out of. Each of the boats are armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball; also a number of good muskets and amply supplied with plenty of ammunition, strongly manned with choice hands, and the masters of approved knowledge.

"A separate cabbin from that designed for the men, is partitioned of in each boat for accommodating ladies on their passage. Conveniences are constructed on board each boat, so as to render landing unnecessary, as it might, at times, be attended with danger. * * *

"Persons desirous of working their passage, will be admitted on finding themselves, subject, however, to the same order and directions from the master of the boats, as the rest of the working hands of the boats crew."

Mr. Myers also suggests that an "Office of Insurance will be kept at Cincinnati, Limestone and Pittsburgh, where persons desirous of having their property insured may apply."

A notice of November 30, 1793, that a "malignent disorder that has long so raged in Philadelphia is entirely ceased" is followed by the statement of the death of the son of Colonel Strong at Cincinnati "with the natural small-pox, which now prevails with great virulence in this place."

A discussion on the origin of love is followed by a column of rewards of twenty dollars per man, offered by Capt. Edw. Butler, commanding the fourth sub-legion, for deserters eight in number. The deserters are described in considerable detail; as of Patrick O'Hara, obviously an Irishman, it is said that "if villainy could be called an accomplishment, he is accomplished in a high degree. * * * A mason by trade, a thief and drunkard," while John Johnson is to be identified by the fact that he has "remarkable large feet and thick lips." The rewards were to be paid in Spanish mill dollars.

Levi Woodward advertised that on November 11th between Seth Cutler's tavern, and Samuel Thompson's house, he had "found a pair of Deer Skin Sattle Bags, one Shirt, and one pair of Trousers made of Homespun linen, which the owner can have by proving Property, and paying Charges."

Darius C. Orcutt had a tract of land for sale on the Licking River for which he would take corn, whiskey, flour, neet cattle, horses, pork, beef or cash in payment.

Thomas Gibson announced on November 29th his arrival at his store, the "North-East corner from John Ludlow's, Esq., with a very large Assortment of Dry Goods, Madeira, Sherry, Lisbon, and Teneriff Wines, Spirits, Brandy, Loaf and Brown Sugars, Pepper, Alspice and other Groceries. All which he will dispose of on Reasonable Terms."

On the same day is published a notice requesting merchants and tavern people who hold licenses to meet at the house of John Grier, "to consult about matters concerning themselves only."

Job Gard evidently lost his parchment pocket-book on the 11th of October, a little above the North Bend on the river, or on shore at the North Bend. This contained nothing but a number of valuable papers of no use to any person but the owner. He offered four dollars reward for its return.

John Armstrong of Columbia on November 14th "calls on all those who have not settled their accounts, contracted before the first day of the present month, to make immediate payment: corn, beef, pork, butter, cheese, potatoes, furr and skins will be taken at his store at the market price." He makes a special note of the fact that he has a quantity of turnips for sale.

Gano & Company of Columbia on November 20th announce that "all persons indebted to the Subscriber for last years Contracts or Sales, are for the last time requested to make Payment, as no longer time can be given." Country produce of all kinds was evidently as acceptable as cash.

On December 4th, A. Hunt & Company advertise for a quantity of "Corn-fed Pork" for which they offer cash. In a note is stated the fact that "a Journeyman Tanner will meet with encouragement by applying to A. H."

Levi Munsell offers at public sale on December 6th, at his house "in lots of about Ten Gallons, a few Barrels of Spirits, cordials," etc.

Daniel Duffey "finding it necessary to have all his accompts fully settled, requests all to whom he is indebted, to bring in their accompts for payment: Those who have accompts before the first of Nov. last unpaid, and cannot make it convenient to discharge the same, will please to call at the Store, and give their obligations, as all accompts antecedent to that period will be closed."

From the issue of December 7th, from which these last notices were taken, it is learned the subscriptions were received in Columbia, by John Armstrong, Esq.; at North Bend by Aaron Cadwell, Esq.; at Colerain by Capt. John Dunlop, and in New-Port, by Capt. John Bartle.

John Dunlop offers donation out-lots of ten acres each to so many of the first settlers at a new station on the Great Miami River, three miles above Colerain. On December 14th is recorded the return of Mr. Wells and a friendly Indian from the "Ogglase" with two Indian squaws as prisoners.

John Ludlow on December 18th advertises "Good Encouragement will be given to a Number of *Settlers* at Mount Pleasant, two miles from Ludlow's Station, on the Main Road to Fort Hamilton."

C. Avery (December 21st) calls on those who are indebted to him to pay their accounts, "otherwise, he will be under the necessity of taking measures which will be disagreeable to him and more so to those, who do not comply with this friendly notice."

John Dealy advertises for journeymen coopers.

Obediah Scott offers to "winter horses or horned cattle of which good care will be taken, but not answerable for accidents."

On December 28th is announced the arrival of Captain Faulkner from headquarters with the information that two spies who had gone out with Mr. Wells had "penetrated so near one of the Ogglaze towns, as to have a view of it, but being discovered, were pursued so close that they were obliged to take shelter in a swamp where they continued for several days: They at length left the swamp, but from the weather being cloudy, they mistook their course, and came within view of the Miami villages, where they saw a large body of Indians encamped under cover of tents, supposed to be about nine hundred: They immediately returned, and after surmounting many dangers and obstructions, arrived at head quarters on the 12th inst, almost perished from the want of sustenance, and the inclemency of the weather."

We are likewise informed that a detachment has been ordered out to the old battle-ground, to erect a garrison (Fort Recovery).

The same number of December 28, 1793, contains Governor St. Clair's proclamation insisting upon neutrality toward Spain and forbidding the inhabitants to join in the attempt against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi.

On January 4, 1794, is announced the erection

of several blockhouses on the old battle-ground, in which two companies were left under the command of Major Burbeck. On this same day William Kelly publishes "his first and last notice" to all persons indebted to him to come and settle as he is "determined to give no longer indulgence."

James Forguson (Ferguson) offers his dwelling house and part of the lot whereon he lives for sale and calls upon the persons indebted to him to make settlement with him as he is determined to leave this place on the 15th inst.

Mathew Winton offers eight dollars reward for the thief and a stolen horse "five years old, a long switched tail, shood all round, has a scum over part of the off eye, paces, trots and handgallops well."

William Tait offers "a neat and general assortment of *Dry Goods* and *Groceries*, far superior in quality to any yet opened in this place," in a small frame house on the southeast corner of Sycamore and Second streets.

On January 18, 1794, appears "TO BE LET THE *large frame House, lately occupied by William M'Millen, and where the Printing-office is now kept.*"

John Galbraith, being about to leave this country, asks those who are indebted to make payment to him "as it will be a great advantage to him, and perhaps no loss to them."

John Dunlop notifies those holding donation lots in the town of Colerain that they must comply with the terms of settlement by the first day of May next or look upon their lots as forfeited.

On January 25, 1794, are published the "proposals" of George R. Clark, Esq., "Major-General in the armies of *France*, and Commander-in-Chief of the *French revolutionary Legions* on the Mississippi River. For raising Volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of said river, and giving freedom to its inhabitants &c." In these proposals, land from one to three thousand acres is offered to those joining the expedition. This notice is printed upon the same page and preceding Governor St. Clair's neutrality proclamation.

In this same number William M'Millan "having removed to the country, gives notice to those whom it may concern, that his office of Judge of the common pleas, will hereafter be kept at the mansion house of Isaac Martin in Cincinnati, where due attendance will be given each Wednesday and Saturday in every week." The "country" is the present site of Avondale.

On February 15th appears a notice signed John Mills, major in the second sub-legion, inspector and adjutant-general to the army, that "as the army at present on the frontiers will undoubtedly, be inclined to purchase many of the articles of country produce, and will pay a generous price in cash—The Citizens of this place, of Columbia, and of the adjacent country, may find it to their advantage to convey to any of the military posts, any species of provisions, or other country produce (whiskey excepted) for which they will have a ready sale and prompt payments. The greatest encouragement will be given, and an assurance of protection from insult or injury."

In the same number appears the notice that "David Zeigler (Ziegler) has lately arrived from Philadelphia with a valuable and choice assortment of West Indian & dry goods, which are now exposed for sale at the store lately occupied by Robert Tait, deceased. Corn will be taken equal to cash."

Joseph Prince also repeatedly advertises, cash given for furs at his shop "where may be had genuine good Hats."

February 22, 1794, Mr. Findley, merchant, just arrived from Pittsburg, tells of being attacked by the Indians above the mouth of the Scioto. A statement is also made that the time for the Indians to come in and treat had elapsed and that there was no probability of their coming.

William Wilson announces his arrival "with a fresh and general assortment of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, which he is now opening at his store, kept by Mr. James Silver, in Front Street, next door to where Henry Reed deceased, formerly kept." He will receive as well as cash "Deer skins, Bear skins, and furs."

Disappointment seems to have soured the disposition of Daniel Duffey for he advertises: "Having notified the persons indebted to the concern of Mr. Atcheson, in the store I superintend, at Cincinnati, that obligations were expected for the balance due—— I find the people pay no attention to any thing offered through the medium of a *News-paper*. However I hope that all our customers will individually consider this as a notice directed to each of them; as their giving their obligations will prove honesty on their part; so it will also give confidence to their humble servant, to credit them in future."

Samuel Black did not trust to the newspaper,

but announces that he has put his claims in the hands of Thomas Goudy, attorney-at-law.

A. Hunt repeats his advertisement for "an active lad between 14 and 18 years of age, who can come well recommended as an Apprentice to the tanning & Currying Business." "An active lad" was also desired as an apprentice to the printing business.

The following week, in the issue of March 1st, G. Turner advertises: "WANTED—The ensuing spring, *four or five Buffalo Calves* of each sex."

A large portion of each number of the paper is given to news from France. As an indication of the interest in things French, on March 1st there is printed a table which will enable readers "to decipher the French dates for a twelvemonth to come."

John Mecker of Columbia, in the issue of March 8th, authorizes the following: "Notice. To all whom it may concern, Not to credit my wife Elizabeth Mecker, on my account as she has absconded from my bed and board with out any Provocation; therefore I am determined not to pay any debts of her contracting, from this date."

In this number also is the news of an attack by Indians about nine miles on this side of Fort Hamilton "upon two wagons owned by Mr. Scott Traverse, the one loaded with merchandize belonging to Messrs. Smith & Findley, of this place, the other with Quarter-Master's stores. * * * * * The waggoners were both killed, the teams captured, the waggons set on fire, and together with their cargoes intirely consumed. Mr. Traverse appears to have been most inhumanly butchered."

On March 10th "Mr. Flin and Mrs. Prier, were coming along General Harmar's old trace, on their way from White's Station to this place. * * * Was met by two Indians and chased a considerable distance, but escaped without damage.

"There has also been a number of horses stolen out of this town, in the corse of the present week." The stealing of horses seems to have been of common occurrence for every number contains notice offering rewards for the return of stock of this character.

On March 22nd is recorded the death of Ballard Smith, "Major in the fourth sub-legion of the Legion of the United States." The reporter is extremely conservative in his statement about the deceased officer. He says: "His remains were viewed with the regret of all who knew him. They knew his foibles: they knew his virtues. As a soldier, his courage was unquestionable; as a man, his conduct was such (allowing for the frailities of human nature) as placed him on a respectable scale in society.

"His corpse was attended to the grave by the commissioned officers, and a detachment of soldiers of the garrison of Fort Washington. These were accompanied by the ladies of the officers, the chief magistrate at present in the Territory, and the most respectable citizens. During the procession, minute guns were fired from the Fort. In short, the whole was conducted with that solemnity and decorum which stamp merit on the object that were designed to honour."

Information is given of the discovery by Mr. Litle, a surveyor on the Little Miami, of a large encampment of Indians. Litle and his party returned to Columbia without being discovered by the enemy and on Monday, March 17th, a party consisting of forty men, commanded by Captain Flinn, set out in pursuit of the savages. On the 19th two men were fired upon by Indians within four miles of Columbia, one of whom was mortally wounded.

John Ludlow, the sheriff, on March 21st issued a proclamation adjourning the court until the second Tuesday in April next at which time the justices of the peace, the coroner and constables with their rolls, records, inquisitions and other remembrances and all persons who will prosecute against the prisoners are directed to appear.

Thirty dollars reward is offered for an Isaac Kelsey "by profession a Savage having resided with them twelve years; * * * who deserted off his post on the night of the 15th inst." He is described as "about thirty years of age, dark complexion, short black hair, black eyes, snaggle teeth, six feet six or seven inches high, and of slender make, moves very awkwardly."

John Dunlop offers "good encouragement to a Black-Smith" at Colerain. William Bryant on March 22nd offers ten dollars reward in the following terms: "Ran away from the subscriber on the 21st of February last, living in Kentucky in Lincoln county, a Negroe man by the name of Sam, about 23 years old, and about five feet six inches high, and well made to that hight, and has a very large beard for a Negroe of that age, and a very large mouth. Had on when he went away, country made gray clothing. Any person securing the said Negroe so that I get him again, shall receive the above reward."

In the issue of April 5th the editor apologizes

for not having issued the paper the week before. His excuse was sickness. The same issue contains a letter from Judge Turner to Captain Kibby of Columbia congratulating him on pursuing and killing two savages who had committed depredations on the inhabitants at Columbia. The fact that the inhabitants at Columbia had offered rewards for Indian scalps is commented on with favor in another letter.

A. Andrews complains that "some evil minded person, or persons, have thought proper to mark a heifer, my property" and offers a reward for the detection of the persons who committed "this daring and flagrent act."

John Milier "wishes to inform the public that he has engaged in the business of butchery in the Town of Cincinnati."

The opening of the General Court before Hon. George Turner is reported: "The procession from the Judge's Chambers to the public ground, was in the following order:

"Constables with Battoons.

"Shiriff and Coroner with white Wonds.

"Gaoler.

"The Honorable Judge.

"Clerk with a green bag.

"Judges of the Common Pleas.

"Justices of the Peace.

"Attornies, Messengers, &c."

A letter written from Marietta to Maj. David Ziegler is quoted in which the statement is made that the "British Minister had required the United States, either to take arms for, or against the French nation, as they would not allow the Americans to be any longer neutral, and in consequence of that or other reasons, Congress has ordered fifteen thousand men to be immediately raised.—All the topic here is a British war—and the numerous captures of American vessels by the British, are corroborated by the Philadelphia newspapers, strongly evince the necessaty of some decisive measures to prevent the insults of the haughty Albions, on the one hand, and the horred yell and barbarity of the savages on the other."

In another letter the statement is made that "A number of the members of the House (at the Capital) speak of the situation of our army wretched—That the Senate in general are opposed to A. W. (Anthony Wayne) and it was the opinion of all the eastern members that a reduction to two regiments was the only measure to be adopted, and to depend upon the militia for further support."

John Armstrong of Columbia states that "ENCOURAGEMENT Will be given to any number of families who wish to form a settlement on that fertile TRACT of LAND, bounded by the Great Miami, on which Fort Hamilton stands and including the large Prairie."

The charge of George Turner to the grand jury delivered on April 8th is published in the issue of April 19th. It discusses liberty and morality in general but says little that could be of any assistance to the grand jurors in their deliberations. At this session which broke up on the 17th the following sentences were imposed:

"*James Dorsey*, a free negro, convicted of larceny—to be whipped through the principal streets of this city, with one and thirty stripes on the bare back; and during the punishment to wear fastened to his hat a paper with these words in large letters, 'AN INCORRIGIBLE OFFENDER.'—Then to find assurity for his good behaviour for 6 months, pay costs of prosecution, and stand convicted til sentence be performed.

"*Mingo* (supposed to be a runaway negro) convicted of larceny,—to be whipped before the Jail Door with 29 stripes on the bare back.

"*Thomas Cochran*, innkeeper, was found guilty of suffering gaming in his house, contrary to a Territorial statute—and adjudged to pay a fine of 100 dollars to the use of the Territory, to lose his license, and pay costs of prosecution.

"The several Sentences have since been carried into execution.

"On the 16th the High Sheriff of Hamilton, the Coroner and the Gentlemen of the Bar, gave an elegant entertainment to his Honour, at the house of George Gordon, esq and to which the Gentlemen who composed the Grand Jury were likewise invited. The day was spent with perfect harmony and decorum."

R. M'Clure advertises "THE SUBSCRIBER, Has excellent Bitters for sail, made agreeable to the London dispensatory, and are equal, if not superior to any made by Stoughton."

In the following week a correction is made to the effect that on the 10th instant the grand jury gave an entertainment which had not been mentioned in the notices just quoted. The statement is made as to the entertainment at the house of George Gordon and "many patriotic and republican toasts were drank."

Four horses were stolen by the Indians at Columbia and Captain Kibby set out in pursuit of them.

Peter Welsh, hairdresser and perfumer, advertises for an "Apprentice to the Hairdressing bus-

iness," desiring an active lad between 13 and 14 years of age "who can come well recommended for his activity and manners."

(Dr.) John Hole on May 3rd announces his determination to give no longer indulgence to his creditors.

In the number of May 3rd is reported the proceedings of the general court-martial whereof Captain Ford was president and Captains Porter, Cook, Creton, Thompson and Lieutenants Ingersall and Massey were members and Ensign Charles Hyde, judge advocate. The court was called to try Adam Caldwell, a settler of this place, who was charged "for having made an attempt to depreciate the current bills of the Bank of the United States, in declaring to a private soldier of the Legion, who offered him one of the said bills of three dollars, that he would not give him in hard money for it, half the amount thereof—Intending thereby to destroy the confidence of the soldier in the said bills of the Bank of the United States which conduct ultimately tends to excite and cause mutiny in the Legion."

Captain Miller swore as a witness to the transaction which happened in Mr. Munsell's store. Mr. Caldwell had stated to a soldier that he would not give two dollars in silver for the bill whereupon Captain Miller accosted him and "he turned to me smiling in the presents of the soldier, that he would not give half the amount of any bill; I then told him he ought to be hanged and went out of the door, the soldier went out also without trading with him."

With the usual disregard of the rules of evidence that prevails in courts martial, testimony was offered to show that on other occasions the accused had received bills at their face value, but the court found him guilty and he was sentenced to leave the cantonment and never to return in the capacity of a trader.

The usual attacks of Indians are reported. On April 25th four men coming from Hamilton were attacked by savages about 18 miles from Cincinnati. One of the men was killed, another mortally wounded; three teams going to White's Station were in view of the attack but made their escape.

That the Americans were blessed with that confidence in their superiority over all other nations that is a national characteristic at all times is shown by a letter to an officer in the "Legion" published May 10th in which the statement is made, referring to the fear of a British war, that "our country is unvulnerable, and we have little to lose; whilst our inveterate and persecuting foe, will hazard her West India, and other American possessions; domestic commotion, and a revolution. No nation can retard the rising importance of our country, but Britain, and our aggrandizement must keep pace with her depression."

George Turner complains of the loss "between Town and the Fort, a thin flat box containing two Paintings in oil, both Landscapes."

A week later the attack upon the command of Major Winston en route from Fort Washington to headquarters is recorded. This same issue contains the notice printed elsewhere offering rewards for Indian scalps.

John and Charles Wilkins and Company "having declined business at this place," ask for a settlement of accounts.

As usual, on May 24th more Indian outrages are reported. Two Indians stole a horse from Columbia and were pursued by a small party from Neison's Station. The Indians were overtaken and one of them killed. He was immediately scalped and the party claimed a reward of $130 offered by the public notice already referred to.

A familiar name, Zebulon Pike, is attached to a proclamation offering $50 reward for the arrest of a deserter who "appears to strangers to be a man of morality, and not habitual to the vices of hard drinking, swearing, &c. he is very industrious and a great impostor, is capable of every imaginable dissimulation."

Robert Mitchel and John M'Cloud informed the public that "they purpose carrying on the rope making business in all its various branches."

George G. Taylor advertised for a runaway negro named Aaron.

Quite a pretty little controversy was aroused by the letter referred to as written from Marietta in which General Wayne was commented upon. It is apparent from the tone of the correspondence that partisan politics cut as much figure in the criticism of army and officers in the early days as at present.

Peter Davis on June 14th advertised: "NOTICE, Is hereby given to all whom it may concern, that Elizabeth Davis (my wife), absented from my bed, and has since taken up with another man. This is therefore to forewarn all persons to trust her any thing on my account, as I will pay no debts of her contracting."

Mr. Davis seems to have been in earnest about this matter as he repeated the advertisement in several issues of the paper.

In the issue of June 21, 1794, appears the account of an attack by Indians upon Major Stites and Nathaniel Reeder of Columbia while on their way to Cincinnati; the latter was slightly wounded. The same evening a Mr. Jones was taken prisoner but fortunately made his escape during the night.

An announcement is made of a public auction at the house of Samuel Freeman and there "will be sold * * * (for cash only) the following articles, viz: Rose Blankets, No. 1 and No. 2, Indian ditto, No. 1 Forrest Cloth, Printed Cottons, Barrowthrees, Blue Strouding, No. 104 Brown Halfthicks Gray Coating Silk and Twist, Coloured Thread, Coat Buttons, Vest ditto, Crosscut Files, Handsaw ditto, Looking Glasses, Ribbons and Gold Cord, Table Spoons, Tea ditto, Shot and Lead Sattin and Hats." There were also offered the following books: Carr's "Sermons," 2 vols.; "Paradise Lost;" "Modern Chivalry" by H. H. Brackenridge, 2 vols.; the "Sexator or Parliamentory Chronicle," Seneca's "Morals," Rollins' "Belles Letters," "Prince of Abissinia" (sic) and the "Idler," by Dr. Johnson.

On June 28th appeared a news item to the effect that "we learn that here is a Post established from Pittsburgh to this place, and that Abner M. Dunn Esq. is appointed Deputy Post-Master-General in this place."

A. Hunt & Company offer "FOR SALE, A house and lot on the hill. The house has two very convenient rooms down stairs." "On the hill" of course means above Third street.

The paper is increased in size with issue No. 35, July 12, 1794.

The anniversary of Independence Day was celebrated "with becoming glee, by a joyous band of free hearts and willing spirits, from the Army and the City.

"At noon a federal salute, from Fort Washington, now commanded by Captain John Pierce of the artillery.

"At 4 o'clock the company sat down, if not to Eastern luxuries, to a handsome and plentiful dinner, well served by Mr. Gordon.—The juicy high flavored venison of the forest, and the delicious turtle of the Ohio, was not absent on this occasion.

"Well seasoned mirth, and paternal harmony beguiled the passing day, and the company retired at 8 o'clock, having drank the following toasts and sentiments, under the discharge of cannon."

Some of the toasts were as follows:

4. "The Sans Cullottes of France and cause of Liberty, triumphant."

6. "General Wayne and the Legion."

7. "Heads of Departments, may they feed well, physick well, pay well, cloath well and carry well."

8. "War with Britain or speedy concession."

9. "Volunteers of Kentucky, two thousand of them on the northern bank of the Ohio."

10. "The memory of Major *M'Machan*, and his gallant brethren in arms, who fell on the 30th ultimo, overpowered by a host of savages, and may the name of Hartshorn of Craig, and of Torry, never be forgotton."

11. "Arthur St. Clair, Governor of this Territory, may his ways be strewed with flowers."

14. "May we never want courage when put to a shift."

15. "A mixture of Lake water with Kentucky whiskey, for the use of the Legion."

The same number announces that the post had arrived from Pittsburg and that the post office was kept at the dwelling house of Abner M. Dunn, Esq.

James Wilkinson announces that "the friendship which I bore him when alive, and the respect in which I hold his memory, induced me to administer upon the estate of Mr. Francis Solander, deceased" and therefore the General asks all persons indebted to the estate to please make settlement. Solander was a French emigrant who had died suddenly but a short time before at Fort Hamilton. He seems to have been a man of very fine education and of many accomplishments and was regarded with great respect by his acquaintances.

Thomas Thursbey, late of the United States Legion, announces his removal to North Bend where he proposes to carry on the "Tayloring" business and solicits custom.

On July 10th John Houston offers twenty dollars reward for the recovery of his black leather pocket book lost in Cincinnati or the river adjacent thereto which contained about the sum of $150 in bank notes and also a note of hand on Simon Kenton.

Winthrop Sargent on July 24th announces for the benefit of magistrates and others that the printed list of the laws of the Territory passed at the last session are ready for delivery.

By a proclamation of July 21, 1794, Winthrop Sargent, acting as Governor, set apart the 14th of August as a day for fasting, humiliation and prayer.

The public are cautioned to beware of counter-

feit bills and an elaborate description of the counterfeits are given.

(Dr.) R. M'Clure on August 10th calls upon those indebted to him to settle "that he may as soon as possible, be enabled to send for a fresh supply of medicines, without which he cannot do justice to his patients. The great difficulty of getting medicines to this place, so remote from where a general assortment can be procured, must appear obvious to very person of common understanding. He therefore hopes this notification will be attended to with punctuality."

Dr. M'Clure also adds: "ALL Persons who have received phials from me, which are not in immediate use, are requested to return them to me immediately, and any person who brings spare phials, which did not belong to me should be paid their value in cash."

Samuel Robinson on August 23rd advertises: "FOR SALE A valuable track of land, containing 300 acres, lying on Harmers trace, within four miles of his place.

"Also a half lot in the town, with a small cabin on it, next door to Colonel Gibson's, and a four acre out lot with a good crop of corn."

The proclamation of Winthrop Sargent, the commandant of the militia, directing the carrying of arms when going to church printed in a preceding chapter, is published in the issue of the *Centinel* on August 30, 1794.

A very elaborate correspondence with regard to Capt. John Armstrong of Columbia who had resigned the previous year from the army was printed in the issue of August 30th.

From a letter of Winthrop Sargent, published September 6, 1794, it is learned that the old Indian grave was opened at Cincinnati on August 30th previous. Mr. Sargent asks for various articles in the hands of individuals which had been taken from the grave and also for other scientific information. He encloses a letter announcing the formation of an historical society in the city of Boston which society is desirous of collecting certain information. A detailed list of the articles on which information is desired is printed in full. The answers if any were made would be of inestimable value to-day.

James Robison "begs leave to, forewarn all persons from taking an assignment on a note of hand that he give to Abraham Garrison for nine pounds, payable on demand. As he is determined not to pay it, until compelled by law."

William Reed publishes his wife, announcing his determination not to pay her debts.

James Kavenagh informs the public "that he purposes carrying on the black and white smith business, horse shoeing, and farrieing, in its different branches, bell making."

For some unexplained reason Anthony Symth, who had been advertising for some time as he was executor of Maj. Ballard Symth, gives notice that he declines transacting any further business for the estate.

On September 13th is published the proclamation referred to elsewhere of Winthrop Sargent, acting Governor, in which he recited the attack by a party of lawless men on a number of Choctaw Indians who had returned from Wayne's army. He recited the proceedings of the day and of the night following at which times persons referred to paraded the streets in hostile array. He announced his unalterable determination to correct the past and prevent all future aggressions. He attributed the outrages to the violation of the statutes against selling intoxicating liquors and called upon the proper officials to bring to justice the offenders and to cause the proper legal descriptions and distinctions to be affixed at those places authorized to vend the ardent spirits.

John S. Gano and William Stanley announce the formation of a new firm at Columbia on September 17, 1794, where they will give credit for two or three months, and will extend indulgence until crops are gathered, at which time corn will be received in place of cash.

John Brown advertises September 27th: "To the Public, At the sign of his Excellency George Washington Esq. horses will be taken in keeping, and due attendance will be given by the public's most humble servent."

On the same date W. Maxwell requests all that have not paid the first part of their subscription to the *Centinel* to make payment that he may be enabled to lay in a supply of paper for the ensuing winter.

Daniel Symmes, sheriff, announces to the public on September 27th that he has committed to jail William Courtnay, a laborer, an escaped prisoner from Mason County, Kentucky and a slave named Ned of the same county and notifies the sheriff that he may have Courtnay and slave upon paying the legal fees but in the following week's issue Mr. Symmes appears with an advertisement of $30 reward. From this it is learned that Courtnay and the negro man named Ned and another prisoner broke jail on Tuesday night, the 30th of September, stole a canoe and went down the Ohio. One of the prisoners is described as a small man who was almost naked

when he made his escape "but by the great propensity he has to steal he will soon be clothed. He is noted as having been convicted and whipped for breaking and robbing a store in this town."

As usual, advertisements for stolen horses are intermingled with the ordinary trade advertisements and the offers of rewards for deserters.

The death of Robert Elliott which is described elsewhere in this work is announced with poignant regret in the issue of October 11, 1794.

The issue of October 18th contains a proclamation of the commander-in-chief congratulating the army on their brilliant success in the action of August 20th, "against the whole combined force of the hostile savages, aided by a body of the militia of Detroit, and countenanced by the British post and garrison close in their rear; beyond which the fugatives fled with disorder, precipitation and dismay, leaving their packs, provisions, and plunder, at their encampment in the rear of that post."

It is apparent from the list of letters remaining in the post office on the last day of September, 1794, that many prominent citizens were careless about their mail. Among the names are those of Seth Carhart, William Harrison, Lieut. Calvin Morrell, Levi Munsell, Robert Purdy, ensign, Capt. D. E. Turner, Samuel Willard, Benjamin Whiteman and Lieut. Husband Young.

The discharge of the Kentucky volunteers under the command of Major-General Scott, crossing the Ohio on their way home is noted as of the 22nd and 23rd of October.

In the same paper Robert Kean forewarns "all persons from taking an assignment on a note of hand that I gave to Benjamin Brown, for twenty dollars, in payment for a horse—and as the horse has been proven to be the public property, I am determined not to pay the note."

William Reed on September 5th forbids all persons to trust his wife as he is determined to pay no debts of her contracting.

Evidently Lieut. Young Husband, who is undoubtedly the Husband Young whose letter was uncalled for, had but little use for the letter as his death on the 16th of October took place at Fort Jefferson. "His *extreme honest candour* relished not with all; but made him be loved by many—he had many *virtues!* If he possessed foibles, spare them ye creticks, he lies in a wilderness where but few but the real soldier will find it convenient to visit his grave."

In the number of October 18th is published the charge to the grand jury delivered by Hon. Rufus Putnam. Judge Putnam dwells generally upon the powers of the grand jury and applauds the independence of character which permitted one such jury to present the judges of the General Court for not holding their sessions in the county of St. Clair and states while he despises the anonymous scribbler who libeled the Ordinance for the government of the Territory, and in a billingsgate dialect abused the principal officers of it, he glories in the unprejudiced inquiry of a grand jury into and representation to proper authority of any grievance the people labor under. The matters in detail were left to Mr. Freeman, attorney of the United States, to present to the people.

This charge seems to have excited the animosity of one citizen who under the name of "Philo Vitruvius," writing from the council chamber on October 23rd, says that "the judge in his judicial capacity, exhibited to the public, all of the splenitic invective, which the rancorous mind of narrowness, founded for the instrument of public calamity, and supported by a power directly contrary to the will of the people, could possibly suggest!" The charge he thought was "formed chiefly by plagiarism exhibited in incoherent manner and was a long jargon of nonsense in which his honor's ignorance was conspicuous." This letter is a fair specimen of the sweet temper of the debates of those days.

General Wayne's letter of August 28th, announcing to the Secretary of War his victory of the 20th, is published in full on November 8th. Accompanying this letter is the correspondence between Wayne and Major Campbell commanding the British post on the banks of the Miami with the statement: "Had Mr. Campbell carried his threats into execution it is more than probable he would have experienced a storm."

On November 15th the printer announces that from the uncertainty of the arrival of the post and by the request of a number of subscribers of the *Centinel* he is induced to fill the first or part of the first page of each week's paper with the laws of the Territory, "which we hope will be agreeable and useful to the citizens of this Territory." As a result, the paper resembles a "Congressional Record" of the time when some strenuous Senator is trying to thwart a vote. The first law of course is that regulating the militia and the second is that establishing the General Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

Under date of Cincinnati, November 15th, appears the following interesting news item which no doubt was well understood by all the readers:

"He whom the Cap fits may wear it."

"AN INUENIO."

"An ill natured Grogorian more famed for his impudence and loquacity, than politeness or mental acquirements, in a nocturnal ramble swaggered into a room occupied by a select company, and without ceremony or introduction, insulted them with his (as he termed them) political observations; which give occasion for him in a proper manner to be shewn the door. Away went Momus grumbling, and muttering revenge; and having procured a knife and brace of pistols, the first offensive, the latter defensive weapons, posted himself at a back door leading into the above mentioned apartment; after being there a few minutes he discovered in an adjacent garden, a statue resembling Cato, in the attitude which that Philosopher and Patriot is figured when uttering his soliloquy on the immortality of the soul, which he believing to be a real person who might be the means of his being detected, should he persist in the prosecution of his intended enterprise, crept in rear of the statue, and aimed a deadly blow; but at the same time observing he was discovered by some of the family vociferated, 'damn my soul, but the first is this, you have insulted me without provocation, and by God I'll have satisfaction in a honorable way, &c., &c.' The servants who had been witnesses to this romantic scene of chivalry made report to the master and beged leave to chestise the insolent intruder. 'Do not mind him,' replied the master, 'before Cato flinches he will find himself foibled.'

"A NEIGHBOUR."

Robert Benham advertises eight dollars reward for a negro man named Will who ran away from him on the Ohio three miles above the mouth of Licking River.

Several notices appear of the finding of rifle guns which can be had by proving ownership and paying charges.

On November 18th Oliver Spencer, judge of Probate of Columbia, notifies persons who have taken upon themselves the administering of the estates of the deceased, to render accounts of the settlement of the estates.

The paper at this time is full of proclamations, letters, poems and news items referring to the insurrection in Western Pennsylvania which seems to have excited even the Northwest Territory so far remote from the scene of the contest.

On November 29th is announced the arrival of Capt. Israel Ludlow who informs the editor that his excellency, Arthur St. Clair, may be hourly expected.

Winthrop Sargent, acting Governor, publishes the appointments of Timothy Symmes and Stephen Wood as justices of the peace and Aaron Cadwell, commissioner for granting licenses vice William McMillan and John S. Gano resigned. Isaac Darneille is appointed attorney for the United States, Hamilton County, vice Israel F. Freeman, resigned.

A number of changes are recorded in the militia including such names as William Rittenhouse, Robert Whealing (Wheelan), Garret Vannice, Celadon Symmes, Samuel Seward, James Lyon, Uzuel Bates, Samuel Dick, Darius C. Orcutt, John Schooly, John Riddle, Seth Cutter, James Cox, John Brown, John Bowman.

This number contains an indignant letter from "Dorastus" upon the custom of adding the title "esquire" to the names of the President, Governors, judges, legislators, magistrates and attorneys. "Dorastus" thinks it as proper to annex that of duke, baron, marquis, earl or knight to their respective offices; for the English dictionary explains the meaning of the term as "*armour bearer of a knight*; a title of dignity, & next in degree below a knight." "When France once so deluded in superstition is eradicating from that nation, those titles and orders of men calculated only to inslave mankind, Shall not this great American nation; (whose fame for liberty and equal freedom, is resounded from east to west, & from north to south—that has caused tyrants to shudder on their thrones—at whom the powers of Europe trembles) endevour to eject all such needless distinction from this happy land?"

To enforce his point "Dorastus" concludes with a high sounding poem in honor of manly worth.

On December 6th the death of two men at the hands of Indians within four miles of Columbia and the wounding of another man within one and a half miles of this place are given as "convincing proofs that those yellow savages are not likely to come to a treaty."

To vary the monotony of the territorial laws, the printer begins the publication of official documents and State papers.

On December 13th appears the following item: "The Printing Office is removed from where it was formerly kept, to the house lately occupied by Capt. Levi Woodward, on the top of the second bank."

Stephen Reader on December 20, 1794, offers "For Sale—The house formerly occupied by the

subscriber, situate on Sycamore street, between third and fourth streets. It is a neat log house and very eligant situated, standing high and dry, with a commodious kitchen adjoining thereto. For terms apply to Mr. James Ferguson in Cincinnati, or to the subscriber, at his farm."

Thomas Gibson "offers for sale Elegant Epaulettes for the gentlemen of the army."

A very interesting advertisement is the following in the same issue:

"The Subscriber, Begs leave to inform the public, that he intends to open shool (sic) on Monday the 22d of this inst. in the house lately occupied by David Williams, nearly opposite James Ferguson's store, where he proposes to educate youth in the following sciences and mathematical branches, viz: reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, trigonometry, mensuration of superficials and solids, dialing, gauging surveying, navigation, elements of geometry, and algebra.

"The parents and friends of all such as are committed to his trust, may depend on his utmost care and best endeavours to form their tender minds to a love of learning and virtue; He likewise will employ every opportunity in grounding his pupels in the practical parts of the above.

"STUART RICHEY."

"CINCINNATI, December 19, 1794."

This issue contains also a communication to the editor from Winthrop Sargent, enclosing a letter written by him notifying the public that he will prevent the surveying of lands within the unextinguished claims of the Indians.

The arrival of Governor St. Clair at Marietta makes it possible to announce his resumption of the administration of his government within the Territory.

Four Indian chiefs are reported as having come to Greenville for the purpose of treating.

This issue is printed on very coarse gray paper which is explained by the editor as follows: "Being disappointed in getting of paper according to expectation, has obliged us to Print on so bad quality.

"We hope our subscribers will consider the great inconvenience that we labour under in procuring paper at so far a distance from where it is manufactured."

The scarcity of paper was evidently not relieved for some weeks, for the next few issues are printed on a very small page.

The issue of December 27th contains the following:

"Mr. Maxwell,

"Be pleased to give the following a place in your paper—Dec. 24th, 1794:

"The Secretary of this Territory announces the arrival of his Excellency Governour St. Clair at Marietta, in the county of Washington; authentic information of *which* and his resuming his official duties was not received, until the last evening—therefore your publication upon this subject in the paper of last Saturday was premature—In all your communications Mr. Maxwell, where the interests of the Territory may be affected, greatest precision is essential, to the faithful discharge of your duties to the public as well as to the reputation of the press.

"WINTHROP SARGENT."

This announcement of the printer seems to have stirred up considerable feeling, for Mr. Sargent's letter is immediately followed by another which is unsigned, complaining that the publication of a proclamation by the Secretary followed immediately by the announcement that Governor St. Clair "*was then* in the administration of *his* government within the Territory," virtually charged the Secretary with violating one or more of the penal statutes and obliquely dashed at the Governor himself, because he had not given official communication to his representative. The indignant correspondent also complains that Mr. Maxwell's informant, a Mr. Ormsby, denied that he had given any such information so that as "the governour's public conduct is so generally marked with propriety, THAT DECEPTION grows in our view to an arrant falsehood, *apparently* calculated for very nefarious purposes." Mr. Maxwell prints the letter with the comment that "why Governour St. Clair's being within the Territory and in the administration of his government should excite surprise is in itself truely surprising. Why this should be an oblique dash on the Governour is a matter of astonishment." He refers to the news that the Governor was at Marietta and intended to reside there during the winter, "which was a pleasure to every good citizen of the county which could only have been heightened by his having chosen his residence within the county of Hamilton. Whether the Secretary had official notice of this and how far official notice was necessary let politicians determine."

On January 3, 1795, is noted the arrival of "John Cleves Symmes, Esq one of the territorial judges, with his Lady and daughter."

The unfortunate announcement of the arrival of the Governor will not down "A Citizen" who complains of the ambiguous and unintelligible anonymous publication, of the week previous, which it is suggested was dictated by the "Honourable Secretary" himself. Mr. Maxwell's designs in giving the public the information were approved of. "The Governour's arrival without doubt gives the most pleasant sensations to every breast that is friendly to the prosperity of this country, and that feels an interest in the happiness of its citizens. I can with assurance assert that none feel unhappy at the Governour's administration in person, but those who are enemies to our rising consequence, and would feel pleasure in cutting of from the general mass of the community, the avenues leading to wealth and happiness."

Aaron Cadwell one of the commissioners for granting licenses issues a proclamation warning citizens against opening stores, taverns and houses for retailing and vending and opposing for sale dry goods and groceries without being duly authorized therefor.

That the Governor is at last in the Territory is made apparent from a proclamation forwarded by Sargent to the printer issued by the Governor, convening the Legislature at the city of Marietta on March 10th next ensuing.

John Lee of Woodford County, Kentucky, advertises for his mulatto slave John who was attired in "a dark snuff coloured coat with long skirts, and mettle buttons, linen overalls and shoes boots."

On January 10, 1795, it is announced that there are 20 Indian chiefs and five squaws come to Fort Wayne in order to hold a treaty.

Judge Symmes announces from North Bend that deeds will very soon be given to owners of sections and fractions of land which have been paid for and notifies all claimants of forfeitures that they must "fence and clear in a proper manner, & plant with corn and duly cultivate two acres of land on a forfeiture in the course of the next season."

The arrival of a French trader at Fort Wayne with 25 horse loads of goods from Detroit in order to trade with the army is announced on January 17th.

T. Gundy, the attorney, publishes a lengthy notice requiring debtors in the number of his clients to settle their accounts. He takes occasion to inform his friends that some malicious insinuations that he has taken pleasure in arresting officers of the United States Legion were not well founded as "no person would have taken more trouble to answer the purpose without even appeal to law than he has done." In all cases he had previously sent a note to the officers but his friendly notice was treated with disgust and contempt. "This has induced him to believe that all officers are not men of honour and that men of prostituted principles, do sometimes obtain a place in the army, who are a disgrace to that honourable profession."

On January 12th Judge Symmes publishes a notice to all persons having claims to lots in North Bend to present their claims before May first to receive their deeds.

Elijah Craig, Jr., announces for the benefit of the "gentlemen, merchants and emigrants of Kentucky, that he will be at the mouth of Kentucky River on the first day of February next with his sufficient number of boats to transport all goods &c. which they may think proper to intrust him with up the river." His charges were,—to Frankfort 50 cents per hundred, to Slukes' warehouse 75 cents, to Warwock 100 cents, and to Dyck's River 125 cents.

The controversy with relation to the arrival of the Governor in the Territory evidently reached Greenville for a volunteer writes from that place to the issue of January 24th that he conceives it to be the duty of the printer to announce the arrival of the territorial officers and other court men intelligibly. The correspondent was one of that class who hailed with satisfaction the Governor's return and who believed him to be a good and great man. He had been long enough in the Territory to learn that the "envenomed shafts of slander have been leveled at governours and judges and that but few officers herein have escaped the lash of the unbridled tongue of the calumniator."

Timothy Scannell announces the opening of a cooper shop at the Stone Landing.

In the following issue appears the information that the Indians had brought into Greenville a woman, whom they had taken prisoner out of Kentucky about 18 months before. A treaty was to be held on June 10th at Greenville.

One begins to suspect the printer of writing up both sides of a controversy to fill the paper, for this paper contains another communication from "A Friend To Truth," discussing the Governor's arrival and the Secretary's alleged usurpation of authority in issuing a proclamation while the Governor was within the Territory.

The matter of the organization of the Territory is discussed at length, in a three-column ar-

ticle by our friend "Dorastus," who believes that the people have the right to self government whether they are six hundred or sixty thousand in number.

A. Hunt & Company offer three dollars per cord in cash for good oak bark fit for tanning delivered at their tan-yard in Cincinnati.

In a note, "those persons that subscribed for the Confession of Faith and the new addition of Docter Watts' Psalms, and have not received them, are requested to call immediately and take them up agreeable to contract, no longer time will be given as eighteen months has already elapsed since that ought to have taken place."

Isaac Mills on February 7th reported from the mouth of the Great Miami that the Indians had killed two men, Benjamin Cox and Thomas Walter, about a mile and a half below that place.

"By Particular Desire" a notice is inserted February 7th, requesting all good citizens to assemble at the house of Charles Avery for the purpose of forming a petition to send to the Legislature in order to obtain redress of the many inconveniences, resulting from some of the then existing laws of the Territory.

The following notice needs no comment: "I do hereby acknowledge that the report which was propagated by me, of and concerning Mr. John Baine, concerning a watch, was false.—— Given under my hand this 4th day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

his
JEREMIAH † SALIVAN."
mark

"*Witnesses*, J. WHISLER, JAMES COX, I. DARNEILLE."

On the same day there appears in the advertising column an "Inventory taken by Nathaniel Stokes and David E. Wade of sundry articles found under the root of a tree." This inventory included coats, vests, "cazimer" and nankeen breeches, nankeen linen and woolen overalls, shirts, stockings, "cravatt," handkerchief "and sundry other articles too tedious to mention." The owner by paying charges is notified that he can have the goods.

Josiah Mott announces that he has been appointed administrator of the estate of Henry Moore "packhorseman."

James Silver for Wilson announces that he has removed his store to his new house on the bank next door to where he formerly kept.

The identity of "A Friend To Truth" who wrote the letter last referred to, concerning the discussion about the Governor's arrival, is disclosed; in an issue of February 14th under the heading "Self-defence" appears the following communication:

"Mr. Maxwell,

"The learned writer in your paper signing himself a friend to that truth of which he is devoid, has so pointedly bespatered me with sarcasms for the commission of some inadverteney in an unguarded hour when his H———r was drunk, and politeness to him, had led me to depart a little from sobriety, that I can not easily forgive, but feel a strong desire to communicate to him personally, the falsehood of his publication; I owe to myself to be decent, and shall therefore only further observe, that as I am not the auther of the piece signed Volunteer, his H——r must be a I——r.

ADVICE TO MR.

Diminitive, paltry, petty *Quibler*,
Advocate to meanness, dirty scribler;
Reasons what canst' thou urge, all this winter
Nonsence so much to write? To plague the Printer?
I prithee now, thy foolish tricks give o'er,
Each piece of thine shows the blockhead more;
Let *law* thy study be, 'twill gain thee pelf,
Let S——— write his *pasquinades* himself.

TOBY.

Even in these degenerate days when the writing of acrostics has become an unknown science, it is possible to discover that the attorney for the United States is the gentleman who aroused such ire.

The interest in the petition to the Legislature is shown by the fact that simultaneous meetings were called at Captain Kibby's, Columbia; at Francis Dunlevy's, Frazie's Station over the Little Miami; at Robert Wheelan's, North Bend; and at Charles Avery's at Cincinnati. This is in the issue of February 14th.

James Forguson (Ferguson) "now making ready to start to the old settlement" desires payment from those who stand indebted to him.

In the issue of February 28th appears the following: "Sunday last being the universary of the President's birth, the same was respectfully noticed at this place in the evening, by an eligant allumination of the barracks and flag staff of Fort Washington; the house of the Honorable the Secretary of the Territory and that of Messrs. Elliot and Williams, late contractors for the army."

P. Jones for John and Charles Wilkins at Fort Washington advertises for a quantity of hard soap which is desired at once.

The proclamation of General Wayne warning

the citizens from the Indian country referred to in the preceding chapter is printed in the issue of March 7, 1795.

This same issue contains the charge of Judge William Goforth to the grand jury.

James O'Hara, quartermaster-general of the army of the United States at Fort Washington, publishes rates of freight for owners of private boats carrying public property up the Miami River. Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton for every barrel of flour, $1.10; for every barrel of whiskey, $1.33 1/3; for every bushel of corn, $0.26 2/3; and for all other property for every hundred pounds, $0.50. From Fort Hamilton to the mouth of Still Water or to Loramie's Store the rates of freight for the same service were $2.20, $2.66 2/3, $0.50 and $1.10, respectively. From Fort Washington to the mouth of Still Water or to Loramie's Store the rates were $3.30, $4.00, $0.83 1/3 and $1.66, respectively. Corn was purchased and received at the Still Water landing at $1.10 per bushel. The cargoes were at the risk of the owners of the vessels except the dangers of the Indians.

Daniel Symmes, the sheriff, announces that the jail was broken into the night of the 2nd of March and five prisoners therein confined made their escape. The white men were confined for debt and the negro as a runaway. The prisoners who escaped stole a "flatt" from Mr. Kennedy and went down the Ohio.

This issue as all others contains several notices of rewards offered by Capt. John Pierce, commandant at Fort Washington, for the apprehension of deserters.

On March 14th the killing by the Indians of a man in the village of North Bend is reported. Eight horses were stolen and Lieut. Celadon Symmes with a party of 27 men pursued the raiders about 60 miles and retook the horses but the Indians made their escape.

"Vitruvius" returns to the fray on March 28th with a complaint that the people have no share in their government and that the so-called Legislature which had been convened to make laws has no authority to make them. He fears that "we shall be imposed upon, by our farcical *aristocracy*, as well as by our miserable *whiskey drinkers*."

E. Sproat, inspector of Survey No. 2, Ohio District, gives notice of an office of inspection in Cincinnati for the purpose of collecting the duties on wines, stills, etc., and for the issuing of licenses for the retailing of said articles.

William Goforth, one of the United States justices of the peace, issues a startling notice headed "STOP THE MURDERER!" The notice recites the arrest of one Rheuben Whetston, yeoman, charged with the murder of his wife and his escape under cover of the night. His appearance is described but it is impossible to describe his apparel as "his clothes were found cast off, as is supposed, to fit himself for the flight."

One "Conrad," a correspondent, addresses Mr. "Vitruvius" whom he regards as the same person as "Philo Vitruvius" and "Dorastus." He is given advice as to his conduct: "Whilst you are flattering a judge of the Supreme Court for a diploma; do not censure his observations to a grand jury, when he is left the county; as this is cowardice. Nor say to the executive positively that any person is the author of your political tracts but yourself; for the purpose of getting a commission, which no person but you alone would receive.

"Do not associate with any woman of bad fame; especially in open court.

"Do not attempt to try any person on a criminal prosecution twice for the same offence.

"And lastly as you are only a bird of passage, and your wings nearly worn with clerical and political fatigue; mind your conscience, your wife and your lately adopted profession."

A familiar name is noted in an advertisement of James Taylor who offers "three thousand acres of military land on Clough creek, a branch of the Little Miami and near its junction with the Ohio." Clough creek * * * affords good mill seats which runs through the land.

A. M. Dunn the postmaster notifies "those who have a right to calculate on receiving letters or papers at his office, that in future they must come prepared with ready change, cash in hand or no letters or papers."

George Gordon, the collector of the United States for the county of Hamilton, offers for sale on the same day April 2, 1795, two boats together with their cargoes containing about 16 gallons of whiskey which had been forfeited for non-payment of duties.

The issue of April 11th contains the resignation of Isaac Darnelle of the commission of attorney to the United States addressed to the Secretary of the Territory.

The ground given is the fact that "the small pittance on conviction of respondants being an inadequate compensation for the duties of that office." Other considerations are hinted at but not mentioned.

Jacob Lowe announces in the same issue that

he has obtained permission to erect and establish a ferry at Cincinnati to cross the Ohio and that he will be happy to accommodate the public "at his Inn at the sign of General WAYNE."

Zekiel Fuller on April 18th forewarns the public against trusting his wife Elizabeth who has "absented from my bed without any provocation, and has since taken up with another man."

On April 25th the editor announces "that the emigration to this Territory is daily encreasing; during the present week, there has a considerable number of flatbottom boats arrived at this place loaded with families for the purpose of settling this country."

Aaron Cadwell, commissioner, warns the public that the report that the license law has been repealed is erroneous.

Commissioners Thomas Goudy and Seth Cutter give notice "that a Court-house for the county of Hamilton, will be built and compleated in the present year, forty feet front and thirty back, two stories high, the materials will be Stone, Brick or Wood. Any gentlemen macanicks, or others who wish to undertake the said building of either of the above materials may apply to the subscribers," etc.

David Ziegler announces he has just arrived from Philadelphia with a large assortment of dry goods and groceries.

In the issue of May 9th William Kelly offers for sale or let "the new and well finished frame house, known by the name of Kelly's Tavern, situate on Front Street in Cincinnati."

Charles Vattier warns the public against taking an assignment on a bill of sale for lot 7 in the town given by Thomas Irvin to William Moore, assigned to Vattier and lodged by him with John Bartle, "who now without any manner of claim, refuses giving up said bill of sale."

Anthony Furney forewarns all persons against trusting his wife Elizabeth.

On May 16th the arrival of the Governor on the preceding Monday at Cincinnati is announced with pleasure and with the following comment: "Happy period,—At which tyranny and despotism, *must* once more lay down the *arm* of cruelty and oppresion.—Let the patriotic lovers of *rational* liberty again rejoice."

The arrival of Judge Turner is also noted as taking place a few minutes before the paper went to press.

On the previous Sunday the Indians stole nine horses from Ludlow's Station and were pursued but without success.

W. Maxwell offers on May 23rd one dime reward for taking up a runaway about 19 years of age named Benjamin Stokes, an apprentice to the printing business, whom he denominates as a notorious villain.

In the issue of June 13th John Reily as purchaser gives notice to Israel Ludlow, Samuel Freeman and Joel Williams, proprietors of the lands of the town of Cincinnati, of a sheriff's sale of lot 120, late the property of Capt. William Faulkner, and warns the proprietors from issuing any deed for said lot to Faulkner or his assigns.

This issue also contains the Governor's proclamation relating to the murder of two Indians in St. Clair County, commanding all officers to make diligent inquiry for the perpetrators of the murder.

Charles Jaudin warns the public not to trust his wife Elizabeth.

The substance of the Governor's observations made to the Legislature which had convened at Cincinnati on the 26th of May is given also in this number.

In the issue of June 27th the editor apologizes for the non-appearance of the paper the preceding week but promises to his readers the Governor's speech to the Legislature and the answers of the judges.

In this issue Messrs. Ludlow, Freeman and Williams, proprietors of the town, give notice to all persons holding lots to come forward with their claims and receive their deeds.

Fourth of July was celebrated this year by a salute from the cannon in the early morning and again at one o'clock and by a repast at Gordon's Hotel. "The day was spent with great harmony, and wine received an additional zest from the following toasts, which were answered by salutes from the cannon." The toasts were the usual ones,—the people, the President, the Governor, the Territory, the Legion, the Territorial fair, the French nation, agriculture, commerce, honesty not for its own sake but "because 'tis the best policy," etc. After each toast a number of guns were fired varying from three to thirteen.

Robert Armstrong forewarns the public against his wife Elizabeth "as she has proved false to my bed and board."

The celebration of the Fourth at Columbia is reported on July 18th. There the "respectable inhabitants" united in a social band to enjoy an elegant repast and after dinner drank 15 toasts accompanied by the discharge of small arms.

In the same issue is contributed a list of other toasts, expressive of the liberal, independent

sense of a respectable class of citizens of the United States. They are written in quite violent language and are intended to reflect the so-called republican sentiments of that part of the community opposed to the dominant powers in the Territory.

On July 25th W. Maxwell, being appointed by the Legislature to print for them 200 copies of their laws, invites proposals of printing by subscription the laws of the Territory to be adopted in the present session of the Legislature. It was his desire to print 1,000 copies so that the remaining 800 could be disposed of at a moderate price of 19 cents for every 50 pages to subscribers and to non-subscribers 30 cents.

The news from Greenville gave reason to believe that the peace with the savages would finally take place although it could hardly be expected to be a durable one. The summer is recorded as hotter than any known before in the country; the thermometer rose frequently to 95½ in the shade and reached to a point as high as 98. This was in the upper town and it was supposed that in the lower the record was two degrees higher.

The death of the postmaster, Abner Martin Dunn, attorney-at-law, is reported in this issue as well as that of the clerk of the Legislature, Armistead Churchill.

The well known names of Abijah and Jesse Hunt appear in a notice of dissolution of the partnership of A. Hunt & Company, together with the announcement of the opening of the store of J. & A. Hunt.

The Jay treaty is printed in the issues of August 1st, 8th and 15th.

An interesting item is that of August 15th, reciting that at a court of Oyer and Terminer held in Lexington on Monday the 27th of July, 1795, "Hugh Ross being arraigned at the bar for felony was found guilty, claimed benefit of clergy and was burnt in the hand."

Archibald M'Donald offers a reward of $5 for a woman by the name of Rhodah M'Donald, about 39 years of age, five feet four inches high who ran away and took with her a male child about 18 months old.

R. Hall of Little Miamia (sic) advertises the taking up by him of a negro man by the name of George who can be had by the owner upon paying charges.

On August 22nd begins the publication of the proceedings of the Legislature of the preceding May. The first business reported was the receipt of a petition of Joel Williams for permission to erect and hold a public ferry from his landing in Cincinnati to the opposite shore of the Ohio. The second was a petition of Rebecca Kennedy of the same character. Among other petitions was one for divorce prayed for by William Lemond.

On September 5th I. Darneille advertises "I shall be necessarily absent until next term (November) at which time my clients may rely on my return and attention to their business, (accident excepted)."

James Gillespy informs the public that "he has just erected a brew-house on Dear creek in the vicinity of Cincinnati, where he means to carry on the malting and brewing business, at an extensive rate."

"The Subscribers for the Bridge to be built over Deer Creek, are requested to meet at Mr. John Brown's Tavern, on Saturday evening the 5th of September, for satisfaction to themselves, and the public welfare."

Thomas Doyle offers for sale lot 109 on which is erected a dwelling house and barn together with lot 108 adjoining. He also offers the lot next to Mr. Garrison on Main street, upon which is erected a log building, also out-lot 32 being now in corn and out-lot 31 being in pasture. These out-lots were at Court and Vine.

Samuel Freeman is somewhat indignant about his creditors and gives notice to them to come and make immediate payment—*"or they may expect etc.!!!"* This notice is printed upside down in one issue and in the following issue at right angles to the usual lines of the page.

Thomas Williams announces that he carries on the *"Parchment making Business"* and that a "Breeches Maker" will meet with encouragement by applying to him.

Abraham Garrison advertises for sale on September 5th his good log building together with an elegant peach orchard and two lots situated at the foot of the second bank enclosed with a good fence and timothy therein.

Another jail delivery took place on the 20th of August at which six prisoners escaped.

Henry Pickel informs the public on September 19th that he carries all passengers with horses from this side of the Ohio to the side where he lives free. The point of this notice can be gathered from an advertisement some time previous that Pickel had constructed a road from his ferry to Bank Lick four and one half miles long. It is presumed what Pickel lost in ferrying people for nothing he made up in tolls.

The interest in France and French affairs is

shown by the fact that not only does the paper print each week news from France in the shape of a complete journal of the proceedings of the national convention but on September 26th begins the publication of a plan of constitution of the French Republic.

Another jail delivery is recorded on September 10th by which a soldier confined on suspicion of felony made his escape.

Israel Ludlow announces in the issue of September 26th: "A Party will set out the middle of next month for Pittsburgh, by the way of Chelacothe, on Little Miami, cross Scioto at Darbey's Town, Muskingum, at the mouth of White Woman's creek, or Fort Lawrence. The distance of that rout is computed at, about three hundred miles, and from the best information, a road level and pleasant to Pittsburgh, may be had, which will greatly facilitate our intercourse by land to the atlantic states.

"A considerable number will start at that time for Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, among whom will be several well acquainted with the rout."

James Kavenagh offers $20 reward for the recovery of his "Morocco Pocketbook" which he lost on September 9th between the store of Messrs. A. and J. Hunt and his own house and which contained bank bills to the amount of $95 and certain papers, including a note of hand upon John Ryland to the amount of £56 payable in horses and cows. He hopes that "if it has fallen into the hands of an honest man he will give it up; but if it has fallen into the hands of a different person, they will give up the papers, (as they are of no use to any person but the owner) if not the other articles."

The rates of advertising are given as one dollar per square for the first three weeks and one fourth of a dollar for each continuance after, the cash to be paid at the time the advertisement is handed to the press.

Evidently the Indians were not the only marauders for on October 3rd is the report that a Mr. Litle who was on his way from Greenville to Cincinnati and about three miles on this side of Fort Hamilton, was robbed by two white men of $625 in bank bills and $1 in silver.

John Humes announces on October 10th that he carries on "Spinning Wheel & Windsor Chair making," on Sycamore street next door to Aaron Cadwell.

On October 17th is published "A Hint.—Just opening at Col. Gibson's Yellow Store on the river bank, an assortment of Good Goods," etc.

In the issue of October 31st appears the following notice dated Cincinnati, October 29, 1795:

"The Subscriber has opened a house of entertainment, in that large and commodious house, lately occupied by Mr. Mathew Winton. From the situation of said place, and his having excellent stabbling, together with a stock of the best liquors, he hopes to engage the patronage of his acquaintance and of the public in general—And pledges himself that the utmost regularity and good usage shall be observed in said tavern.

"GRIFFIN YEATMAN."

On November 7th the editor congratulates the Governor upon his return from visiting the Western country. He states "we also should be happy, to announce the return of the Honourable Judge SYMMES, who went in company with the Governour from this place; but has not yet returned."

In the issue of November 14th and some issues thereafter John S. Gano shows a knowledge of advertising worthy of modern days. He gives notice of the loss of his gold watch, chain, seal, and key which are described and offers $10 reward for their return "which is sufficient for an honest man, and I expect a rogue will not deliver them if any larger sum was offered." This notice is printed across the margin of the entire page so as to be very conspicuous.

Judge Turner announces in the issue of November 14th his intention of shortly leaving the Territory and offers his property for sale, including "his valuable collection of books, generally the works of eminent authors in law, history, philosophy, chemistry, Architecture, mechanics, &c.," and also his household furniture, his building lot in Cincinnati on the eastern side of Fort Washington and "an Iron Borer, for examining the earth 61 feet deep," etc.

This issue closed the second volume of the *Centinel* and the editor returns his thanks for the encouragement he has received which in so young a country far exceeded his expectation. He announces that he has established a general correspondence with the chief of the printers throughout the Union by which he receives their papers by an established post every Monday.

On November 21st—"It is with no small satisfaction we announce the return of the Hon. John C. Symmes, of the county of Hamilton on Tuesday last."

"I. Felty announces as found on the fourteenth instant in Cincinnati, where the same was secretly deposited, a considerable sum of money."

John Prince informs the public that he intends carrying on the auctioneering business in the house formerly occupied by James Caldwell in Main street two doors above Major Doyle's.

The late drought which prevented the paper mill in Kentucky from operating reduced the *Centinel* for several issues in November, 1795, to a very small size which made it necessary to omit some of the advertisements regularly published.

Stuart Richey announced once more the opening of his school on the 16th of December, to which not more than 30 scholars would be admitted.

The news from Pittsburg at this time was to the effect "that the emigrants to this country this fall surpasses that of any other season—and we are informed, that the banks of the Monongahela, from M'Kee's Port to Redstone, are lined with people intending for the settlement on the Ohio and Kentucky." (December 5.)

The lawyer T. Goudy announces for sale "that eligible situation adjoining to the town lotts of Cincinnati on which the Subscriber lives, on which there is erected a commodious Dwelling House with fire rooms, and one cold do there is an excellent well of water, with a small orchard, consisting of apple, peach, nectirine, English plumb, and cherry trees, adjacent to the said dwelling house, with about thirty two acres of excellent land all under good fence, thirty of which is under wheat and rye, and two acres under grass."

A curious notice is that of Jacob Reeder and Jedidiah Tingle to Israel Ludlow "to appear at his Dwelling House in Cincinnati, on the nineteenth day of December in order to receive pay for a tract of land," etc.

Thomas Barroussel on December 12th announces the opening of a "New French Store of Dry Goods and Groceries" in the front room of James Hill's house on Sycamore street.

Benjamin Griffith took occasion on December 19th to inform the public that he lives in the house lately occupied by Lawyer Dunn at the upper landing in Cincinnati where he practices "Surveying, writing of Deeds, Conveyances, Mortgages, Wills, Articles, Bonds, Bills, Notes" and other instruments of writing. He had a quantity of parchment of the best quality manufactured in Philadelphia.

Judge Symmes advertises for a lost bay mare in the issue of December 5th.

Two items of interest are published December 26th, one to the effect that there were a considerable number of counterfeit $30 bank notes in circulation. Another is the announcement that the ball which was to be held at Dr. Allison's on the 25th inst., "being unavoidably postponed on account of the badness of the weather—The attendance of the Ladies and Gentlemen (in possession of Tickets) is requested on Tuesday evening next."

The issue of January 2, 1796, introduces an advertisement offering "Medicine at the Medical Store of Hatch and Barns, A Universal assortment of Patent and other Medicines suited to the disorders incident to this climate, viz. Bateman's drops, Godfrey's cordial, essence of Pepermint, British oil, Doct. Steers Chymical Opodelldock, Anderson's and Hooper's pills, oil of Penneroyal, Gum Camphire, Peruvian bark, Sal-nitre, salts and a variety of Gums Paints and Varnishes for Mechanical use, and many other articles too numerous to mention." With such an assortment to choose from many sufferers must have been able to find a remedy.

James Glenn offers for sale at a bargain "one-quarter of that eligable situation, the corner of Second and Sycamore streets, on which is a cabbin and excellent stable."

A significant notice is that signed "A Kentuckian" in the issue of the following week: "A correspondent wishes the citizens of the North-Western Territory, to desist from the horrid practice of staining the Kentucky bank of the Ohio, with human gore, by dueling; as it is an open violation of the Commonwealth."

John Dunlop, surveyor, on January 14th gives notice to those who have engaged with Capt. Israel Ludlow and associates to make settlement in the town of Dayton, that he would attend on the 25th instant to lay off the in and out-lots.

Daniel Symmes, the sheriff, is again called upon to advertise on January 23rd the jail delivery by which five prisoners escaped.

The announcement is made on January 30th that notwithstanding the late frost of the past few nights the navigation of the Ohio had not been in the least intercepted.

There is evidently not to be a monopoly in medicines for Daniel Bryan announces on the 13th the receipt of an assortment of "MEDICINES" which he offers for sale at the house of Griffin Yeatman.

The number of February 20, 1796, contains a lengthy account of a meeting held at Columbia on January 25th for the purpose of examining the Ordinance of Congress of the government of

the Northwest Territory. Judge Goforth was in the chair and was appointed with William Brown, Daniel Lambert, Joseph Reeder and Capt. Ephraim Kibby as a committee for examining the Ordinance and inquiring into the grievances of the citizens. This committee reported on February 1st, at four P. M. at the house of William Stanley where Rev. John Smith, afterwards Senator from Ohio, resided.

The committee reported that having considered the Ordinance they came to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the Territory were deprived of the rights of free men in that they were governed by governors who were independent of the people and by laws which they had no part in making and without the benefit of a high court of chancery so essentially necessary to the interests of the state of the Union "especially when it is considered that the first judge of the Supreme Court, is perhaps, the greatest land jobber on the face of the earth, and must eventually either mediately, or immediately feel himself interested in many, if not most of the legal decisions respecting lands laying between the Miami rivers." They regarded themselves as entitled to statehood as soon as the population should reach thirty thousand even if Congress should divide the Territory into two districts. They complained of the practice of one judge sitting as the court when the Ordinance provided for two to form a court. The committee also found that by reason of the "frequent and long absence of the executive and high judicial officers of the Territory—by the infrequency of their sitting in their legislative capacities and the chasms in the proceedings of the Supreme or General Court—the people have languished for want of legislation."

The citizens had been made accountable to laws which had not been promulgated and to officers whose commissions depended upon the will of the executive. The citizens had also been insulted and Governor St. Clair looked upon them in the same manner that the British commissioners when they came to collect the duties upon tea looked upon the Americans.

In speaking of the citizens he avoided the appellation of inhabitants or citizens and with great art and in a diminutive way made use of the term *settlers*. "Where in the name of all the old Whigs, does his Excellency expect to get the judicial officers from, does he wish to draft them from the British lines?—Or does he mean to use his influence with Congress and have them imported from Scotland?"

The report was adopted and it was resolved that the citizens should continue their usual respectful demeanor to the officers of government without troubling Congress as they conceived that it would be but a few months before they could choose their own Legislature and officers.

Naturally this meeting raised a storm of discussion and in the following number began the letters to the editor. The first one warned the Columbia cobblers to stick to their lasts and ridiculed the gathering of priests, philosophers, bards and shoemakers who were vociferating against the Ordinance, Judge Symmes and the governors. This was followed in the subsequent number by a counter letter and so the war waged merrily.

On February 26th it is reported that the gaol of the county was set on fire; the incendiaries were supposed to be six debtors who were confined in the upper apartment and who conveyed fire to the roof. The wind was high and the building was in a few hours consumed in ashes as the town was not in possession of any fire engines "a machine so necessary in such calamitous situations." Happily the wind abated and seasonable showers of rain fell which prevented the conflagration from spreading and doing any further damages to the town. During the bustle one of the prisoners escaped.

The announcement of the publication of two books of great rarity at present is contained in the issue of March 12th. "The Laws of the Territory" the first book published in the Territory was offered to subscribers for the sum of 86 cents and a true copy of Judge Symmes' "Pamphlet" on the first settlement of this country is announced as in press; its price was one-fourth of a dollar.

John Prince, the auctioneer, announces the addition of the drawing of legal documents to his business as well as the removal of his auction room to Sycamore street at the corner of Third street opposite the printing office.

On March 26th are reported the proceedings of the trials held before the General Court. One man was found guilty of stealing a horse from the Indians and sentenced to pay a fine of one dollar and to receive 39 lashes on the bare back, to be inflicted on the public streets of the town and to wear during the punishment a paper affixed to his hat with the words thereon "I STOLE A

HORSE FROM INDIANS." The latter part of the sentence was inflicted the same day at twelve o'clock. The court also granted two divorces.

The publisher prints a very urgent demand for the payment of their accounts by advertisers, not more than one-half of whom paid upon handing in their advertisements.

James Kavenagh, whose name has appeared so frequently, announces his intention of leaving the Territory and asks the payment of accounts due him and offers his new frame house situated on Fourth street between Main and Sycamore streets for sale and warns the public against giving credit to any part of his family.

On April 2nd the finding of an indictment against "Isaac Darneille late of this place, Attorney at Law for Malfeasance," and the issue of a capias to the sheriff of St. Clair County are reported.

The postmaster requests those indebted to the post office to make immediate payment and those who expect newspapers by post are requested to call and pay the postage.

John Holland offers for sale April 9th "a house and lot, in town of Cincinnati, bounded on the east by the mouth of Deer creek, on the south by the River Ohio, on the west by a lot formerly the property of Abner Dunn, esq on the north, by a lot belonging to Edward Day.

David Ziegler announces a fresh supply of dry goods "among which are beautiful Vest Patterns, *Pour de Roi, Pour Princes, & Pour Siegneur* and for Republican Gentlemen; the latter are superior executed to the first." He also offers stationery "Books almost of every Religious Principle. * * * Those who come first, will first be served, as none will remain after they are sold."

A notice in the issue of April 16, 1796, announces the marriage on Sunday evening last of "Daniel Symmes, Esq *to the most Amiable* Miss ELIZABETH OLIVER, *both of this Town.*"

John Holland was evidently provident in his ideas of advertising. On the 14th of May, 1796, he warns the public against his wife Katharine, who has left his bed and board without any just cause of complaint and proceeds further to state that any person desirous of having work done in "Stone, Masonry, Bricklaying or Plastering may depend upon their work being performed in a neat Workmanlike manner."

The number of May 21st reports the action of the committee of claims in the Federal House of Representatives allowing "William Sargent, Secretary of the North-west Territory" $875 compensation for his additional service as Governor. At the same time two petitions enclosed in a letter from the Governor of the Territory were presented by the Speaker as "that territory had at present no Representative in the house." One of the petitions referred to lots of land which the petitioners had promised and the other "prayed for permission to import slaves, into that country from other States, so as not to encrease the number." The petitions were referred to different committees.

The issue of June 4th announces the arrival of the Secretary at Cincinnati.

"The Editor hopes that, those of his Subscribers who have been punctual in paying up their Subscription, will excuse the size of this day's Paper—To those who have not, he would wish to observe, that it must be obvious to them, that it is impossible to lay in a Stock of Paper without money."

Freeman's Journal.

But few copies of *Freeman's Journal* are preserved. It was a four-page journal, at first 9 by 15 inches and afterwards about 9½ by 16 inches. Its motto was "free but not licentious." Its price remained the same as that of the *Centinel*, 250 cents, although a single issue was six and one-fourth cents.

In the issue of October 27, 1798, is announced the return of Governor St. Clair from the tour up the river where he had laid off a new county, to which he had given the name of Ross, of which Chillicothe was the county town. The other news items of local nature were the marriage of Isaac Vawse to Betsy Broadrick and the finding in the Ohio River of the body of Daniel Bunnel of Columbia. Mr. Bunnel was descending the river in a skiff in which he had some whiskey "*of which, probably he drank too freely, and being alone fell a victim to his own indiscretion.*"

Among the advertisements is the announcement of the new work entitled "Cannibal's Progress; or the Dreadful Horrors of French Invasion, as displayed by Republican Officers and Soldiers, in their *Perfidy, Rapacity, Ferociousness* and *Brutality*, exercised towards the innocent inhabitants of Germany."

James Smith, sheriff, advertises for sale some seven lots, taken in execution in the suit

of William Maxwell, and divers horses, cows and other articles.

Joel Williams complains that Rufus Elliot had sold to him a note of John Ludlow for $80 but had "clandestinely absented himself and fraudently carried off the said note."

Col. John S. Gano the commandant of the first battalion of militia gives notice to the officers commanding the companies to march their respective companies to the public ground in Cincinnati, on Tuesday, the 30th inst., so as to form battalion for exercise, by eleven o'clock A. M.; a troop of horses was included. Gano also offers for sale a house and lot pleasantly situated on the bank of Deer creek, Cincinnati.

The issue of October 1, 1799, contains the speech of Governor St. Clair to the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives on September 25, 1799. The local news announces the arrival in Detroit of Mr. Sibley, member of the House of Representatives of this Territory. The editor, Edmund Freeman, notifies those who are indebted for subscriptions to make payment. "The following produce delivered at this office will be taken, viz: Wheet per bushel, five shillings, Buck-Wheet, three shillings sixpence, Rye two shillings sixpence, Corn two shillings, Oats one shilling tenpence, Potatoes one shilling tenpence, Turnips ninepence, Flour Per Hundred wt. fifty shillings, Cornfed Pork per hundred weight sixteen shillings." Those wishing to discontinue their subscription, are told that cash is the only produce that will be received from them.

The office of publication of *Freeman's Journal* was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe about the beginning of the year 1800 where Freeman established the *Chillicothe Gazette*.

The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette

Began publication in the spring of 1799. It was edited by Joseph Carpenter who came to Cincinnati from Massachusetts. He became a prominent citizen and an active soldier, serving in the War of 1812 under the immediate command of General Harrison. He died in the service as a result of exposure and was buried in Cincinnati with military honors being followed to his grave by a great gathering of citizens.

The *Spy* was the last of the papers published in Cincinnati prior to its incorporation as a village.

An early announcement of May 17, 1799, of one of the most prominent of the early citizens, Griffin Yeatman, from whom the Cove was named and who kept the tavern, is as follows: "*Observe this notice.* I have experienced the many expenses attending my *pump*, and any FAMILY wishing to receive the benefits thereof for the future, may get the same by sending me twenty-five cents each Monday morning." This records the establishment of the first permanent water works in Cincinnati.

The same issue contains a notice of the establishment of the post office at "Chelicotha."

The issue of May 13, 1799, publishes a battalion order of Daniel Symmes, lieutenant-adjutant of militia, exhorting the officers to exercise and teach the men the necessary manoeuvres. "And it is hoped that the delay of the battalion muster may produce a good effect; that is, that the industrious farmers may have time to put in their summer crops, and the industrious officers, at their company parades, may improve their men in exercising them, so that they may be distinguished when the battalion is formed, which will be on the *Fourth of July* next."

At a little later time comes the announcement that the battalion paraded accordingly. "Two or three companies on foot were in uniform, and a troop of horse, about thirty in number, *mostly* so also; the whole being reviewed by his Excellency William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Territory (*pro tempore*)."

Mr. Cist refers to the advertisement of Robert Park who offers hats for cash or country produce and who wants to buy furs, at the corner of Main and Second, as that of the first hatter. This statement is an error as will be seen by the advertisement six years before of Joseph Prince who offered "genuine good hats."

Another record in temperature is recorded on June 25th: "We have, within these few days, experienced a greater degree of heat than was ever known in the country. On Thursday, the 20th, the mercury rose to 103 in the shade, four degrees higher than was ever known before; Friday, 21st, 100; Saturday, 22nd, 96; Sunday, 23rd, 100; Monday, 24th, 101."

An item of July 23rd shows the privations to which the early settlers were subjected: "Captain E. Kibby who sometime since undertook to cut a road from Post Vincennes to this place, returned on Monday reduced to a perfect skeleton—he had cut the road 70 miles, when by some means he was separated from his men; after hunting several days for them without success, he steered his course this way. He has under-

gone great hardships, and was obliged to subsist on roots, &c., which he picked up in the woods. Thus far report."

The same paper contains a curious advertisement of a character not altogether unusual at that time:

"Finding that the Impeachment I have laid in against Benjamin Walker cannot be substantiated with sufficient proof, I do for the future clear and acquit him therefrom; and likewise in the case of Slander, I do consider him clear of either murder or felony in any sense or meaning whatever.

"EPHRAIM MORRISON."

"Nov. 28, 1798."

A week later appears the obituary of Rev. Peter Wilson. In recording this, Mr. Cist is again in error as he calls Rev. Mr. Wilson the first clergyman who had settled here, entirely overlooking Rev. James Kemper who arrived in Cincinnati, October 17, 1791, and remained here until October 7, 1796.

An interesting recipe for making beer is contained in the same number. It is here given in full in order that any person desirous of experimenting with it may have the opportunity:

"A Recipe to make beer from the shells of green peas. Pour six gallons of water on a bushel of peashells, and boil the whole until the shells are insipid to the taste. Pour off the water, which will be very sweet, into a clean tub or keg, and add a pint yeast and two ounces ground ginger. Fermentation will soon take place and the beer be fit for use.

"Beer obtained in this manner is very clear, has a fine amber color, is pungent to the taste and bears a fine head when poured into a tumbler; is superior to molasses beer and not inferior to mead.

"One bushel of the shells will make several dozen bottles of beer. The beer should be put in strong bottles and the corks secured by wire. If the cellar is not cool the bottles will burst with an explosion, as the author of this communication has experienced.

"The beer distilled yields a spirit of the taste and color of whiskey."

This paper as well as its predecessors contains many advertisements asking debtors to settle. There is not much variety in these notices but one of C. Avery, concluding a series of requests, is published on September 27, 1799, in little different terms as it offers a special inducement to debtors: "*My generous friends*,—It may seem like an absurdity to give you another call, to assist me to perform my journey to the Atlantic States. One moment's reflection to men of sense as I know you all are, will be sufficient to shew you that it is out of my power to bring out *my family* to this place *without a considerable* sum of MONEY, &c.

"GENTLEMEN, you are to say whether I shall go to the Atlantic States or not. I flatter myself that there is not one man among you but what will *exert every nerve* to accomplish my wishes this time. Your distressed friend and very humble servant."

In the *Spy* of September 17, 1799, "Murray Cockran begs leave to inform the public, that he has opened genteel Private Lodgings at the house of Major Doyle, at the foot of the second bank on Main street in Cincinnati, leading from Col. Gibson's to Col. Gano's; the house is comfortable, and pleasantly situate, and will be kept in the most decent and reasonable manner."

Another dun of unusual character is sent out from Hamilton County Prison, October 29, 1799, in the following language: "Those indebted to Dr. Homes are desired to remit him the sums due—he being confined to jail deprives him of the pleasure of calling personally on his friends—they will therefore particularly oblige their unfortunate friend, by complying with this request without loss of time."

On September 10th of this year appears a name that became well known in early Cincinnati history. "Francis Menessier begs leave to inform the public that he has opened a coffee-house at Cincinnati, at the foot of the hill on Main street, where he proposes to retail different kinds of liquors, and all kinds of pastry, &c. He will punctually attend the coffee-house, which will be open from 2 o'clock until 9 P. M. His sign is PEGASUS the *bad poet*, fallen to the ground. Also teaches the French language. School to begin on Monday the 23d inst., at his house; teaching every evening, Saturdays and Sundays excepted."

Samuel Stitt in his "Recollections" tells us that this property at the foot of the hill is the lot on the southwest corner of Main and Third streets and 100 feet on Main and 200 on Third street where the trust company's bank afterwards stood. It was bought in 1796 by Menessier, who came from Gallipolis, for an old saddle worth ten or fifteen dollars. (Cincinnati in 1850, p. 147.)

The comment of Mr. Cist upon this sale as well as upon the purchase by Hezekiah Flint at

about the same time of a lot of similar dimensions on Walnut below Fourth for $150 is interesting as showing the topography of the early days of the city. He speaks of the Main street property in 1796 as "overhung by the abrupt front of the hill, which injured present improvement in that region of the city, and induced the population to spread over the second table, even at a greater distance from the Public Landing and business streets of the city." (Cincinnati in 1841, p. 165.)

On October 21, 1799, James White advertises a day and night school. Evening school, two dollars per quarter, the scholars finding fire-wood and candles.

A little later Menessier's coffee-house evidently took fire, for on November 18, 1799, we find that he publishes a card of thanks referring to "the fact that none but republicans and Americans could have done so much to save his property: and, to testify his gratitude, stands ready, at any future period, to sacrifice his time, his fortune, and his life, in the cause of humanity."

Some of the advertisements are embellished with rude cuts which can be only understood by reference to the text. In the issue of December 9, 1799, Peyton Short and William H. Harrison advertise for an experienced superintendent and laborers to cultivate the open lands at the mouth of the Big Miami. "It will be a matter of no consideration whether the aforesaid Superintendant has a family or not, but the laboring hands must come unincumbered with their families if any they should have."

Another advertisement tells that "Doctors Sellman & Hall inform the public that they have entered into partnership, in the line of their profession," and ask their debtors to make payment. "Corn, Rye, Oats or corned Pork, will be received in payment at market price."

R. Haughton "having taught with great reputation in different parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, last winter and spring, and whose letters of introduction to this place and Lexington, are most respectable, begs leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of CINCINNATI and its vicinity, that if honored with their patronage, he intends opening a school here as soon as a sufficient number (sixteen or more scholars) shall subscribe.

"He teaches particularly, the Minuet Cotillion, Cotillion, French and English Sets, in all their various and ornamental branches—Exclusive of which, he teaches the most fashionable Country Dances and the City Cotillion, taught in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.—His terms are three dollars entrance, and five at the expiration of their quarter.

"N. B. Mr. Haughton also teaches some favorite Scottish Reels."

The dancing school was to commence every morning at ten o'clock and in the evening from seven to nine he taught gentlemen who could not attend in the day.

The issue of January 7, 1800, announces as follows:

"SETH CUTTER"

"Tavernkeeper"

"Through the channel of the SPY begs leave to inform the friend and the public, that he has returned to his house on Main street, where every nerve shall be exerted to accommodate and give satisfaction to all who may please to honor him with their custom.'

"CINCINNATI, January 7, 1800."

The following is an advertisement asking for recruits: "ATTENTION—*Come unto me all ye who labor, and I will give you rest.* A RECRUITING RENDEZVOUS is established at FORT WASHINGTON, under the direction of Captain Vance, where all those who are ambitious to serve their country in the HONORABLE CHARACTER of SOLDIERS, may have an opportunity of being gratified, provided they bring with them *good characters as citizens*, and SOUND CONSTITUTIONS, unimpaired by *vicious habits*.

"An abundant supply of WHISKEY, FOOD and CLOTHING, of the *best* quality—TWELVE DOLLARS BOUNTY, and from FIVE to TEN DOLLARS per month—*comfortable quarters*, and a life of ease, certainly ought not to be sneezed at.

"FORT WASHINGTON, January 10, 1800.

"N. B. Punishment is to be expected where vicious conduct may render that disagreeable measure necessary."

An item significant of the habits of the day long before gambling on elections had been dignified by the newspapers appeared in the issue of April 9, 1800: "Notice! Refrain from gambling! The vice and immorality bill goes in force on the first of May next!"

On June 25th is published the following: "A child of James Walker, born blind and only five years old, is visited by crowds of people for his great sagacity and foresight. He foretold

the yellow fever in New York and Philadelphia last season, and also the present scarcity of bread in Europe. He says that before the year 1808, the jacobins are to swarm into our country, to overthrow the present government and to put to death the clergy and the religious of both sexes; that having effected this revolution they will then fall out for the supremacy, and finally destroy each other with the sword; after which the present government will be restored and the country flourish for one hundred years."

On July 16, 1800, is recorded the finding of a blacksmith's anvil "which was taken up floating on the Ohio on Saturday last!"

At the same time those desiring to join a volunteer light infantry company are requested to meet at Mr. Yeatman's tavern.

A notice of December 27th is as follows: "Those gentlemen and ladies who feel disposed to patronize a SINGING SCHOOL, will please to convene at the Court house, to-morrow evening, at candle light. As it is proposed to have singing, they will please bring their books with them."

John Smith of Columbia seems to have suffered much from attacks as indicated by the following notice, which appeared February 11th: "To *all it may concern*. Be it remembered that I, Richard Downes, having reported that John Smith, of Columbia, did, in the course of last summer, pass a number of bank notes, with an intention of deception and fraud. These are to certify, that as I never heard any thing alleged to the disadvantage of Mr. Smith's character, by others, in the above affair, and as I never knew any thing myself of it, or discovered any thing in the conduct of Mr. Smith to justify the calumny—that slanderous report is unfounded and unjust, and which I foolishly published at the instance of one of Mr. Smith's inveterate enemies, as I am willing to declare on oath whenever I am called on. Witness my hand, this first day of February, 1801."

A very remarkable advertisement appears at a little later time:

"PUBLIC UTILITY. A COMPANY of persons having, at considerable expense of time and trouble, recently invented a machine capable of propelling a boat against stream with considerable velocity, by the power of steam or *elastic vapor*, and entertaining the opinion, that if reduced to practice, great advantage must flow from it to the country, as it will afford a regular and easy conveyance, for property down the various navigable rivers, and a safe and speedy return, either in specie, or the produce of the country below; take the liberty of soliciting the aid of the public, the better to enable them to carry into effect an invention which promises to be of so general utility.

"Nor is the invention confined to boats alone; it is equally applicable to mills, and other mechanical works. It is the wish of many of the respectable inhabitants of the county, that those persons who feel a disposition to patronize the above undertaking, will please to meet on Friday evening, the 20th inst., at Mr. Yeatman's in this place, at 6 o'clock, P. M. They will then have an opportunity to judge of the propriety of the undertaking, and to offer to it that aid which it may be found to merit."

This same subject is referred to in an advertisement at a little later time as follows:

"TO THE PUBLIC. We, the subscribers, Samuel Heighway and John Pool, at the request of a number of gentlemen, who have expressed a wish for the bringing into effect *a mechanical project, constructed for the propelling of boats against the stream of rivers, tides and currents, by the power of* STEAM, or ELASTIC VAPOR, of which we are proprietors, propose bringing it into immediate use, by the aid of voluntary subscriptions, from those public spirited persons who may feel disposed to patronize so important a discovery. From every probable calculation, the commodities of trade may be conveyed to and from any place of inland situation, at one third of the expense which the same service can possibly be done for, by the tedious method at present pursued. The excellency of the construction is such that it will very little incommode the stowage of the vessel, as it will not occupy more than one-tenth part thereof, and may be purchased by traders in general, at the moderate sum of about seven hundred dollars. It is equally applicable to mills in dry seasons, when the water is insufficient, by supplying it. Anticipating the many advantages which the Western country will derive from the discovery, if reduced to practice, it is particularly recommended by several gentlemen, as above, to the attention of the public, to give it that sanction and support which they think it merits."

At a meeting of Republicans held on March 20th at Mr. Menessier's hotel to celebrate the election of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, Citizen John Cleves Symmes presided. One of the toasts was the following: "The late Mr. Wash-

ington. May his memory and time prove coeval. (*The company wept and wiped their eyes.*) Air, *dead march.*"

The passing of the first sea vessel on April 27, 1801, is recorded as follows: "Anchored off this place on Monday afternoon, the brig St. Clair, commodore Whipple commander, of one hundred tons burthen. She was built at Marietta, and is allowed by good judges to be well built, and a handsome vessel. She is completely rigged and ready for sea—her cargo is the produce of the country—she is bound for some of the West Indian islands.

"On her arrival the banks were crowded with people, all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country. This is the first vessel which has descended the Ohio equipped for sea."

A curious complaint is made by a correspondent on May 20th, about women bringing their children to church and not carrying them out when they cry. "Nothing, is more disagreeable, to either speaker or hearer, than the bawling of children; but some persons will hear the sermon, even though it should be at the expense of every other person present. It would be well, also, if persons were to leave off *hammering on frying-pans*, during divine service."

The Fourth of July was celebrated this year by one party at Yeatman's and another at a spring on the bank of the Ohio just above Deer creek bridge. A broad rock served as a table. Citizen John Cleves Symmes acted as president and Citizen Dr. William Goforth, as vice-president of the day. The meetings have all been referred to in an earlier chapter.

A town meeting was called September 30th, "to take into consideration the propriety of having the town incorporated, at Mr. Yeatman's tavern, this evening."

A new kind of dun was in the following language: "To *subscribers.*—Wanted immediately, A QUANTITY OF CASH, for which receipts will be given, and credits entered at the highest price. Enquire of Carpenter & Findlay, Spy office. October 10, 1801."

On September 23rd, Levi McLean once more "advertises his singing school, one dollar for thirteen nights, or two dollars per quarter; subscribers to find their own wood and candles."

On December 19th, the Cincinnati Theatre which had been announced in the issue of September 30, 1801, published an appeal to subscribers to advance the sum of 25 cents on each ticket, and offers to sell single tickets for that night only for 50 cents each.

The same number contains a call for a public meeting to take measures for procuring a fire engine. This was in consequence of the many fires which were thought to be of incendiary origin.

The first library, an account of which is given elsewhere, is noted on March 6, 1802. Louis Kerr acted as the librarian.

The death of Martha Washington, April 26, 1802, was the subject of a half column of the *Spy* printed in mourning on May 22, 1802.

Andrew Jackson offers $50 reward for his negro slave George who had escaped from his plantation on the Cumberland River.

The opening of a school for young ladies is announced as follows: "Mrs. Williams begs leave to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati, that she intends opening a school in the house of Mr. Newman, saddler, for young ladies, on the following terms: reading, 250 cents; reading and sewing, $3; reading, sewing, and writing, 350 cents per quarter."

Andrew Brannon having published that the partnership existing between him and his wife Alice had been dissolved by mutual consent and warning the public not to trust her receives a reply in the next issue as follows:

"*The other side of the story.*—Whereas, Andrew Brannon has advertised the public not to credit me on his account, it becomes my duty to state, that I have never yet stood in need of his credit. When I married him, it was in hopes of a home for my old age, which is fast approaching; but how have I been disappointed! He has lived off my means, refused to contribute to my expenses, and treated me with great unkindness. I leave this fellow to his own reflections, confident, if he is not lost to every sense of feeling, they will be a sufficient punishment for his conduct to me.

"ALICE GLEN."

Another item of the paper gives the description of a peach tree in the garden of Col. John Armstrong of Columbia, which bore fruit nearly as big as a half bushel and which weighed from 20 to 25 pounds. It is evident from this that there has been a deterioration of the peach trees in the neighborhood in the past century.

Notice is given to the public that "Martin Baum & Company declined business in Cincinnati on the 6th day of October last."

On September 18, 1801, are announced the Cincinnati races where "will be run for on the

first Tuesday of October next, over a handsome course near this place, a purse of one hundred dollars." It is also stated that a purse of $50 would be run for on the next day and on Thursday there would be a sweepstake.

An idea of the prices of food products at the beginning of the century can be obtained from the advertising columns and market reports which appear from time to time.

On August 27, 1800, William and M. Jones announce that "as flower is getting very cheap, they have enlarged their loaf to four pounds, which is sold at one-eighth of a dollar per loaf, or flour pound for pound, payable every three months." In October we are informed that Imperial or Gunpowder tea was $3 per pound, Hyson, $2.25, Hyson-skin, $1.50, and Bohea, $1; loaf sugar, 44 cents, pepper, 75 and allspice, 50. The Natchez and New Orleans markets controlled the prices of many articles. In December at Natchez, cotton was $22 to $24 per cwt.; tobacco, $3 to $4 per cwt.; castings, 10 cents per lb., and bar iron, 10 to 12½ cents; bacon, 10 to 11 cents per lb.; pork $12 to $14 per bbl.; flour, $12; whiskey, 62 cents per gallon; lime, 50 cents per bushel; unshelled corn, 50 cents per bushel.

In September of the following year we learn that salt was worth $2 per bushel; saltpetre, 37½ cents per lb.; powder, 75 cents; lard, 12½; and tar, 50 cents per gallon. Natchez prices of about the same time gave cotton at $21; salt pork, $13 per bbl.; flour, $8; whiskey, 75 cents per gallon; corn, $1 per bushel; lime, 75 cents; bacon, 12½ cents per lb; and nails, 25 cents, castings, 12 cents, and bar iron 14½ cents per lb.

New Orleans prices in January, 1802, gave sugar at 7 to 8 cents per lb.; indigo, $1.75 per lb.; flour, $4; fine blue, black, brown and mixed cloths, $1.50 to $2 per yard.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819.)—I.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

CINCINNATI IN 1802—THE TOWN IN 1804—MANSFIELD—HILDRETH—ASHE—SCHULTZ—CUMING—CUTLER'S PICTURE, "CINCINNATI IN 1809"—L'HOMMEDIEU—DRAKE'S "NOTICES CONCERNING CINCINNATI"—MELISH—CINCINNATI IN 1812—STREETS IN 1814—DRAKE'S "CINCINNATI IN 1815"—FLINT—THOMAS—CINCINNATI IN 1817—BIRKBECK—PALMER—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD MAN."

The first period of Cincinnati's history as a municipal corporation is that from 1802 to 1819. During this period of time the settlement rejoiced in the dignity of a town. The township organization was continued for the purposes usually incident to such a political subdivision but all administrative authority over the town was taken from the township officials and from the courts. At this time the history of Cincinnati as a self-governing community may be said to begin.

CINCINNATI IN 1802.

The town was incorporated by the act of January 1, 1802, and corporate power was vested in a president, recorder and seven trustees who formed the Select Council. By the act itself David Ziegler was appointed the first president and Jacob Burnet the recorder. Ziegler's appointment was ratified by the people and he served the full term.

It is very fortunate that we have a sketch of the town made in the first year of its corporate existence which gives some idea as to its physical appearance. This sketch gives a view of the settlement extending from the residence of the postmaster, William Ruffin, at the foot of Lawrence street to a point about opposite the end of Vine street, which was then not cut through to the river. Immediately west of Major Ruffin's residence was the large enclosure known as the artificers' yard which must have been about on the eastern boundary of the present Public Landing. Back of Ruffin's house are shown the houses of Judge Daniel Symmes (mayor, 1808-09), Mr. Prince (mayor, 1804) and Mr. Wade. They are on the bluff above the pond just back of the artificers' yard. The house at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway was that of Charles Vattier where the first store was kept by Captain Bartle. Next west came the houses of James Smith, first sheriff, Gen. James Findlay (mayor, 1805-06 and 1810-11), Dr. Selman and Connor's store, afterwards Mr. Greene's dwelling, the residence and store of David Ziegler (mayor 1803-04) and adjoining it on the northeast corner of Front and Sycamore was Griffin Yeatman's tavern on lot 27. In a room of this tavern already described by Judge Burnet was later an exhibition of wax figures. At the time of Burr's visit to Cincinnati, there were figures of Burr and Hamilton in the duel scene. In front of the large indentation known as Yeatman's Cove, the landing place of the first settlers, was moored the market house. According to Ludlow's plat, this cove ran almost entirely

across the landing. In the cove itself and at the head of it was a little hut built by a quiet, resolute young fellow named Smith who afterwards married a Miss Folger. (Reminiscences of Jonathan Lyon.)

The first house at the northwest corner of Front and Sycamore was Martin Baum's and a little west came that of Samuel Stitt; here a year later was the Miami Exporting Company's bank building. Then came a double house occupied on the east by Rev. John W. Browne and on the west by Jesse Hunt's store and then, adjoining, Jesse Hunt's residence. On the northeast corner of Front and Main was Colonel Gibson's large house, subsequently used by Major Stanley's store and on the Public Landing south was the store of Weaver, in the little structure built by Williams on the landing and after used as the Town House for the meetings of the Select Council. Between it and the river is one and at the cove the other of the two great sycamores. The latter tree gave its name to the street at whose foot it stood. On the bank of the river south of Water street was Riddle's blacksmith shop. On the north side of Water near Main was a large barn and stable owned by Joel Williams and just west on the same street was Joel Williams' tavern, where the Democrats then called the "Sons of Saint Tammany" held their annual festival on May Day. On the northwest corner of Front and Main called Kidd's Corner was Israel Ludlow's house, the first frame; then came the houses of Dr. Stall and Dr. Ramsey and then the Green Tree Hotel with the figures "1796" on the side; with the green tree which gave it its name in front. On the northeast corner of Front and Walnut was the house of Mr. Dick and on the northwest corner, that of Samuel Best, the watchmaker. West on Front was the Avery house and still farther the Anderson house. A little up on Main street on the upper level just over the top of the Green Tree Hotel is shown the first Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Fort Washington is placed altogether too far back from the river and as a result the picturesque appearance of which so many writers speak is entirely lost. It should stand just over the residences of Vattier and Smith, directly on the bank beyond the frog pond shown in the picture, almost directly west of the houses of Symmes, Prince and Wade. Dr. Allison's residence was on the site now occupied by the Foster home on Ludlow street and in all probability, if the fort had been placed in its proper position in the picture, would have been invisible from the point of view from which the picture is taken.

The Court House with the market place in front and the jail and village school house can by a considerable stretch of the imagination be selected from the little structures in the background placed without much regard to the street lines. Menessier's vineyard, however, is omitted as is also the market house built over the cove. In the extreme background at the right is shown a little house just beyond the fort which is probably intended for Sargent's residence. The woods, however, are all too far back and the houses which were in the main built of logs have too modern an appearance. The second bank is not indicated with sufficient distinctness west of Vine street. This bank extended west to Elm where one ridge turned almost due west and the other southwest. On the north side of Third running west of Plum, the original bank can still be seen.

The lack of any knowledge of perspective on the part of the artist detracts somewhat from the accuracy of the picture. Of course, as Mr. Ford well says, there are not enough buildings to accommodate the nine hundred inhabitants (more or less) in the town at that time but the general effect of the picture showing the different levels of the city and the hills in the background is very striking.

An effort has been made to correct the inaccuracies of the picture in a painting recently made for this work by the artist, Rudolph Tschudi. This painting, the property of James Wilson Bullock, has been reproduced for the benefit of the readers of this work. It has been submitted to Robert Ralston Jones for criticism and suggestion as to its accuracy and it is confidently believed that the picture not only has an artistic merit above that usually found in works of this character but that it is as accurate a representation of Cincinnati as it appeared from the river in the year 1802 as it is possible to present at this late date. That there were other houses in the village than those shown on the picture goes without saying and their exact location can of course never be known. The houses that are depicted, however, certainly were in the approximate positions shown and the general appearance of the landscape is thought to be reproduced with fidelity to the descriptions handed down to us. In fact it is probable that although the settlement, which began to increase considerably after 1805, possessed many more houses than those shown and extend-

ed much more to the west and a little more to the north, the general appearance of the river front was not very much changed for quite a number of years after the date assigned to Mr. Tschudi's picture.

The descriptions given by the early residents and by visitors agree in the main with each other. They are of interest to-day as throwing light upon the gradual development of the town.

THE TOWN IN 1804.

In an address delivered in the council chamber in honor of the 87th anniversary of the Marietta settlement day, which was celebrated April 7, 1875, A. H. Dunlevy, a pioneer by birth, having been born in Columbia, December 21, 1793, gave his impressions of Cincinnati at the time he first saw it in 1804 at which time he came with his father, the late President Judge Francis Dunlevy (Dunlavy), to make a visit. He said: "Cincinnati was then a very small place. The hotel where I put up was near the northeast corner of Main and Fifth streets and was kept by one James Conn or rather by his wife who was the most efficient of the family. Here for some years, I was accustomed to stop during the sittings of the court, and here I always met, with others, those judges of the Court of Common Pleas not residing in the city. Among these early judges, besides my father, then the presiding judge, were Luke Foster, James Silvers, I think, and Dr. Stephen Wood. Judge Goforth also was on the bench, but lived in the city. Here too I frequently met Judge John Cleves Symmes. In the early part of court he was always thronged with purchasers of his lands, and I have seen him, while supping his tea, of which he was excessively fond, writing deeds or contracts and talking with his friends and those who had business with him all at the same time.

"From the customers of this hotel, I think it was considered the best then in Cincinnati. But at this time the forest trees stood on the south, east, and north of this hotel property. Directly south, across Fifth street, Tom Dugan, an old bachelor who left a large property in Cincinnati, had a rough-iron store; and there were very few buildings of any size south along Main street, until the corner of Main and Fourth, where, on the north side, James Ferguson had the best store, I think, then in Cincinnati. The only access to the Ohio where wagons could descend was at the foot of Main street; and this consisted simply of a wide road cut diagonally down the steep bank of the river. In high water there was no other levee than this road. In low water, however, there was a wide beach; but this could only be reached by this road. It may be there was a similar approach to the river at the foot of Broadway; but if so, I did not see it. All north of Fifth street, with the exception of one or two houses, was in woods or inclosed lots, without other improvements. In coming to Cincinnati from Lebanon, miles of the route were in the woods, out of sight of any improvements; and from Cumminsville, then only a tavern, kept by one Cummins (John, I think), there were but two residences on the road until you came near to Conn's hotel. One of these was the residence of Mr. Cary—I think father of General Samuel Cary, of Hamilton County, so well known." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 30.)

According to another reminiscential account of the town in 1805, the population, which was about 950 at this time, occupied 172 buildings; four of these were of stone, six were of brick, 109 of frame and 53 were log cabins. The stone buildings were those of Jesse Hunt on Second near Eastern row, Judge Aaron Goforth on Walnut below Fourth, Andrew Lemon on Water street and Joel Williams, also on Water street. Those of brick were the Miami Exporting Company's bank building on Front near Main, Judge Burnet's residence on Vine and Third (the site of the present Burnet House), the building of Elmore Williams on Fifth and Main and Nimmo's on Main near Fourth and two others whose names are not preserved. Not long after this the office of *Liberty Hall* and its editor, Rev. John W. Browne, was built at the east end of the lower market house. (John D. Caldwell in Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 7.)

MANSFIELD.

E. D. Mansfield, whose name is inseparably connected with the history of the city and whose life of Dr. Drake and "Personal Memories" are among the most valuable treasures of Cincinnati literature, arrived in Cincinnati with his father Jared Mansfield, who had just been appointed surveyor-general, in October, 1805. He was a very small boy and his trip from Marietta and first view of Cincinnati which was the first town he had seen except Marietta were very vividly impressed upon his mind and constituted the first of his memories. His family came down on an ark, an oblong flat-bottomed boat, made of boards,

with a small cabin at one end fitted up for his mother.

Of Cincinnati he says it was "one of the dirtiest little villages you ever saw. Of course I was not driven around that immense town to see its splendors but the principal street or settlement was Front street and that I saw. The chief houses at that time were on Front street from Broadway to Sycamore; they were two-story frame houses, painted white. One was that of General Findlay, receiver of the Land Office * * * * and subsequently member of Congress from the Cincinnati district. The Findlays were all of a popular caste of character. They were sanguine, pleasant, genial men. Belonging to the Democratic party, at a time when that party was dominant in nearly all the States, they were readily promoted to political honors. James Findlay may be properly characterized as a gentleman—not so common a character as some persons suppose. He was easy in manner, kind-hearted, genial, fond of good living, and a very upright man." (Personal Memories, p. 19.)

A traveler, Josiah Espy, who passed through the town at this time (September 4, 1805), speaks of Cincinnati as a remarkably sprightly, thriving town of about two hundred dwelling houses,—many of these elegant brick buildings.

HILDRETH.

Curiously enough, Mr. Mansfield's account of his trip does not agree with that of S. P. Hildreth, who describes the voyage of a little 70-ton schooner called the "Nonpareil," which left Marietta April 21st, and contained among other passengers General Mansfield and his family. According to Mr. Hildreth, new settlements and improvements were springing up along the bank between Marietta and Cincinnati every few miles, there being no less than 10 towns, some of considerable importance, in this distance, 160 miles. The voyage took 17 days and they landed on the 8th of May.

"The enlivening notes of the fife and drum at reveille were no longer heard, and the loud booming of the morning gun, as it rolled its echoes along the hills and the winding shores of the river, had ceased to awaken the inhabitants from their slumbers. Cincinnati had been from its foundation until within a short period the headquarters of the different armies engaged in the Indian wars; and the continual arrival and departure of the troops, the landing of boats and detachments of packhorses with provisions, had given to this little village all the life and activity of a large city. Peace was now restored; and the enlivening hum of commerce was beginning to be heard on the landings, while the bustle and hurry of hundreds of immigrants thronged the streets as they took their departure for the rich valleys of the Miamis, the intended home of many a weary pilgrim from the Atlantic States. The log houses were beginning to disappear—brick and frame buildings were supplying their places. Large warehouses had arisen near the water for the storing of groceries and merchandise, brought up in barges and keel-boats from the far distant city of New Orleans." (American Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 98.)

ASHE.

Another view of the town is given by the Englishman, Thomas Ashe, elsewhere referred to, who visited it in the following year, 1806. He chose during a part of his travels to act the part of a Frenchman under the name of D'Arville and he assumed the character of a learned man of science. He evolved the theory that the earthworks in Cincinnati were the ruins of an ancient city and, as has already been stated, swindled Dr. Goforth out of his collection of relics. In his account of his travels published after his return to Europe he describes Cincinnati as follows:

"The town consists of about three hundred houses, frame and log, built on two plains, the higher and the lower, each of which commands a fine view of the opposite shore, the mouth of Licking, the town of Newport, and the Ohio waters for a considerable way both up and down. The public buildings consist of a court house, prison, and two places of worship; and two printing-presses are established, which issue papers once a week. Cincinnati is also the line of communication with the chain of forts extended from Fort Washington to the westward, and is the principal town in what is called Symmes' Purchase. The garrison end of the town is now in a state of ruin. A land office for the sale of Congress lands at two dollars per acre is held in the town, and made no less than seventeen thousand contracts the last year with persons both from Europe and all parts of the United States. So very great and extensive is the character of the portion of the State of which this town is the fort and capital, that it absorbs the whole reputation of the country, deprives it of its topographical name, and is dis-

tinguished by that of the 'Miamis.' In Holland, Germany, Ireland, and the remote parts of America, persons intending to emigrate declare that they will go to the 'Miamis.' * * *

"The commerce at present is conducted by the keepers of about thirty stores. * * * The merchants, however, make an exorbitant profit. Those of four years' standing, who came with goods obtained at Philadelphia and Baltimore on credit, have paid their debts, and now live at their ease. * * *

"In general the people of Cincinnati make a favorable impression; they are orderly, decent, sociable, liberal, and unassuming; and were I compelled to live in the Western country, I would give their town a decided preference. There are among the citizens several gentlemen of integrity, intelligence, and worth." (Travels in America in 1806, p. 201.)

The ladies he found possessed of comeliness, distinction and taste, of tall, slender and graceful figures, with much animation and expression.

Among the gentlemen who particularly won his praise were Generals Findlay and Gano, Messrs. Dugan and Moore and his dupe, Dr. Goforth. The amusement of the time consisted he says of balls and amateur plays "the former of which going to literary and humane purposes disposes me to think them both entertaining and good."

The most interesting feature of this account is the mention of the garrison at the end of the town; the troops had been moved across the river a couple of years before, although it was not until 1808 that the fort was entirely dismantled. The removal of the soldiers was obviously an important event in the life of the settlement.

Dr. Hildreth in the quotation already cited refers to the importance of the headquarters to the city and the fact that the notes of the fife and drum and the booming of the morning gun were no longer heard. The agitation over the Burr conspiracy, however, must have given again a military appearance to the city for a short time for Mrs. Ludlow in her "Journal" records under date of September 28, 1806, that in consequence of the fear of Burr's schemes, cannon had been "planted on the bank and a sentinel stationed on the watch. The light horse commanded by Captain Ferguson have gallantly offered their services, and Captain Carpenter's company of infantry are on the alert. Cincinnati has quite the appearance of a garrisoned town. A tremendous cannonading was heard yesterday, and all thought Burr and his armament had arrived; but it was only a salute to a fleet of flat-boats containing military stores for the different stations on the river." (Garrard's Memoir of Charlotte Chambers, p. 63.)

SCHULTZ.

In 1807 a German tourist named Schultz made a trip through the Western and Southwestern country. He subsequently published an account of his travels. At Cincinnati he found three hundred houses several of which were "very genteel buildings; it has a bank, market-house, printing-office, and a number of stores well stocked with every kind of merchandise in demand in this country. The markets are well furnished both as to abundance and variety." Flour was but $3.50 to $4.00 a barrel and the country around produced all the necessities of life with but very little labor. He speaks of Fort Washington as still being at the upper end of the town although useless at the time by reason of the increased population of the country. (Travels Through Ohio, Vol. I, p. 181.)

CUMING.

In the following year F. Cuming of Philadelphia visited the settlement. The houses he found were many of them all brick and all in general well built and well painted with that air of neatness so conspicuous in Connecticut and New Jersey. Some of the new brick houses were of three stories with flat roofs and one of four stories was then building. He particularly mentions the handsome brick house beautifully situated just outside the west end of the town belonging to Jacob Burnet, "an eminent lawyer." Of the old fort he observed no remains. His visit was in May and the sale had taken place a couple of months before and evidently the work of demolition had been complete.

CUTLER'S PICTURE, "CINCINNATI IN 1809."

In the well known picture called "Cincinnati in 1809" is found the earliest contemporary representation of the town—At the extreme right beyond the space which had been occupied by the military reservation was the post office kept by Major Ruffin. On the northwest corner of Broadway and Front was a small building, one of the oldest in the city, erected by Captain Bartle and finished and occupied by Charles Vattier. Next to it was a three-story house

known as Smith's Tavern, the headquarters of General Harrison in the War of 1812 and the residence of his family during his absence with the army. At the corner of Sycamore and Front streets was Yeatman's Tavern. In the stone stable in the rear of this were held the amateur dramatic performances in which took part Ethan Allen Brown, afterwards Governor of the State, General Findlay and Mr. Sill, both members of Congress, Mr. Totten, afterwards general in the engineers' department, Mr. Rollings and Mr. Wade, attorneys, Colonel Cutler, Capt. John Mansfield and Nicholas Longworth. The proceeds of this performance were intended to be given for the foundation of a public library but they were eventually devoted to the erection of a market house Lower Market street. On Front street a little west of Sycamore was a three-story building occupied by the Miami Exporting Company.

The original picture made by Lieut. Jervis Cutler, who is said to have been stationed for a time at Newport Barracks, is contained in "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory and Louisiana, etc., by a late officer of the United States Army" published in Boston, 1812. This curious view of Cincinnati in 1809 is designated by Mr. Thompson in his bibliography as the first engraved. Practically the same view is reprinted in "Shaffer's Business Directory for 1840," where it is entitled "Cincinnati in 1809 from a picture in possession of D. A. Shaffer drawn by Capt. E. Cutler." The view known as Cincinnati in 1810 is apparently taken from a section of this picture. This is the one usually printed. John D. Caldwell republished a portion of it in the "Cincinnati Pioneer" for September, 1873, which includes only so much of the river bank as that portion occupied by the Public Landing extending from Broadway to Main. It shows the Court House at Fifth and Main in the background. The picture reproduced in this volume is from the Cutler plate.

L'HOMMEDIEU.

We have several descriptions of the city as it appeared in 1810. S. S. L'Hommedieu, president of the Pioneer Association, in his inaugural address April 7, 1874, describes it as it appeared at the time of his arrival in that year. In the summer of 1810 three families, the Fosdicks, Rogers and L'Hommedieus, left Sag Harbor on Long Island for the West. They sailed by boat to New York City without encountering anything in particular except the falling overboard of two of the party, one of whom was Samuel Fosdick. From Philadelphia they traveled in the old style Conestoga wagons until they reached Pittsburg, from which point they came to Cincinnati on keel-boats. Cincinnati was reached October 21st, after a journey of 63 days from New York.

"Cincinnati was then a village, containing about two thousand people. The houses were mostly frame or log cabins, located generally on the lower level, below what is now Third street. The principal street was Main, and was pretty well built upon as high as Sixth or Seventh street, the latter being the northern boundary of the village. It had its Presbyterian meeting house, a frame building on the square between Fourth and Fifth, Main and Walnut streets; its graveyard, Court House, jail, and public whipping-post, all on the same square. Upon this same ground between the Court House and meeting house, bands of friendly Indians would occasionally have war-dances, much to the amusement of the villagers; after which the hat would be handed around for the benefit, it may be, of the pappooses.

"And here I may mention the fact that the pews and pulpit sounding-board of that same old pioneer meeting house, built in the years 1792-93, whose pulpit was, in 1810, occupied by that able, fine-looking, hospitable, brave old Kentucky preacher Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, are still in use in a small German Lutheran Church, on the river road, within the present corporate limits of our city.

"The village also had its stone Methodist meeting house, built in 1805-06, situated on East Fifth street, a little west of Eastern row, then the eastern boundary of the village, now Broadway. It also had its post office, on the corner of Lawrence and Front streets, and its Davis Embree brewery, on the river bank, below Race street." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 11.)

President L'Hommedieu in his address to the Pioneer Association April 7, 1874, suggested a few contrasts between the Cincinnati of 1810 and the time of his speaking. In 1810 the latest news from Europe was from sixty to ninety days old. In 1870 the news published in the *London Times* at six in the morning could be read in the Cincinnati dailies at the same hour of the day. At an earlier date a journey from New York to Cincinnati by a vessel to Philadelphia, Conestoga wagon to Pittsburg and a keel-boat down the Ohio took 60 days while in

1870 it could be made in less than 30 hours. The time of course has been still more shortened in the last few years. The trip to New Orleans by barge, keel-boat or broadhorn and return on horseback through the Indian country in 1810 occupied from three to four months. In 1870 by steamboat the trip required 15 days and four days by railroad. A trip to Columbus in 1810 occupied six to eight days according to the season and depth of mud as against three hours at present, while that to Dayton took from two to four days. In 1810 the streets during a large portion of the year were covered with dust about six inches deep and at other times much deeper so that there were but two or three points at which Main street could be crossed by foot passengers. In 1870, says Mr. L'Hommedieu, the foot passenger could cross at any point without soiling his stockings "if he wear boots or high shoes." In 1810 preachers gave sermons from one and a half hours to two hours long and sometimes took an intermission for fifteen minutes and then went on with their discourses. In modern times over half an hour in delivery is not generally acceptable. Fashionable parties at the earlier dates were given in the afternoon from five to nine o'clock; at present between ten in the evening and two in the morning. In 1810, says Mr. L'Hommedieu, public officers, contractors, councilmen, aldermen, Congressmen and Senators were generally honest while in 1870, says he, "for contrast see the newspapers of all parties all over the country." A rather pessimistic comparison. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 22.)

DRAKE'S "NOTICES CONCERNING CINCINNATI."

By far the most complete description of the city at this time however is the contemporaneous one made by Dr. Daniel Drake in "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," the first book published concerning the city. Much of this description has already been given in another chapter.

"About two-thirds of the houses are in the 'Bottom,' the rest on the 'Hill.' It is in squares of 396 feet. The streets, except Broadway (which is 100) are sixty-six feet wide. They intersect each other at right angles, and the meridional lines vary 17 deg. W. from N. This cannot be considered so favorable to ventilation as an eastern variation, for our prevalent winds are in a line running from S. W. to N. E. None of the streets are paved. Alleys are not numerous. There is no permanent common, except an inconsiderable one between Front street and the river (the Public Landing). Along some of our sidewalks trees are planted, but they are not sufficiently numerous. The absurd clamor against the caterpillar of the Lombardy poplar, caused many trees of that species to be cut down; and at present the white flowering locust very justly attracts most attention; it should be cultivated still more generally.

"The number of dwelling houses is about 360. They are chiefly built of brick and wood; a few are of stone. Scarcely any are so constructed as to afford habitations for families beneath the surface of the ground; and not many are built with porches.

"The town contains two cemeteries. One is for the interment of the deceased of all denominations. It lies between Fourth and Fifth streets, nearly in the center of the Hill population. It has been a common receptacle for the town, for strangers and for the troops in Fort Washington previous to the erasement of that garrison since the first settlement here. Its area is something less than half a square. The other place of sepulture is designed for the use of the Methodist society. It was established about five years ago, in the N. E. quarter of the town, on the Hill.

"There are eight brick yards. They lie in the western part of the Bottom, near the second bank, which is the lowest portion of the site of the town. They abound in pools, the water of which has been drained from almost every part of the town.

"The shambles of our butchers are fixed on the bank of Deer creek, to the N. and N. E. of the town. The tanneries are in the same direction.

"The population of Cincinnati and its suburbs is 2,320 souls, of which number 1,227 are males, 1,013 females and eighty are negroes. The number of children under sixteen years is 1,051. The number of persons over forty-five years is 184. The number who have attained to the scriptural limit of human life, three score and ten, is not known; but as men who have passed sixty years of age do not often emigrate to new and distant countries, instances of great longevity are not to be expected here. Indeed, from the recent settlement of this place, few or none of its adult inhabitants are its natives. They have emigrated from every State in the Union, and from most of the countries in the west of Europe, more especially Ireland, England, Germany and Scotland. The American emigrants have been supplied principally by the States north of Virginia.

"A population derived from such distant sources, and so recently brought together, must necessarily exhibit much physical as well as moral diversity. The climate and soil have not yet introduced a uniform constitution of body; nor customs, manner and laws a uniform moral character. The inhabitants are generally laborious. By far the greatest number are mechanics. The rest are chiefly merchants, professional men and teachers. Wealth is distributed more after the manner of the Northern, than Southern States; and few, or none, are so independent as to live without engaging in some kind of business.

"A great portion of the inhabitants are temperate. There are not a few, however, who daily, but quietly, become intoxicated, and no very inconsiderable number have been known to fall victims to that habit. Whisky is in universal, but not exclusive, use, among the intemperate; beer and cider are generally drunk by those of more sobriety. Well water is generally drunk in the summer, and used otherwise by a few throughout the year. But the water of the river, drawn up in barrels, is employed for all domestic purposes by far the greatest number, and is drunk throughout half the year by at least half the inhabitants.

"The use of tobacco among the male sex is much too general. It is not confined to those who might derive benefit or comfort from it, but extends, with the usual number of exceptions, to all ages, from ten years old, upwards.

"The diet of the inhabitants is similar to that of the people of other Middle and Eastern States. Green tea and coffee are in general and extensive use. Fresh meats are eaten in great quantities. Beef, more especially in the summer and autumn, is used to the exclusion of most other meats, in a great many families. The market is well supplied with culinary vegetables. Fermented wheat bread is in very general use. It is commonly eaten fresh, but hot bread is much seldomer served up here, than in the Southern States. Indian corn bread is by no means uncommon. Rye is almost unknown as an article of food. Fish are not a principal article of diet, though the river affords many.

"The dress of our inhabitants is similar to that of the other inhabitants of the Middle States. The females injure their health by dressing too thin, and both sexes by not accommodating the quantity of clothing to the changes of the weather. The amusement of balls and other evening parties, so defective to female health in all parts of the United States, are engaged in here, but not to remarkable excess.

"No natural or artificial mineral waters are used here in the summer, nor are there any artificial baths. Bathing in the river is practiced by some, but is less regular and general than it ought to be." (Notices Concerning Cincinnati; By Daniel Drake, Cincinnati: Printed for the Author, At the Press of John W. Browne & Co., 1810; p. 29—This is the rarest book relating to Cincinnati. Mr. Thompson in his "Bibliography of Ohio" says that he can trace the existence of but three copies. There are several copies in the different local libraries.)

MELISH.

John Melish, an Englishman, visited Cincinnati in 1811 and subsequently published two volumes about his travels. He speaks of Cincinnati and its manufactures as follows:

"This is, next to Pittsburgh, the greatest place for manufactures and mechanical operations on the river, and the professions exercised are nearly as numerous as at Pittsburgh. There are masons and stonecutters, brick-makers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, silversmiths, gunsmiths, clock and watchmakers, tanners, saddlers, boot and shoemakers, glovers and breeches-makers, cotton-spinners, weavers, dyers, taylors, printers, bookbinders, rope-makers, combmakers, painters, pot and pearl ashmakers.

"These branches are mostly all increasing, and afford good wages to the journeymen. Carpenters and cabinet-makers have one dollar per day and their board, masons have two dollars per one thousand for laying bricks and their board; when they board themselves they have about four dollars per one thousand. Other classes have from one to one dollar twenty-five cents per day, according to the nature of the work.

"Wool and cotton carding and spinning can be increased to a great extent; and a well organized manufactory of glass bottles would succeed. Porter brewing could be augmented, but it would first be necessary to have bottles, as the people here prefer malt liquors in the bottled state. A manufactory of wool hats would probably succeed, and that of stockings would do remarkably well, provided frame smith work were established along with it—not else. As the people are becoming wealthy and polished in their manners, probably a manufactory of piano-fortes would do upon a small scale.

"There are ample materials for manufactures. Cotton is brought from Cumberland River, for


PLAN
OF
CINCINNATI.
Including
All the late Additions & Subdivisions
Engraved for
DRAKE'S STATISTICAL
VIEW.
1815
REFERENCES
OHIO RIVER

from two to three cents. Wool is becoming plenty in the country and now sells at fifty cents per pound, and all the materials for glass-making are abundant; coal has not been found in the immediate neighborhood, but can be laid down here at a pretty reasonable rate; and it is probable the enterprising citizens will soon introduce the steam engine in manufactures. Wood is brought to the town at a very low rate. There is a very considerable trade between New Orleans and this place, and several barges were in the river when we visited it. One had recently sailed upwards over the falls."

CINCINNATI IN 1812.

Cutler's "Topographical Description," already referred to, contains an account of Cincinnati in 1812 taken from the "Ohio Navigator."—"Cincinnati is handsomely situated on a first and second bank of the Ohio, opposite Licking River. It is a flourishing town, has a rich, level, and well settled country around it. It contains about four hundred dwellings, an elegant court house, jail, three market houses, a land office for the sale of Congress lands, two printing offices, issuing weekly Gazettes, thirty mercantile stores; and the various branches of mechanism are carried on with spirit. Industry of every kind being duly encouraged by the citizens, Cincinnati is likely to become a considerable manufacturing place. * * * It has a bank issuing notes under the authority of the State, called the Miami Exporting Company. The healthiness and salubrity of the climate; the levelness and luxuriance of the soil; the purity and excellence of the waters, added to the blessings attendant on the judicious administration of mild and equitable laws; the great security in the land titles; all seem to centre in a favorable point of expectation,—that Cincinnati and the country around it must one day become rich and very populous, equal perhaps, if not superior to any other place of an interior in the United States. The site of Fort Washington is near the centre of the town. It was a principal frontier post; it is now laid out in town lots.

"A considerable trade is carried on between Cincinnati and New Orleans in keel-boats, which return laden with foreign goods. The passage of a boat of forty tons down to New Orleans is computed at about twenty-five, and its return to Cincinnati at about sixty-five days." (Cutler's Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, p. 43; quoting from Cramer's Navigator, edition of 1808, p. 65.)

Mansfield, speaking of 1812, says that there was little of Cincinnati west of Main street at that time. Just before he left the city during that year, he was at Dr. Drake's house on Sycamore just below Fourth where he witnessed the great tornado. It was impressed upon his mind at that time that there were no houses above Fourth street, east of Sycamore, except the Sargent house in the center of the square bounded by Fourth and Broadway. Looking southeast he could see as far as Front and Lawrence with here and there a house intervening. The Bottom below Third and above Front was even then wet and swampy and in winter was frozen over and furnished skating for the boys. (Mansfield's Memories, p. 153.)

STREETS IN 1814.

By ordinance of February 12, 1814, the Council made provision to remedy the confusion and difficulty which had already arisen from the fact that the streets and alleys of the town were called by different names. It gave to the streets in the part laid out by Israel Ludlow the following names: Beginning with the river, Water, Front, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh, and to those runing north and south in the Ludlow tract, beginning with Eastern row (which was changed to Broadway), Sycamore, Main, Walnut, Vine, Race, Elm, Plumb and Western row. In the tract laid out by the government of the United States, the streets beginning with the river were to be called East Front street, Second street, Congress street, Third street, School alley and Fourth street and the eastern boundary of the tract, Ludlow street. In that part of the town immediately west of Deer creek laid out by Symmes, the streets beginning with the river were called East Front street, Congress street and Symmes street. The streets on the east were named Butler street, next west Pike and next Lawrence. This ordinance giving all the names of the streets then in the town is pertinent here as showing what was regarded as its extreme limits.

DRAKE'S "CINCINNATI IN 1815."

The most important work printed concerning the early period of the city's history appeared in the year 1816. It is the book entitled "Natural and Statistical View or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country by Daniel Drake." It is commonly referred to as "Cincinnati in 1815" or "Picture of Cincinnati." The book is made up of seven chapters and an appendix. It contains two maps, one of which, the plan of

Cincinnati, is the first engraved map of the city that we have. The other map is a map of the Miami country extending northward and westward to the Indian boundary and eastward into the Virginia Military Reservation, including parts of Adams, Highland and Fayette counties.

The city as indicated on the plan was made up of section 17, the fractional section 18 and a small part of fractional section 12 which had been laid out by Symmes in 1790. There was not a street west of the west section line of the original location. That line, it will be remembered, ran due north to a point on the river about half way between Smith and Mill streets near where the gas works are now located and crossed Fifth street just east of Mound or Western row (now Central avenue) about two hundred yards west of the present line of Liberty street. Fifth street seemed to extend west beyond the city limits. Northern row (the present Seventh street) at a point where is now the head of Smith street turned sharply to the northwest and joined London street (the present Eighth street), which continued westward as the road to Lawrenceburg. North of London street was Kemble, extending from Western row to the west corporation line about two blocks, then Richmond, Catherine, Elizabeth and Chestnut streets. Plum, Race and Walnut streets extended no farther north than Seventh street and Sycamore street no farther north than the line of the present canal. Broadway extended beyond the north corporation line into the road to Hamilton. Elm street and Western row extended to the north corporation line,—the present Liberty street. Court street west of Main to a point where now is Walnut street was called St. Clair street. Ninth street which extended from the present line of Walnut to Broadway was called Wayne street and the eastern end of Eighth street extending from Main to Broadway was known as New Market street. East of Broadway, Fifth street continued one block; Fourth and Third streets the same distance. Second street continued two blocks until it joined East Front street at the foot of Lawrence. Lawrence and Ludlow were located as at present. East Third street was known as Symmes street and East Pearl as Congress street. Pike and Butler streets ran to Symmes street, the present line of Third street; Butler was the extreme eastern street indicated on the map.

The references marked on the map included the following buildings. The steam mill was on the river bank between Broadway and Ludlow just east of the Broadway Ferries. This mill was "erected in the years 1812-13 and 14 under the direction of William Green an ingenious mason and stone cutter on a plan furnished by George Evans one of the proprietors. It is built on the river beach upon a bed of horizontal lime stone rocks and in high floods is for its whole length exposed to the current. The foundation is 62 by 87 feet and 10 feet thick. Its height is 110 feet, and the number of stories nine, including two above the eaves. To the height of 40 feet, the wall is battered, or drawn in; above, it is perpendicular. The cornice is of brick, and the roof of wood, in the common style. It has 24 doors and 90 windows. The lime stone with which it was built were quarried at various places in the bed of the river, and measure in the wall 6,620 perches. Besides this, it swallowed up 90,000 brick, 14,800 bushels of lime, and 81,200 cubic feet of timber. Its weight is estimated at 15,655 tons. Through the building there is a wall dividing each story into two unequal apartments—the one designed for manufacturing flour; the other for receiving wool and cotton machinery, a flax seed oil mill, fulling mill, and several other machines.

"It is equally creditable to the prudence of the superintendent and the temperance of the laborers, that during the erection of this house, not one serious accident occurred." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 137.)

This building the most "capacious, elevated and permanent building" is further described in the Directory of 1819 as containing "four pair of six feet millstones and machinery for carding, fulling and dressing cloth—all driven by a steam engine of 70 horsepower. It is capable of manufacturing annually 1,200 barrels of flour, besides carding and dressing cloth to the amount of three or four thousand dollars. It employs in the whole about twenty hands and consumes yearly about 12,000 bushels of mineral coal." (Directory of 1819, p. 36.)

The sad story of this structure is told in the Directory of 1825: "This once noble and sublime piece of architecture is now a pile of ruins, the combustible part of which was consumed by fire on the third day of November, 1823. Arrangements have been made and materials collected, for rebuilding it and probably in the course of the present year it will again resume its former appearance." (Directory of 1825, p. 113.)

The following year the announcement is made of the rebuilding of this structure which was once again in complete operation. The description is practically the same as that already given except that as rebuilt it seems to have been but eight stories high although still measuring 110 feet from the base to the top of the roof. This building was finally taken down in 1835 to make way for a steam ferry landing.

Two breweries are indicated on Drake's map, —one at the corner of Pike and Congress streets and one on the river front at the foot of Elm street. These breweries employed twenty workmen and made annually 31,000 barrels of porter and 1,340 barrels of beer, the total value of which was fifty thousand dollars.

Ferries are indicated all along the river front, —one at the foot of Lawrence, another near the foot of Ludlow, another near the foot of Broadway and one at the foot of Main street.

The Presbyterian Church at Fourth and Main, the Court House on Court street, the jail, the Methodist Church on the northwest corner of Fifth and Broadway, the Lancaster Seminary on Fourth and Walnut streets, the Bank of Cincinnati on the west side of Main above Fifth, the bank of the Miami Exporting Company on Front in the middle of the square between Main and Sycamore and the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank on the west side of Main between Front and Second streets, the Friends' Meeting House on Fifth street west of Western row and the Baptist Church at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut are the other public buildings marked. The remains of the ancient works in various parts of the city are also indicated. The Presbyterian burying ground is on Elm street among the out-lots. It was in fact upon the site of the present Washington Park. The site of old Fort Washington is indicated in the midst of the subdivision of lots made by Jared Mansfield. On the river bank west of Western row were the glass house and the steam sawmill. The sugar refinery was on Arch street almost at the point where the northeast blockhouse of Fort Washington had stood. On Front street beyond the mouth of Deer creek was the potash factory. The markets were shown at the site of the present Pearl street market and where is now the Government square. Another market was on Sycamore on both sides a short distance north of Seventh. Still another was on McFarland street west of Elm in the center of the block.

Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" contains a geographical and historical introduction and chapters on the physical topography, civil topography, political topography, medical topography, antiquities and a conclusion covering the projected improvements and future consequence of the city. In the appendix are discussed the earthquakes, aurora borealis and the southwest winds.

The chapter on the civil topography has been quoted in several parts of this work. The plan of the city is described and the prices of lots at different times are given. An important difference between the city levels at that time and at present is indicated by the discussion on drainage which is as follows:

"One part of the town being elevated from 40 to 60 feet above the other, it has long been an interesting question, whether the streets running from the river should be graduated to a steep or gentle ascent. The latter method has at length been adopted, and Main street rises by degrees from Second to Fifth street. The earth and gravel at the intersection of Third street on the brow of the Hill, and beyond it, as far as Fifth street, being hauled and washed down to raise the surface below. The angle of ascent varies, by estimation, from 5 to 10 degrees. Broadway, Sycamore and Walnut streets, are partly completed on the same plan. To the constant change of level which the streets have undergone for many years, from the descent of gravel into the Bottom, is to be ascribed the want of pavements and sidewalks, which the town so strikingly exhibits. Preparations are making for the pavement of Main street, from the river to Fourth street, the ensuing year; which will no doubt be followed by a general improvement of the town in this respect.

"Concerning the points at which the water falling on the town plat should be discharged into the river, there are two opinions. The first and most natural is, that it should be conducted down Second street, and emptied into the river below the town, through the same ravine which formerly carried it off. The other opinion is, that each street running to the river should be so graduated as to convey its own water. But the obvious injury which the banks, the beach and the water would sustain, from the discharge of these sluices of filth immediately opposite the town, together with the enormous expense attending it, seem to be procuring for the other method a general preference; and it is probable

that all the gutters west of Broadway will be discharged into a common sewer in Second street, along which in an open canal the water now indeed runs.

"It has been already stated, that the northwest part of the Bottom is occasionally inundated by great floods of the Ohio. To prevent this, it has been proposed to throw up a levee along the western border of the town plat. The cost of this could not be very great, as it would not have an average height of more than six feet, nor exceed two hundred yards in length; and having no current to stem, it need not be very strong. No measures, however, have yet been taken to effect this important object." (p. 132.)

We are informed that the materials for building were easy to obtain. Limestone was taken from the beds of the Licking and Ohio and marble from the cliffs of the Kentucky River and freestone from the Big Sandy and Scioto. The clay of the lower part of the town made excellent brick of which about five millions were annually used. Timber of all kinds was brought to market from the neighborhood, although the Alleghany Mountains necessarily furnished the most abundant supply. There were at that time in the city nearly eleven hundred houses exclusive of kitchens, smoke houses and stables. Of these twenty were all stone, two hundred and fifty all brick and about eight hundred of wood. Six hundred and sixty contained families and the remainder were public buildings, shops, warehouses and offices. The dwelling houses were generally two stories high, of neat and simple style with sloping, shingled roofs and Tuscan or Corinthian cornices. Several had recently been erected with an additional story and exhibited for a new town some magnificence. A handsome frontispiece or balustrade occasionally afforded an evidence of opening taste; but the higher architectural ornaments—elegant summer houses, porticos and colonnades, were entirely wanting. Very few of the frame houses were painted; this is the more remarkable as the timber was perishable. (p. 134.)

The public buildings are described in detail. The first Court House, which was erected in 1802 on the eastern end of the public ground at Fifth and Main streets, had burned down early in 1814 while being used by a company of soldiers as a barrack. This had been built of limestone on a plan furnished by Judge Turner, in the form of a parallelogram, 42 feet in front by 55 in depth; the height of the walls, including a parapet, being 42 feet. It had a wooden cupola with four projecting faces arched and balustraded, 20 feet high, terminated by a dome, and resting on a basement 20 feet square. From the ground to the top of the cupola was 84 feet. A pair of fireproof, two-story wings for public offices which formed part of the original design had never been added.

After the burning of the building, the commissioners of the county had sold on perpetual leases the whole of the public ground and accepted (from Jesse Hunt) a lot near the intersection of Court and Main streets. In the center of this they were then engaged in the erection of a second Court House, with fireproof apartments, to be 50 by 62 feet.

The new Presbyterian Church was a very spacious brick edifice of "low and heavy" aspect. The Baptist Church on Sixth street was a handsome and commodious brick edifice, 40 by 55 feet, well furnished with doors and windows, ornamented with a balustrade, and finished inside with taste.

The Methodist Church on Fifth street was a capacious stone building one story high.

The Friends' Meeting House near the western end of the same street was a temporary wooden building.

The Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary on Fourth street in the rear of the Presbyterian Church is described as an extensive, two-story brick edifice built with some alterations on a plan furnished by Isaac Stagge. It consisted of two oblong wings extending from Fourth street 88 feet deep. These were connected near the front by an apartment for staircases 18 by 30 feet. Out of this arose a dome-capped peristyle designed for an observatory. The front of this intermediate apartment was to be decorated with a colonnade forming a handsome portico 12 feet deep and 30 feet long. The front and each side were ornamented with a pediment and Corinthian cornice. "The aspect of the building is light, airy, and might be considered elegant, were the doors wider, the pediments longer, and divested of the chimnies, which at present disfigure them. One wing of this edifice was designed for male and the other for female children and between the two wings there was a connecting passage except through the portico." The lower stories at that time were finished entire and large enough to accommodate 600 children. Each upper story was to be divided into three apartments, two in the ends 30 feet square

and one in the center 25 feet with a skylight and the appurtenances of a philosophical hall. When completed, the whole building was expected to receive 1,100 scholars.

The buildings of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company on the bank above Deer creek are described as numerous and extensive with a main edifice 150 feet long and 20 to 37 feet wide and from two to four stories high.

Dr. Drake regarded the means of preservation from fire as few and inefficient and therefore discussed the subject not for imitation but for admonition. According to the ordinances of the corporation, each house was obliged to be furnished with a fire bucket. This provision was generally disregarded. Every male citizen between 15 and 50 years was required to attend on the cry of fire "a provision finely calculated, if enforced, to augment the rabble which infest such places." A more important requisition was that each drayman should furnish at every fire at least two barrels of water. All bonfires were expressly but not successfully forbidden.

The water supply was not very efficient. There were a few indifferent springs on the borders of the town plat and a number of wells of various depths. The water from some of these was impregnated with iron. Cisterns were common and afforded good water. A large proportion though of the water was drawn in barrels from the river which being impure required time to settle but was preferable to well water. The proprietors of the steam mill contemplated distributing water from the river over the whole town "a plan so interesting, that its execution will constitute an important era in our public improvements."

Wood was a cheap article of fuel, a large part of which was rafted down the Ohio and Licking rivers; but little coal was used except by the manufacturers. This was brought from Pittsburg and sold at about 10 to 15 cents a bushel.

There were four market days in each week, two mornings at the small market house between Main and Sycamore and two afternoons at the market on Fifth street. Fresh meats could be had except in the midst of winter on every day in the week but the Sabbath. The mutton was of superior excellence and the beef generally good though said to be inferior to that of the maritime States. The poultry was fine. Fish though abundant in the Ohio were not in great supply. Those most esteemed were perch, pike, eel, yellow cat and sword fish. The soft-shelled turtle was considered a great delicacy. Venison in proper season was brought from the woods and bear meat now and then offered. Butter and cheese were scarce in quantity and inferior in quality. Fruits and vegetables were abundant and good. The grapes were brought either from the vineyard of General Taylor in Newport or the Swiss plantation in Vevay, Indiana.

Some progress had been made in manufactures. There was no iron foundry but many blacksmiths. Cut and wrought nails, stills, tea-kettles and copper vessels, tinware, rifles, fowling pieces, pistols, dirks and gun-locks and most articles usually made by blacksmiths were manufactured in abundance. Cotton and woolen machinery was manufactured as well as saddlery and carriage mountings of all kinds. Clocks were made and watches repaired. Common pottery of a good quality was made in sufficient quantity for home consumption. Sills, chimney pieces, monuments and all the varieties of stone cutting were executed. The manufactures of green window glass and hollow ware and white flint glass were just opening up.

Among the manufactures in wood were sideboards, secretaries, bureaus and cabinet furniture in general. Fancy chairs and settees elegantly gilt and varnished wagons, carts and drays, coaches, phaetons, gigs and other pleasure carriages were also made.

One William Baily of Kentucky had obtained a patent in 1811 which enabled a man and a boy with the assistance of one or two horses to dress and joint the staves necessary for 100 barrels, hogsheads or pipes in 12 hours. This could be also used in shaving and jointing shingles.

The steam sawmill on the river bank with its buildings, 70 by 56 feet, three stories high, as well as the plants of the Steam Mill Company and the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, were in active operation. There were four cotton spinning establishments containing upwards of twelve hundred spindles moved by horses and a woolen manufactory was contemplated.

Fur hats were made in such quantities as to be exported and the tanning and currying of leather was carried on at six tan-yards in such large quantities as to create an extensive manufacture of shoes, boots, saddlery and trunks. Blank books and all kinds of common and extra binding were executed with neatness.

The Cincinnati Manufacturing Company had already established a white lead plant and were building one for red lead. A sugar refinery was

expected to go into operation in a few weeks. Tobacco and snuff were manufactured in four different shops. Pot ash and pearl ash, soaps of various kinds and candles were manufactured for exportation.

The distilleries gave an ample supply for domestic use. The breweries consumed annually 30,000 bushels of barley, producing beer, ale and porter of a quality equal to that of the Atlantic States of which large quantities had been exported to the Mississippi even as far as New Orleans. The one on the river bank which had been in operation four years used the river water; the other used water from wells and cisterns.

The manufacture of flour was carried on at the steam mill to a great extent. A mustard manufactory had been erected the year before but had not yet got into such extensive operation as to supersede the importation of that article.

Although but little had been done in the line of fine arts, all kinds of labeling, sign and ornamental painting, together with the engraving on copper of official and other seals, cards of address, and vignettes, were executed with taste and elegance.

The commerce of the city was carried on in flat-bottomed boats, keel-boats and barges; the last named it was thought would soon be superseded by steamboats, of which two kinds were coming into use on the Western waters. The principal export was flour which was followed by pork, bacon and lard; whiskey, peach brandy, beer and porter; pot and pearl ash, cheese, soap and candles; hemp and spun yarn; walnut, cherry and blue ash boards; cabinet furniture and chairs; to which might be added kiln dried Indian meal, for the West Indies.

The imports included different kinds of East Indian, European and New England goods, which were received from Philadelphia and Baltimore but chiefly from the former. It was not difficult to foresee, however, that in a short time foreign merchandise would go through other channels as a "portage of three hundred miles, over high and rugged mountains, must at all times be more expensive than ascending a navigable river five times the distance." The author felt that the great emporium of the Western country must be New Orleans, although whenever the government should have completed the road from the navigable waters of the Potomac to those of the Ohio, and New York had executed her projected canal, transportation by land would be much reduced. Many articles were brought at that time from New Orleans at a lower price than from the East, examples of which were coffee, salt fish, claret and some other wines, copperas, queensware, paints, mahogany and logwood, and of course sugar, molasses, cotton, rice and salted hides. From Missouri Territory were imported lead, peltry and skins; from Tennessee and Kentucky, cotton, tobacco, saltpetre and marble; from Pennsylvania and Virginia, bar, rolled and cast iron, millstones, coal, salt, glassware, pine timber and plank. Furs were brought from the waters of the Great Miami, Wabash and Maumee. The goods brought for consumption were kept in more than seventy shops of which sixty contained dry goods, hard glass and queensware, liquors and groceries. The others were stores for iron, shoes and drugs. Cincinnati had been made a port of entry in 1808 and the business of building ships had been discontinued on the Ohio; no vessel had yet cleared from the place.

Dr. Drake gives an account of the three banks of the town. The oldest of these was the Miami Exporting Company, the oldest banking institution in the Miami country, which was incorporated in 1803 for 40 years.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank had been established in 1812 and incorporated in 1813 for five years. Its capital was $200,000.

The Bank of Cincinnati, founded in 1814, had a paid-up capital of $140,000. It had not yet been chartered but its notes were in excellent credit.

Sadly enough within a few months (on December 26th) the banks suspended payment.

Some of the newspapers described by Dr. Drake have been referred to. The *Centinel* established in 1793 was succeeded in 1796 by *Freeman's Journal* which continued until 1800. The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* was established by Joseph Carpenter on May 28, 1799, and continued by various papers for ten years. The name was then changed by Messrs Carney and Morgan to *The Whig*. After 58 numbers of this had been published, its title was altered to *The Advertiser* under which name it continued to November, 1811, when it expired.

In July, 1814, the *Spirit of the West* was commenced and continued but for 41 numbers. The papers which were published in 1815 were the *Western Spy* which had been reestablished by Mr. Carpenter in September, 1810; *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, established December 4, 1814, by John W. Browne; and the *Cincinnati Gazette*, established July 15, 1815, but almost immediately discontinued. The *Spy* at that time

had about twelve hundred subscribers and *Liberty Hall* about fourteen hundred. Both of these papers were of what was called superroyal size. Each of them had an extra press for book printing. Twelve different books besides many pamphlets had been executed, averaging each more than two hundred pages. The paper was at first brought from Pennsylvania and afterwards from Kentucky but at the time of the publication of Dr. Drake's book was brought from the new and valuable paper mills on the Little Miami.

Nine mails we are informed arrived every week which included about seventy different papers as well as a great number of documents, franked by members of Congress, and most of the Eastern periodicals.

The postmaster at that time was William Burke. His predecessors have all been mentioned—Abner M. Dunn, William Maxwell, Daniel Mayo and William Ruffin. Dr. Drake in his book devotes a chapter to education in which he gives the history of the Lancaster Seminary, the Cincinnati University and the Miami University. Mention is also made of the Circulating Library Society of Cincinnati and the School of Literature and the Arts.

Under the head of religion is given the history of the various churches as well as of the Bible Society.

Little less valuable than Dr. Drake's book itself are the comments published upon it in the contemporary journals. The book appeared in February, 1816, and in the numbers of *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of March 11th and for several weeks succeeding that date appears an elaborae review in which are some criticisms that throw additional light on the condition of the town at the time.

The reviewer commenting on the buildings of the town protests "against the narrow policy which acceded to such a lamentable disposition of the ground appropriated for the use of the Court House. It is enough to sicken the admirer of munificence and taste to behold the petty and contemptible buildings which are for the most part now stringing around its borders; —after having indulged in anticipation of seeing its spacious area decorated at some future day—as the Lancaster portion of the square now is—with architectural ornaments of the town." Attention is also called to the fact that of the three market houses the largest one was built and owned by private individuals. This was true as well of the street on which it was located.

The inadequacy of the fire department is shown by the fact that "in the event of a fire on the Hill there is no resource but to tug away at the windlass or wait the arrival of the draymen from the river." Both the Baptist and Presbyterian churches had already divided so that there were two additional congregations by this time.

A very amusing criticism is that of Dr. Drake's portrayal of society which is quoted elsewhere at length.

The reviewer tells us that the Thespian Corps had about concluded to disband by reason of the lack of patronage.

The founding of the Scientific Library and of the Town Library also called for comment. The latter apparently was the occasion of much discussion as it had not met with the favor that was expected, although at the time of the review its subscribers had increased to eight or ten score at ten dollars a share and the shelves contained about a thousand volumes which were distributed by a librarian on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons.

Two new societies, the St. Cecelia Society and the Social Reading Party, are also commented upon. Regret was manifested that in a town where pianos were numbered by the dozen no one was found willing to put them in tune; "as a result many were suffered to remain as silent appendages to the drawing room."

It seems to have been a pleasant habit with writers in the early days to forecast the future. The first of these interesting prophecies is contained in Dr. Drake's chapter entitled "Future Consequence." In this he discussed the probable increase in importance of the various cities on the Western rivers. He concludes that the chief city of the promised land will be located on the borders of the Ohio River. "They (the chief cities) are not likely to become places of political importance, for these must lie towards the centres of the States which this river will divide; but the commercial and manufactural advantages that exist in lieu of the political, are so much superior, as to justify, in this enquiry, the omission of every town not situated on the Ohio. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville, are the places which at present have the fairest prospects of future greatness."

At that time Pittsburg was of course the most important of the three, but Drake thought that the latter two were both destined to surpass it.

His explanation of this was that for twenty years goods destined for the Western population had been carried through Pittsburg, "the Birmingham of America," and the manufactures of that town were disposed of in the Western settlements. The increase in population in the West and the consequent growth of manufactures of course would take from it the advantage it had as entrepôt and a manufacturing center and as the country around that place was rugged and sterile the population that it could support was necessarily smaller than that around Cincinnati or Louisville. The advantage that Louisville had was the partial interruption of commerce at that place by the falls of the Ohio, which required the carrying of all goods around the rapids. This not only gave employment to a great number of hands but made the town one of the heads of navigation. "Still there are reasons for believing that CINCINNATI IS TO BE THE FUTURE METROPOLIS OF THE OHIO. Its site is more eligible than that of most towns on the river. It is susceptible of being rendered healthier than Louisville, and is extensive enough for a large city. The Ohio bounds it on the southeast, south and southwest, so that all the streets, if extended would, at one or both ends, intersect the river within the limits of the corporation. It has, therefore, a great extent of shore, along the whole of which there is not a reef nor a shoal to prevent the landing of boats. * * * Opposite to Broadway, is the mouth of Licking; a river whose navigation will certainly be much improved. * * * Over the town plat, as we have seen in the preceding article, a canal at some future period may be conducted from the Great Miami; whose waters can, by another canal, be connected with those of the Maumee, and thus secure to us a new and profitable trade with the Lakes."

Viewed in the light of subsequent events, Dr. Drake's prophecies seem to have been realized. Cincinnati always maintained her preeminent position over the cities of the West so long as waterways were the principal means of transportation and of course for a long time afterwards. The natural advantages of which he speaks however have been lost sight of in later days when railroad developments have reduced their importance. In the matter of waterways, however, Cincinnati still has an advantage over other cities and if these ways should be developed in the future with the same enthusiasm that has been displayed in the line of railroad development, the city in the judgment of the present writer would gain a position even more preeminent than any it has ever occupied. It is to the river and canals that Cincinnati must look for much of her commercial supremacy and not to the railroads, in which respect she has no advantage over other cities, equally capable of railroad development.

Among the improvements contemplated at the time of Dr. Drake's writing were bridges over the Ohio, across the mouth of Deer creek and over Mill creek and roads towards the sources of the Miamis extending to Dayton. An improved road to Columbia was especially desired as the one in existence had become nearly impassable during winter time.

The matter of canals connecting the river with the lakes, the Ohio with the Great Miami at a point near Hamilton was discussed at considerable length.

FLINT.

Timothy Flint says of the city in this same year (1816):

"When you saw this city, apparently lifting its head from surrounding woods, you found yourselves at a loss to imagine whence so many people could be furnished with supplies. In the fine weather, at the commencement of winter, it is only necessary to go to the market of this town, and see its exuberant supplies of every article for consumption, in the finest order, and of the best quality; to see the lines of wagons, and the astonishing quantities of every kind of produce, to realize, at once, all that you have read about the growth of Ohio. In one place you see lines of wagons in the Pennsylvania style. In another place the Tunkers, with their long and flowing beards, have brought up their teams with their fat mutton and fine flour. Fowls, domestic and wild turkeys, venison, those fine birds which are here called partridges, and which we call quails, all sorts of fruit and vegetables, equally excellent and cheap—in short, all that you see in Boston market, with the exception of the same variety of fish, and all these things, in the greatest abundance, are here. In one quarter there are wild animals that have been taken in the woods; cages of redbirds and parroquets; in another, old ladies, with roots, herbs, nuts, mittens, stockings, and what they call Yankee notions. My judgment goes with the general assertion here, that no place, in proportion to its size, has a richer or more abundant market

than Cincinnati." (Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 39.)

THOMAS.

Another visitor during this year, David Thomas, described the city:

"About three o'clock we descended through the hills, along a hollow way, into the valley of the Ohio, and Cincinnati appeared before us. It is a great town. Brick buildings are very numerous, and many of these are elegant; but compactness constitutes much of the beauty of our cities, and in this it is deficient. Some of the streets may form exceptions to this remark; and we ought to remember that few towns (if any) ever rose from the forest more rapidly; that its date even now is within the memory of the young; and that its mammoth form at no distant period will be filled up and completed. By some it is suspected, however, that its present greatness is premature; but this can only apply to its mercantile concerns; for its manufactories cannot be materially affected by any change in the amount of commerce. Neither need the merchants fear a rival city, unless it rises to the north.

"Among the most respectable of the manufacturing establishments we notice the brewery of D. & J. Embree. The works, though in a progressive state, are now sufficiently extensive to produce annually five thousand barrels of beer and porter, and the quality is excellent. A treadle-mill is attached to these buildings similar in construction to that at Montgomery. It is turned by horses, and grinds one hundred and twenty bushels of malt a day. In the present recess of business, it is employed in the manufacture of mustard.

"Works for green glass have lately gone into operation; but some of the articles produced are very imperfect. We can sympathise with the proprietors of new establishments; for we are aware of the many inconveniences and discouragements that beset them at the commencement; but we cannot too strongly inculcate that to attain excellence will be the first object of the patriotic manufacturer; and such virtue could scarcely fail of its reward.

"A monthly meeting of the Society of Friends, comprising about forty families, is established in this year." (Travels Through the Western Country.)

CINCINNATI IN 1817.

A resident of Cincinnati from 1817 to 1821, his recollections published in 1851 described the city in April, 1817, at the time of his arrival. He had letters to General Harrison whom he met on his way from Washington to Cincinnati at Pittsburg and who accompanied him down the river. On his arrival he was introduced to General Findlay, receiver of public moneys, who insisted upon taking him to his own house (which had been Harrison's headquarters while in the city) where they had breakfast. The appearance of the city struck him at first rather unfavorably. Its population at that time did not exceed eight or nine thousand. "There was an air of life, a bustle and activity about it, and yet, taken together, it had a raw, unfinished, and slovenly aspect. The bank of the river, in front of the town, was not only unsightly, but calculated to make an unfavorable impression upon the mind of a stranger. Parts of it had been worn away by the strong current of the waters, and parts had slidden down into the river. It was, in short, ragged, broken, and verdureless,—without tree or shrub, without wall or railing, protection or ornament. Nor was there anything in the shape of a dock or landing place at the water's edge. The operation of landing was indeed perfectly aboriginal. It was effected by three moves as explained in the following order:—'Run your boat ashore, Josey, tie her to a stake, and jump out into the mud!'"

The business of the city was then confined to Main and Front streets which "were tolerably well built, and exhibited a lively business-like appearance. The residue of the town was scattered about in all directions, right and left, hither and thither—some on the Hill and some on the Bottom. The buildings in the suburbs, though without any apparent gregarious inclination, were generally in sight of each other, some times within call, or even shaking hands distance, but more frequently isolated and unconnected, having nothing to do with close files of regular lines. They were, moreover, of all heights, sizes, shapes and colors."

He found the public buildings, though, neither numerous nor costly, with the exception of two, the Presbyterian Church and the Court House, both situated on the Hill. "The church was on the brow of the Hill, and in sight of the congregation, and sufficiently aloof from the then business parts of the city. It stood in the midst of an old burial ground, uninclosed,—itself in bad taste, disproportioned, unfinished, and open to desecration." The Court House further on by

the side of the road, "a huge quadrangular building, ill-conceived and ill-contrived, but tasteless and inconvenient, looking more like a penitentiary or house of correction than anything else," in an open field "protected (if protected at all), by a post and rail fence." The private buildings he thought in better taste and mentioned particularly the mansion house of General Lytle and that of Judge Burnet. Judge Burnet's house "was situated on an eminence, some half a mile south and west of the city, commanding a fine view of the town, the river, and the scenery of the opposite bank. Its healthful position, its fine shade trees, and its beautiful gardens, rich with the choicest fruits and flowers, rendered it one of the most charming residences in the State." When it is remembered that this was at the northwest corner of Third and Vine, the site subsequently of Shires' Garden and at present of the Burnet House and that it evidently impressed the writer as being some distance from the town, some impression of the narrow limits of the village at that time can be had. Despite the unfavorable impression received by this writer he noted that "it was easy to perceive that it was destined to become one of the great cities of the West." The principal part of the town, he says, in 1817 was on the narrow strip between the second table and the bank of the river, and (following the line of Main street) was just beginning to show itself on the brow of the Hill.

BIRKBECK.

Morris Birkbeck on his way to Illinois passed through the city later (in 1817) and he too has his fling at it:

"Cincinnati, like most American towns, stands too low; it is built on the banks of the Ohio, and the lower part of it is not out of the reach of spring floods. As if life was not more than meat, and the body than raiment, every consideration of health and enjoyment yields to views of mercantile convenience. Short-sighted and narrow economy! by which the lives of thousands are shortened, and the comfort of all sacrificed to mistaken notions of private interest.

"Cincinnati is, however, a most thriving place, and, backed as it is already by a great population and a most plentiful country, bids fair to be one of the first cities of the West. We are told, and we cannot doubt the fact, that the chief of what we see is the work of four years. The hundreds of commodious, well-finished brick houses, the spacious and busy markets, the substantial public buildings, the thousands of prosperous, well-dressed, industrious inhabitants, the numerous wagons and drays, the gay carriages and elegant females; the shoals of craft on the river, the busy stir prevailing everywhere—house-building, boat-building, paving and leveling streets; the numbers of country people constantly coming and going; the spacious taverns, crowded with travellers from a distance.

"All this is so much more than I could comprehend from a description of a new town just risen from the woods, that I despair of conveying an adequate idea of it to my English friends. It is enchantment, and Liberty is the fair enchantress.

"June 27, Cincinnati. All is alive here as soon as the day breaks. The stores are opened, the markets thronged, and business is in full career by five o'clock in the morning; and nine o'clock is the common hour for retiring to rest.

"As yet I have felt nothing oppressive in the heat of this climate. Melting, oppressive, sultry nights, succeeding broiling days, and forbidding rest, which are said to wear out the frames of the languid inhabitants of the Eastern cities, are unknown here. A cool breeze always renders the night refreshing, and generally moderates the heat of the day." (Notes on a Journey in America.)

PALMER.

Another traveler, John Palmer, of the same year, thought the general appearance of the city clean and handsome—"indeed, elegant and astonishing, when we reflect that less than forty years ago it was the resort of Indians, and the whole surrounding country a wilderness, full of wild beasts and savages. * * * In the principal streets they are neatly paved with brick sidewalks and pumps are placed for general accommodation. * * * The present number of buildings may be between thirteen and fourteen hundred, and the number of the inhabitants eight thousand, all whites, the laws of Ohio prohibiting even free negroes (except in certain cases) from settling in the State. Near five hundred of the houses are built of stone or brick, many of them three-story high, and in a very neat, modern style. The rest of the houses are frame, most of them neatly painted. * * *

"The public buildings are of brick, and would ornament an European city. The new Court House is a stately edifice, 50 by 60 feet and 100 feet high; the apartments are fireproof. Presbyterians, Baptists, Friends, and Methodists, have each a meeting house. Those belonging to the

Presbyterians and Baptists are finished with taste. The Friends' Meeting House is a temporary wooden building. The Lancasterian Seminary is a capacious structure, calculated to contain one thousand one hundred scholars, male and female. There are three brick market houses, the largest is upwards of three hundred feet long. * * * I have counted near sixty tilted waggons from the country on a market day, chiefly with produce, which is brought to market by the farmer and sold from the waggons. * * *

"The climate is healthy, if we may judge from the appearance of the inhabitants. At this season (July) the mornings and evenings are delightful; mid-day hot, but not too hot to do any out-door work. * * * The winters are short and pleasant.

"The manners of most of the inhabitants are social and refined, without jealousy of foreigners (which is sometimes the case with the ignorant or interested, in the Eastern and Middle States); they are pleased to see a respectable European settle amongst them. Many cultivate the fine arts, painting, engraving and music. With few exceptions, we found the English language spoken with purity. * * *

"The city, in all probability, will soon be the largest in the West; it is rapidly improving in size; sixty new brick and frame houses have been occupied since last fall; and at least as many more are now building besides several manufacturing shops and factories. There is more taste displayed in building and laying out grounds and gardens than I have yet observed west of the Alleghany Mountains.

"The price of town lots is high, and houses in the principal streets difficult to obtain on hire. The lots in Main, first and second streets sell for two hundred dollars a foot, measuring on the front line; those possessing less local advantage sell from fifty to ten dollars; out-lots, and land very near the town, sells for five hundred dollars per acre. Taxes are very moderate. * * * The price of labour is one dollar per day. Mechanics earn two dollars. Boarding is from two to three, and five dollars per week. Five dollars per week is the price of the best hotel in the city; we paid three dollars per week, had a room to ourselves and our living was excellent; at breakfast, plenty of beef steak, bacon, eggs, white bread, johnny cakes (of Indian meal), butter, tea and coffee. Dinner, two or three dishes of fowls, roast meat, kidney beans, peas, new potatoes, preserves, cherry pie, &c.; supper nearly the same as breakfast. Living is very cheap here; and it is easily to be accounted for in the cheapness and fertility of the surrounding country, the scarcity of tax-gatherers, and the distance of a market for the supplies. You can have very decent board, washing, and lodging, by the year for one hundred and fifty dollars.

"* * * The land round Cincinnati is good. Price, a mile or two from the city, fifty, eighty, and one hundred dollars per acre, according to quality and other advantages. This same land, a few years ago, was bought for two and five dollars per acre. Farms with improvements ten miles from the town, sell for thirty and forty dollars per acre."

Mr. Palmer found in the stores in Front, Water and Main streets, an excellent supply of goods from the East and West Indies, Europe, and of the produce of their immediate neighborhood. Trading boats regularly proceeded to New Orleans, St. Louis, Pittsburg and various other places, while steamboats from New Orleans and Pittsburg called, delivered and received goods and passengers. Numbers of arks with emigrants and their families, bound to various parts of the Western country, were generally near the landing. He counted at the landing, seven Kentucky boats with coal, iron and dry goods from Pittsburg; four barges or keel-boats one two masted and at least 150 tons, which were trading and carrying freight up and down the rivers; four large flats or scows with stone and salt from the "Kenhawa" works; six arks, laden with emigrants and their furniture, who were stopping to purchase provisions. He was much impressed with the celebration of the Fourth of July, which was ushered in by bands of music parading the streets and the firing of cannon. At eleven, "three companies of volunteers (consisting of a rifle corps, and two companies of infantry, one a fine company just raised, called the Cincinnati Guards) assembled near the landing, and accompanied by many citizens, two and two, marched in procession to the Presbyterian Church." Here were prayers, singing and an oration, followed by a dinner at the principal tavern. Although some of the laborers and mechanics were "great amateurs of whiskey" he saw but one man intoxicated during his stay and that was on the Fourth "which for an American, amounts almost to an excuse." (Journal of Travels in the United States, etc., in the Year 1817, Chapter V.)

REMINISCENCES OF "OLD MAN."

A series of articles written in the *Cincinnati Times* in the year 1867 by a writer who concealed his identity under the pseudonym "Old Man" describes Main street in the early days. He calls attention to the fact that in its original state the front of the city was a bluff with a precipitous bank some twenty feet high in which were two indentations or coves, the one near Sycamore and the other at the foot of Main. The ground at the head of the latter was several feet higher than at present and it was cut down when the grade of Main street was established. On either side of the cove were small fields of table land and at the left stood the original jail and Town House. At the head of the cove, the ground descended into quite a ravine until it came to a point where Pearl street is now located when it gradually ascended to Third street. Here was another high bluff bank and on top of this a small Indian work. The ground from this point back for some distance was moderately level. During the first years there were but a few log houses on Main. At the corner of Front and Main was the two-story frame house of John Ludlow, so frequently referred to, where Mathew Winton, the grandfather of Squire Sedam, the second, kept tavern. Just above him John Bartle had an inn and where the Resor warehouse stood for so many years was the first billiard room in the settlement. It was not until 1804 however that there were many houses on Main street. One of the first was that of James Ferguson, who kept a general country store where were sold dry goods, groceries and liquors. Ferguson lived until the age of 86, dying in the year 1853. He left an estate, valued at over a million dollars, gained in business in this city.

Another merchant not far away was an Irishman named O'Farrell who was supposed to have been a quartermaster in the proposed Burr expedition. He was killed in the War of 1812.

Hugh Moore opened his wholesale and retail store on Main opposite the New Market (Fifth street) in November of this year. The reason for Moore going up the hill was the removal of the Court House to the public square on Main between Fourth and Fifth. This merchant lived in Cincinnati for over 50 years, dying at the age of 90 at his residence on Broadway above Fourth.

The first brick house was that of Elmore Williams on the corner of Fifth and Main. The building was known by the name of the "Brick House" and Joseph Delaplaine offered as a special inducement to buyers that they would "have a chance to be shown through the grand brick house built regardless of cost by our well known citizen Elmore Williams." As a special inducement, the best of liquors were always kept on hand and "persons who buy in considerable quantities will be generously treated." In the same building was the firm of Smith & Brown, young merchants from Baltimore.

Menessier's boarding house on the slope of the hill near Pearl and Main has been frequently mentioned. Here on a summer's day in 1803 or 1804 came a tall and venerable looking man clad in most fantastic array with very long white hair. This striking personage introduced himself as Professor Yernest, a Swede by birth, and his business was indicated by the following advertisement:

"The Elixir of Longevity"

"Dr. Yernest, a native of Sweden, the inventor of the above Elixir, and by whom the secret has long remained in his family, lived 254 years, his grandfather 130 years, his mother 107, his father 130, and his grandmother 175 years.

"Dr. Yernest, the eldest in descent of the male line of this venerable family, now in his 185th year, lives at Mr. Menessier, and has the Elixir of Longevity with him; a fifty-cent bottle of the same being sufficient quantity to insure the continuation of life of the most sickly, for at least a century."

The Professor for a time did a prosperous business but one day the distinguished French advocate and tavern-keeper and the patriarchal Swede became involved in a discussion on European politics. Angry words soon gave way to blows and in the excitement of the conflict the wonderful white hair of the learned antediluvian came off, bringing to view a mass of bright red curls, as red says the "Old Man," as the topknot of a woodpecker. As a result a vision of youth took the place of the semblance of hoary old age and a man of 35 stood in the shoes of the fossil of 185. The "Elixir" was not able to save him and that night riding on a rail accompanied by a dozen or more of his former friends who had indulged in sufficient quantities of another sort of elixir, he was escorted from town to the tune of the "Rogue's March."

Another well known business house was that of Long & Chase at the corner of Columbia (Second) and Main streets opposite the Colum-

bian Inn. Their principal business was indicated by a sign "Klock and Wach Maken." They also were tinners and coppersmiths. The Columbian Inn was then kept by Mrs. Willis.

On the east side of Main below Pearl was the "Indian Camp" of Leonard Sayre, so called because of the large trade carried on by Sayre with the Indians. Sayre was said to have been able to trust any Indian that came in and get his money without fail.

In 1807 O. Ormsby established a store at the "Yellow House" on Front and Main where he sold "exclusively for cash" and on "credit of three, six, nine, and twelve months."

In the "Brick House," whose stores commanded the highest rent in the city, Abraham Chase kept a country store in 1807.

A curious character was John Wall, the saddler, whose business was indicated by a huge military saddle hung up in front of a one-story, gable-end log house on Main near Columbia. Wall's special fad was navigation and the seas and he read and talked about ships and salt water until his name was forgotten in the sobriquet of "Old Ocean."

Just opposite the Court House on Main was an old weather-boarded, two-story log cabin where the lawyers congregated during term time and where many of the most distinguished citizens such as Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, Judge Burnet and Nicholas Longworth put up. This was called at that time Ewing's Tavern.

Directly across the street was the old Court House with the jail behind it, all surrounded by a railing fence with a large double gate directly in front to which led a broad path. A little below was the pioneer church in front of which were attractive yards filled with fine trees. This as well as the cemetery behind it was enclosed with a neat fence giving the square the aspect so familiar in all country towns. Here one morning in December, 1806, early risers were privileged to see four fine large bucks standing directly in front of the Court House as if demanding justice in their claim for the grazing grounds which had been wrenched from them. Unfortunately for them, their claims were soon settled by the rifles of the pioneers. They were killed in the beech woods along Deer creek.

Next to Ewing's Tavern opposite the old Court House was the business place of Frederic Hailfligh & Son. The son Henry was supposed to be very much afraid of Indians and some of the younger men attempted to give him a surprise. One night in 1806 he was aroused by a number of red painted savages and commanded to prepare for death. His appeals for mercy were not heeded and as a last favor he was allowed to stop in the front part of the store to say his last prayer. The pretended Indians crowded around him just in time to be greeted by a tremendous explosion followed by a great blaze of fire and dense smoke. Henry had been warned and had dropped powder around the floor and at a critical moment had touched it off. The Indians disappeared and a number of the citizens suffered for some time from rather severe burns.

Another well known merchant named Alter arrived from Baltimore in May, 1806, and opened a store in a two-story frame near the top of the hill on the east side of Main street. He was renowned for his expensive advertising and his name deserves execration for he was the first Cincinnatian to exploit his wares on the fences. Contrary to the moral obliquity implied by this conduct, he was a most generous citizen and when the war with England came on he donated $100 to purchase blankets for the soldiers and one-fifth of all his profits for their families. Near him at the same time James Kirby established the first lumber yard on the east side of Main above Columbia.

Another method of advertising quite well known in the early days was adopted by Richard Gaines in 1811, who swung out from his store on the verge of the hill a great golden boot.

Some distance above Fifth was the first ropewalk, started by Peter Love early in the century. Love claimed to be the first person in the Northwest Territory in this business.

At a little later period in October, 1811, S. G. Grenell & Company opened a tea store on Main street three doors above Front. Here in addition to tea was retailed the usual stock of a country store. Some of the prices are interesting. Imperial tea was $2.00 a pound; Young Hyson, $1.40, extra fine, $2.00; Souchong, $1.00; and Pekoe, $1.25.

Not far away was the first wagon shop of Poor & Kirshner and near them a large general store of S. and J. Halley.

The founder of the brewery business was a well known Quaker named Davis Embree whose establishment was on the river at the foot of Race street and whose office was in the Columbian Inn. Here Embree dispensed his beer by the drink to his customers free of charge, taking many a fippennybit from the income of Mrs. Wil-

lis the landlady of the tavern. Embree lived well down to the second half of the 19th century.

Yernest was not the only fraud of the early days as the following circular indicates:

"King, the Prophet!
"King, the Wise Man!
"King, who never Dies!
"King, King, King!

"Humble ones, my mission calls me among you. The Great Book, on being opened, announces my coming. Your pains, sufferings and sorrows shall cease. Dr. King can look back through a vista of 3,000 years, and trace his descent from a continued line of great physicians. Wherever he has been, the blind have been restored to sight, the lame walked, the heart broken made happy. More than a million of people, afflicted with every ill that flesh is heir to, have applied to him for relief during the past ten years, and in every instance has a permanent cure been effected. Come, behold, see for yourselves, and watch the hand of Fate, as it points you out the course to follow.

"Dr. King cannot attend to any calls after sundown, as he is then engaged until the morning dawn in consulting the stars and planets as to the proper treatment of his patients on the following day.

"TROPTHENIDEM KING."

"Room No. 6, Columbian Inn."

This prophet was so successful that at last he was so indiscreet as to issue a challenge to physicians to meet him in a joint discussion. This was too much of an opportunity for Dr. Drake, then a young and combative practitioner. He accepted the challenge and as a result of an announcement in the paper a large crowd was present to see the fun. In those days as at present the humbug had his followers and the result of the contest was by no means certain. King opened up with a speech in some absurd gibberish at the end of which he was interrogated by Drake as to its meaning. King triumphantly announced that that was the language of the natives of Farther India. Thereupon Drake brought in an extraordinarily dressed personage whom he announced as Fredora a native of Farther India, who would act as interpreter. Fredora who had been dressed to represent an Icelander, Indian, Hottentot or any other outlandish personage began to grumble, growl and roar at the unfortunate King. It was a case of Indian against Indian, Greek against Greek, dog eat dog, and King was obliged to retire discomfited. He finally confessed that he had worked for years in a Philadelphia woolen mill but concluded that it was easier to live by his wits. He was allowed to leave town without ceremony. (Reminiscences of "Old Man.")

In 1815 two young men started a book store under the name of Coleman & Phillips on Main street near Front, which under various names has survived to our own time. After many years business the senior member retired and Mr. Phillips continued, afterwards carrying on the bookbinding business at the northwest corner of Fourth and Main. Here in the "thirties" he took in his employ a young man who afterwards became the mayor of the city, Charles F. Wilstach. Subsequently William H. Moore, David A. Anderson, and Samuel B. Keyes became associated with Wilstach, the survivor of William Phillips, under the firm name of Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keyes at No. 153 Main and No. 28 West Fourth street. Later this firm became known as Moore, Wilstach, Keyes & Company of which William Overand was a member. This house was located at No. 25 West Fourth street just west of Main. Keyes afterwards retired and the firm became Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin. At a later time under the name of Wilstach, Baldwin & Company the house was located on the west side of Race street near Fourth.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—II.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

THE FIRST CHARTER—THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL—DAVID ZIEGLER AND HIS SUCCESSORS—THE CHARTER OF 1815—WILLIAM CORRY, THE FIRST AND ONLY MAYOR OF THE TOWN—THE MEETING PLACES OF THE COUNCIL—THE SELECT COUNCIL (1802 TO 1815)—THE TOWN COUNCIL (1815 TO 1819)—SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICIAL ACTS—THE COURTS AND THE LAWYERS—THE POST OFFICE—THE WATER SUPPLY—FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION.

THE FIRST CHARTER.

The act to incorporate the town of Cincinnati was passed at the first session of the second General Assembly held at Chillicothe and approved by Governor St. Clair on January 1, 1802. It is Chapter 34 of the third volume of the laws as published at Chillicothe by N. Willis, printer to the Legislature.

It provides in section one "that such parts of the township of Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, as are contained in the following limits and boundaries, that is to say, beginning on the Ohio River, at the Southeast corner of the fractional section No. 12; thence running North to the Northeast corner of the said fractional section; thence West with the township line to Mill creek; thence down Mill creek, with the meanders thereof to its mouth; thence up the Ohio River, with the meanders thereof, to the place of beginning; shall be, and the same are hereby erected into a town corporate, which shall henceforth be known and distinguished by the name of 'The Town of Cincinnati.'"

Section two provides that the officers are to be a "president, recorder, seven trustees, an assessor, a collector and a town marshal, who shall be appointed and sworn, * * * which president, recorder, and trustees shall be one body corporate and politic with perpetual succession to be known and distinguished by the name of 'The president, recorder and trustees of the Town of Cincinnati.'"

Section three provides for the powers of said officers and for a seal.

Section four provides "that all the inhabitants of the said town, who are freeholders, or householders paying an annual rent of thirty-six dollars, shall and may assemble at such place within the said town, as the president, recorder and any four of the trustees shall appoint, on the first Monday of April, yearly and every year, and then and there, by a plurality of suffrages, to elect a president, recorder and seven trustees, an assessor, a collector and a town marshal, to hold their respective offices during one year and from thence until their successor shall be elected and sworn," etc.

Section five provides that the president, recorder and trustees shall be called "The Select Council of the Town of Cincinnati" and gives said Council the power to make and publish laws, appoint a treasurer, administer oaths, impose fines and makes it the Council's duty to adopt regulations for securing the town against injuries from fire, to keep the streets, lanes and

alleys open and in repair, to regulate markets and prevent animals from running at large, etc.

Section six provides that the freeholders and householders shall at their annual meeting vote such sums of money as they think proper to be raised for the town for the ensuing year which shall be assessed by the assessor on such objects of taxation in the said town as shall be yearly subject to taxation for county purposes and on such other objects as the said meeting shall direct, provided that no poll-tax be imposed by the said corporation on persons not entitled to vote.

Section seven gives the Council power to fill vacancies, appoint subordinate officers, impose fines for refusal to accept office, and the like. The Council is given the exclusive right to license taverns, ale houses and public houses of entertainment.

Section eight provides that persons feeling aggrieved by an officer or individual of the Council may appeal to the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

Section nine gives the use of the county jail to the corporation provided "that no person shall be imprisoned under the authority of the said corporation unless for the non-payment of taxes, fines or penalties assessed or imposed, and all persons so imprisoned shall be under the charge of the sheriff of the county."

Section ten appoints David Ziegler, president; Jacob Burnet, recorder; William Ramsey, David E. Wade, Charles Avery, John Reily, William Stanley, Samuel Dick and William Ruffin, trustees; Joseph Prince, assessor; Abraham Carey, collector and James Smith, town marshal, to hold their offices until the election provided for. The act was signed by Edward Tiffin, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Robert Oliver, President of the Legislative Council, and approved by Arthur St. Clair, Governor.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL.

The presidents from this time until 1815 when a change was made in the charter were as follows:

David Ziegler	1802-03
Joseph Prince	1803-04
James Findlay	1805-06
John S. Gano, Martin Baum	1807
Daniel Symmes	1808-09
James Findlay	1810-11
Martin Baum	1812
William Stanley	1813
Samuel W. Davies	1814

In the issue of the *Spy* of Saturday, April 10, 1802, we learn about the election held for corporation officers on the preceding Monday. David Ziegler was elected president and Aaron Goforth, recorder in the place of Jacob Burnet who had been selected by the Legislature. There were also other changes. The trustees elected by the people were Thomas McFarland, George Fithian, David Grummon, Samuel Stitt, Andrew Parks, Isaac Anderson and William McFarland. Joseph Prince was elected as assessor, Abraham Carey, collector, and William Ruffin, general marshal.

DAVID ZIEGLER AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

David Ziegler, the first president, a position corresponding in many parts to that of mayor, has been frequently referred to in the text. David Ziegler was born at Heidelberg, Germany, in 1748, and in his early life served under Frederick the Great. At a later time he served in the Russian Army during the reign of Catherine the Second in the campaign against the Turks. He came to America in 1775 and immediately entered the Revolutionary Army and was commissioned 3rd lieutenant in Captain Ross' Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. One of his first duties was to escort powder to Washington's army at Cambridge. A little later he became 1st lieutenant and adjutant. His regiment was the second in the State to enlist for the war against Great Britain. In 1776 he was made 1st lieutenant and afterwards captain of a company of the First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry and remained senior captain of this regiment until the end of the war. He served with distinction on Long Island, at Brandywine, Monmouth and Bergen Point. He was also inspector of the Pennsylvania brigade. He served in the Carolinas in 1783 and returned in the end to Philadelphia by water. When the war was over, he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He accompanied General Harmar on his expedition to the West and was also for a time with General Lincoln. In 1791 he became a major. Throughout the Indian wars he saw much hard service and stood very high. His company was regarded as the best drilled one in the service. In the spring of 1789 he married Lucy Sheffield, the youngest daughter of Benjamin Sheffield of Marietta. Ensign Denny acted as the best man at this wedding. He afterwards was in charge of Fort Washington for a time but in 1792 resigned, settled in Cincinnati and began the business of a storekeeper which he carried on with great success. In 1804 he was the first, appointed by President Jefferson, marshal of

the Ohio district, the first after Ohio had achieved statehood, and from 1809 to 1811 he was surveyor of the port of Cincinnati. He died in 1811 at the age of 63 years, and was buried with military honors.

His residence at the time of his election to the presidency of the Council was just east of Griffin Yeatman's tavern. "His was a stately and commanding presence, especially when he chose to array himself, literally, in the purple and fine linen of his elaborate wardrobe. His was an erect, military bearing, with broad shoulders, full round face, smooth shaven (of course, at the hands of John Arthurs, the first barber and hair-dresser of the settlement and military post) with large, regular features; in all a fine, open countenance, that challenged inspection and invited confidence. He had ceased to wear his hair 'en queue' although the fashion was still quite in vogue, but used powder plentifully on his full natural hair, which was rolled back from forehead and temples, and fell behind upon the high collar of a plum-colored velvet coat, upon the left lapel of which glittered the great gold badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. Lace ruffles to his shirt, lace falls to his sleeves, a long buff waistcoat, close-fitting knee breeches or smalls, silk stockings, highly polished shoes with silver buckles, and silver buttons on garments and at knees, made up his gala costume as a civilian. Such was the appearance, in his fifty-fourth year, of David Ziegler, the first President of Cincinnati's first Council." (Henderson's Council, p. 9.)

In the early days very few records were kept and it is now almost impossible to obtain accurate information as to the official acts of the authorities during Cincinnati's life as a town. We know that Mayor Ziegler was regarded as a very satisfactory officer. In 1803 he gave way to Joseph Prince who had been the assessor during the first two years of the town life. Prince as well as Ziegler had won for himself high honor as a soldier and he was by nature of the temperament that gains the affection of the public. As was common in those days, he was of a convivial temperament and many were the tales told of the scenes in his court at a time when the lofty dignity of the presiding officer was mellowed by the softening influence of applejack. He was one of those men, of whom there are many in every community, about whom and whose exploits tales are told for years after they pass from the scenes of this earth. Two terms were enough for President Prince. At their conclusion in 1805, one of the most distinguished of the early citizens, James Findlay, was elected to succeed him. He was one of the most prominent of the early citizens. He organized and for a long time was a general of the militia, was register of the United States Land Office and preeminent in every public matter. He served for two years as president, at the end of which time he was obliged to decline further service on account of the press of other business. He was succeeded by another very distinguished citizen, Martin Baum. John S. Gano acted as president and Martin Baum clerk for a short time in the early part of 1807. Martin Baum was born at Hagenau in Germany in 1761. He came West towards the end of the 18th century with the sutlers' trains for Wayne's army as a surveyor, and at once became one of its leading citizens, settling in Cincinnati in 1795. He organized its first bank and acted as president for many years. When the business and commercial developments of the first decade of the city are spoken of and are examined closely, it will be found that in a large measure they are simply the history of Martin Baum's business life. He organized the first sugar refinery, the first iron foundry, the first woolen factory, the first steam flouring mill, laid out the first vineyard, the first ornamental garden, assisted in the founding of the Lancaster School, the first Public Library in 1802, the Western Museum, the Literary Society of 1818, the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in the West in 1819 and the Apollonian Society in 1823. He did much to encourage the immigration of his fellow citizens and in that way laid the foundation for the great German population of Cincinnati. He married, in 1804, Ann Wallace, Judge Burnet's sister-in-law, and built for himself a brick residence on the northwest corner of Front and Sycamore streets, back of his store a weather-boarded log house at the corner. His later residence, which unfortunately he was unable to occupy but a short time owing to financial difficulties, still stands on Pike street, one of the handsomest as it is one of the oldest buildings in the city. It has been in turn the Longworth, Suire, Sinton and Taft residence. Baum died in 1831.

Daniel Symmes, a nephew of John Cleves Symmes, succeeded Martin Baum as president in 1808. He was also a prominent man in the early life of the community "a ripe scholar, a profound thinker, a true patriot, an honest man and officer."

He graduated at Princeton, was clerk of the territorial court, State Senator, judge of the Su-

preme Court and register of the Land Office. He was a very prominent citizen until his death in 1817.

General Findlay in 1810 once more became president and served for two terms, to be succeeded again in 1812 by Martin Baum. In 1813 William Stanley, also an old Revolutionary soldier, was elected president. In 1814 he was succeeded by Samuel W. Davies, the last of the presidents of the town of Cincinnati. By virtue of the act of 1815 the head of the government was the mayor selected by the trustees from their own body. The first mayor and president of the town of Cincinnati was William Corry, selected by the Town Council, at that time holding their meetings at the tavern of Samuel McHenry. Mr. Corry was the only person to hold the office of mayor and president. During his term which lasted four years the trustees held many of their meetings at the old Town House on the landing and after 1817 at a hall on Fourth street between Main and Walnut.

THE CHARTER OF 1815.

The act of January 1, 1802, was repealed by an act of January 10, 1815 (13 O. L. L. 60). By this act, which reincorporated the territory covered by the first act, the officers of the town were a mayor, recorder and trustees. The town was divided into four wards by straight lines crossing each other at right angles. Until the boundaries of the wards should be altered by Council, these lines were to be along Third street and Main street and that portion north of Third and east of Main was to go to the First Ward, west of Main to the Second, south of Third and east of Main to the Third and west of Main to the Fourth. The electors were required to be white male inhabitants, freeholders or householders, who had resided therein one year. They were directed to meet on the first Monday of April of every year to elect trustees for each ward which should be three in number until otherwise ordered by the Council. These trustees were directed to select from their number a mayor, recorder, clerk and treasurer no two of whom should be selected from the same ward. These officers were to serve for two years. The remaining two trustees of each ward were directed to decide by lot as to which should serve for one year and which for two and thereafter all trustees should serve for the term of two years. The Council was empowered to appoint a marshal, assessor, collector, town surveyor, clerks of the market and such officers as might be necessary. Other provisions gave the Council, which was constituted of the mayor, recorder and trustees, the right to hold real estate not to exceed five thousand dollars per annum in value. In addition to the rights given by the former act they were empowered to establish a night watch for the purpose of securing the town against fire, to purchase fire engines and to establish fire companies and also to appoint supervisors of the highway, to regulate the assize of bread and to establish wharves, but they were restricted from establishing any by-laws subjecting cattle, sheep or hogs not belonging to the inhabitants of the town to abuse or to be sold coming into the bounds of the corporation. The Council was also given power to levy taxes on dogs and hogs and on realty not to exceed one-half of one per cent of the value thereof unless the legal voters should in a general meeting authorize a greater tax. The Council was also given power to license taverns, porter houses, ale houses and houses of public entertainment, and puppet shows and to impose fines upon persons refusing to accept offices. The mayor was given the powers of a justice of the peace. Appeals could be taken from his decision to the Court of Common Pleas. The recorder was required to keep a record of the laws and ordinances and in the absence of the mayor to exercise his functions. The town marshal was to be the ministerial officer of the corporation with the powers of a constable. Imprisonment for the violation of by-laws or ordinances was forbidden except for non-payment of assessment and then it could not be continued longer than 24 hours if the person imprisoned should take the pauper oath. This act by its terms took effect on April 1, 1815.

WILLIAM CORRY, THE FIRST AND ONLY MAYOR OF THE TOWN.

During the time that this act remained in force, William Corry served as mayor (1815 to 1819), to be succeeded when the town became a city by act of February 5, 1819, by Isaac G. Burnet, who served until the new charter of 1827. This explains a common confusion of ideas as to the first mayor of Cincinnati. David Ziegler was the first president of the town, William Corry the first mayor of the town, and Isaac G. Burnet the first mayor of the city. Other officers of the town whose names have been preserved are as follows: Recorders.—Jacob Burnet, 1802, 1812; Charles Kilgour, 1803; Aaron Goforth, 1805-07; James Andrews, 1810-11;

Samuel W. Davies, 1813; Griffin Yeatman, 1814; Oliver M. Spencer, 1815-16; Martin Baum, 1817-18; John W. Armstrong, 1818. Treasurers,—Jacob Williams, 1813; Davis Embree, 1814; David Kilgour, 1815-16; Jacob Wheeler, 1817-18. Marshals,—James Smith, 1802; Andrew Brannon, 1813; James Chambers, 1814-18. Clerks of Council,—John Reily, 1802; Matthew Nimmo, 1804; Griffin Yeatman, 1805-06; John Mahard, 1807; William McFarland and Daniel Drake, 1813; William Corry, 1814; William Ruffin, 1815; George P. Torrence, 1816; and Jesse Embree, 1817-18.

William Corry was born in Virginia of Irish parentage in 1779. His father was killed at the battle of King's Mountain in 1781. William was educated in the schools of the neighborhood and worked upon his mother's farm until his 20th year. In 1798 he was invited by William McMillan, a relative, to come to Cincinnati and accordingly entered the latter's home as a member of his family. Mr. Corry studied law in McMillan's office and was admitted to the bar in 1803. After McMillan's death in 1804, Corry associated himself with John Reily at Hamilton, where they inhabited the same log cabin. After Reily had been appointed clerk of the courts, Corry practiced alone until his marriage in 1810. Under the provisions of Mr. McMillan's will, he was one of the executors and in order to more effectually administer the trust which involved the cultivation of the large farm where is now Avondale, Corry returned to Cincinnati in 1811. He settled with Ethan Stone on Main between Fifth and Sixth streets. Here in an old white frame double house were for many years the Cincinnati Library, of which he was librarian, and the offices of the trustees of the Cincinnati College and of the Medical College of Ohio. Subsequently, on Corry's election as mayor it became the official center of the municipality. During Mr. Corry's term he with the assistance of his marshal, James Chambers, ruled the town with a strong hand. We are told that "lawlessness abounded, weapons were indiscriminately carried and used on the slightest provocation; and bowie knives, the broad blades of which were riveted into iron or wooden handles, were carried about for ornament and for toothpicks. The mayor's office, to which issues were adjourned in the expectation of a peaceful and judicial settlement often became the scene of bloody riot. But this was only for a time. The determination of Mayor Corry, the coolness and daring of his able lieutenant, Marshal Chambers, the rigor of prison discipline had its effect upon the sanguinary disposed part of the community. Mayor Corry disposed of the many cases coming before him with deliberation, handing the prisoners under sentence over to the marshal who in turn delivered them to Jailer Cunningham who placed them on a bread and water diet in the public jail at Fifth and Market streets." (Encyclopedia of Ohio, p. 103.)

After the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Corry returned to the practice of the law where he met with success. By temperament he disliked the antagonisms both of the active practice and of politics although he subsequently was sent to the Legislature twice. He was a man of wide scholarship and of much literary taste. His health during the latter years of his life was poor and he died in 1833 at the age of 55.

THE MEETING PLACES OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council had no official abiding place of any permanency until April 19, 1815. From the date of the passage of the first ordinance, which, passed March 5, 1802, was an ordinance for preventing swine from running at large in certain places, until 1815, the meetings were held at inns or at private residences. Popular meeting places seem to have been the Columbian Inn, Yeatman's, McHenry's, Wingate's, and the Green Tree.

The controversy with relation to the ownership of the town common has already been referred to. By the decree in chancery entered by the Supreme Court at the November term, 1807, the use of the "Brick House" on the common or landing just south of the corner of Front and Main was reserved to Joel Williams until April, 1816. Mr. Henderson has pointed out that although in 1813 and 1814 meetings were held at the Columbian Inn, John Wingate's tavern and Stephen McFarland's tavern, at one dollar a night including fuel and candles, as early as April 4, 1814, the Council leased the "Brick House" to William C. Anderson for one year for $300. A year later Jonathan Pancoast and Francis Carr were appointed on a committee to examine and subsequently to repair the upper room in the Town House for use of a council chamber and on April 14, 1815, the first meeting of the Council was held in that room. Various entries in the minutes at later dates refer to the plastering of the council chamber, the building of a stairway on the exterior of the building and the purchase of andirons, etc., for the council house. It seems therefore that, except for short

intervals while repairs were being made, the legislative part of the city government occupied the Town House on the Public Landing until it was ordered torn down in 1824 at which time it was sold at public auction to Peter Britt for $62. The council chamber was then removed to Francis Carr's brick building at the northwest corner of Third and Hammond streets. (Henderson's Cincinnati City Hall, pp. 5 and 6.)

According to the "Cincinnati Almanac" for 1839, the Council met during the years 1813 and 1814 at the Columbian Inn, and during the next year and until April 14, 1817, at which time the Town House was occupied, at McHenry's.

THE SELECT COUNCIL (1802 TO 1815).

The records of the Select Council are complete from the first meeting on March 5, 1802. There were recorded as present on this day: The recorder, Jacob Burnet; the trustees,—William Ramsey, David E. Wade, Charles Avery, John Reily, William Stanley, Samuel Dick and William Ruffin; as well as the assessor, Joseph Prince; the collector, Abraham Carey, and the town marshal, James Smith. The president, David Ziegler (speller Zeigler in these records) was absent.

The first ordinance was an appropriate one for a city to be known for all time as "Porkopolis." It was "an ordinance for preventing swine from running at large in certain places," the places being any lane, street, alley or public common within the bounds of the in or town lots of the town or between the south front of the town and the river. This ordinance in the absence of the president was signed by Jacob Burnet, the recorder and John Reily, clerk.

The second ordinance passed at the same time required the removal by the inhabitants of all wood, timber and lumber and every other matter or thing that rendered or might render the passing and repassing of the said streets in any way dangerous or inconvenient.

The third ordinance passed on the same occasion provided for the first annual meeting of the inhabitants. According to this ordinance, the meeting was directed to be held at the Court House or place of holding the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace at five o'clock P. M. on the day appointed and provision was made for the office of moderator and clerk. After the selection of these officers, the inhabitants were directed to proceed to elect by ballot the officers of the corporation for the year ensuing, the first ballot to be for the president and recorder, the second for the trustees and the third for the marshal, assessor and collector. The duty of the moderator was to preserve order and with the assistance of the clerk to count the ballots and to make known the persons elected. The clerk's duty was to make a record and deliver a copy of it to the president elect, signed by the moderator within five days of the election. All propositions before the town meeting were required to be reduced to writing and voting on these propositions was to be by the lifting up of hands, except in case of doubt when a division was directed. In accordance with this ordinance which was the last passed by the first Council, the election was held at the Court House and the following officers were elected: David Ziegler, president; Aaron Goforth, recorder; George Fithian, Thomas McFarland, David Grummon, Samuel Stitt, Isaac Anderson, Andrew Park and William McFarland, trustees; and Joseph Prince, assessor; Abraham Carey, collector and William Ruffin, town marshal.

The first ordinance of the newly selected Council was one regulating the duties of the various town officers. This was signed by President Ziegler and attested by William McFarland, clerk. Another ordinance passed immediately thereafter provided for the seal of the corporation as described elsewhere. On the same evening was passed the ordinance for preventing accidents that might happen by fire by which all householders and freeholders paying an annual rent of $36 were directed to provide themselves with black-jack leather buckets and all male inhabitants were required to render assistance upon an alarm of fire. The black-jack leather bucket was so minutely defined as to leave very little option to the householder. It must contain two and one-half gallons of water; have a rope handle covered with leather and be a third wider at the top than at the bottom and 14 inches in length and must have the initials of the owner painted on the side.

Another ordinance passed on the same evening provided for a town meeting to be held at the Court House on July 31, 1802, at two P. M. for the purpose of voting funds necessary to the use of the town; at such meeting the president was to preside to preserve order. All propositions were required to be in writing and the voting was to be by the lifting up of the right hand except where a division was called for. The procedure apparently was very much like that of the New England town meeting. Two days later by a resolution the public were informed

of this meeting which was to be at the house of Charles Avery and were also informed that the Select Council would meet at the house of George Fithian on the first Monday of every month at three o'clock P. M. The result of this town meeting appears in an ordinance passed September 8, 1802, which recites the voting by the inhabitants of the sum of $118 and provides for its collection.

Among the earliest ordinances of the Council was that of July 17, 1802, fixing upon an appropriate design for a seal as follows: "Cincinnatus, with the word engraved above his head in a circular manner; a plow, sheaf of wheat, beehive, and rising sun, with an inscription around the edge and near the extremity thereof in these words, to-wit: 'Corporation of the Town of Cincinnati' and with the Roman numerals MDCCCII."

The first paving ordinance was passed January 8, 1803, which permitted lot owners to pave the street in front of their property with brick or flat stones to a width not to exceed nine feet and forbade the extension of cellar doors in the street more than five feet. Lot owners were also authorized to erect posts and to plant Lombardy poplar and black locust trees in front of their lots.

An ordinance establishing a night watch for the more effectual prevention of fires concluded the proceedings of the first elected Council. It was passed March 29, 1803, and was the last ordinance signed by David Ziegler as president. It provided for a roll of all the citizens of 21 years of age and the division of the citizens into classes of 12 men each who should serve as watchmen in rotation, meeting at the watch house at eight o'clock in the evening. The watchmen were directed to choose an officer for the night who should divide its forces into two divisions of six men each, which divisions should in turn guard the town by walking to and fro through the streets in a quiet peaceable manner and take in custody the wrong doers. As said elsewhere, the houses of Hugh McCullum and David J. Poor were selected as the watch houses to be used on alternate nights.

The first ordinance, to which the name of the second president, Joseph Prince, was fixed, passed June 18, 1803, once more attempted to regulate the swine of the town. John Reily signed this ordinance as clerk.

An ordinance passed March 22, 1804, "for the better security and peace of the town of Cincinnati" recited the frequent riots, quarrels and disturbances which had arisen in consequence of the free toleration of slaves from Kentucky to pass and repass the river Ohio and spend the Sabbath and nights in the town of Cincinnati and forbid slaves unaccompanied by their masters from coming within the limits of the town at "any time between the setting of the sun and daybreak next morning or at any time during the Sabbath," and at other times without a written license. The penalty for the first offense was imprisonment in the "County Jaol" until the master should have paid the expenses and for a second and each subsequent offense, the pillory. To carry this ordinance into effect, two constables were provided for.

The colored population seemed to be a source of constant annoyance and the first ordinance passed by Daniel Symmes as president and James Ewing, clerk, referred to them. It recited that many black and mulatto persons of idle lives and vicious habits were ordered to the town under pretext that they were free and thus imposed upon the public to the great damage of the town and society in general and the injury of their masters in particular and required that all non-resident black or mulatto persons should have credentials in the shape of a written pass from their master or a certificate of freedom.

A resolution passed by the president, recorder and trustees of the corporation of Cincinnati on October 22, 1804, was to the effect "that the corporation petitioned for the fee of the thirteen acres now occupyed by the Garrison and other Publick buildings; and should Congress concieve this incompatable with their former donations of Lands that the ground lying North of a Street running from the Stone House of Daniel Symms to be granted in trust to the Corporation for the purpose of Erecting an Academy and that the Land lying South of the 3d Street to be granted to Jeremiah Hunt & Ethan Stone and the money proceeding from the valuation thereof be given to the corporation for the effecting the aforesaid purpose. Provided that the sd Hunt & Stone open sufficient Street from Vattiers to Ruffins and another Street from the Stone landing or thereabouts runing Northerly and that both Streets be four poles wide. And provided also that should the corporation obtain the fee for the whole of the thirteen acres they shall grant a Deed to the sd Hunt & Stone for such part thereof as lies South of said Street leading to Symms's and their paying to the Corporation the value thereof to be ascertained by three disinterested Persons mutually chosen.

"Passed by the Select Council date above Written.

"JOSEPH PRINCE, *President*"

"Attest:

"MATTHEW NIMMO, *Clk.*"

A provision for the market was made by ordinance of November 3, 1804, by which the market was directed to be held at the market house on every Wednesday and Saturday between six and ten A. M. from April 1st, to October 1st, between eight and twelve from October 1st, to April 1st; during these hours no meat, butter, eggs or vegetables could be sold out of the market house. The clerk of the market was directed to weigh and measure articles exposed for sale, to judge whether they were marketable or not and if not marketable to send them to the prisoners in the county jail! Stalls in the market were disposed of to the highest bidder for terms of six months.

The reappearance of smallpox in the year 1804 created great alarm and was the occasion for two ordinances, one of December 10th and another of December 28th of that year. The first recites the appearance of the disease and the danger of its spreading and the expression of a desire by the citizens in general meeting to prevent its further progress as well as the fact that "numberless experiments have proved that the vaccine inoculation which may in a short time be procured is a sure preventative of that fatal distemper" and therefore provides penalties for the smallpox, for in any way designedly communicating infection, for receiving the infection by inoculation or exposed persons entering a house or company where were present persons who had not had the disease. A red flag was required to be exposed at infected houses.

A second ordinance recites that the vaccine matter had not yet been procured and as there was but little probability of getting it in time to prevent the spreading of disease the first ordinance was repealed.

At the election held in 1805 the following officers were selected: James Findlay, president; Aaron Goforth, recorder; Ethan Stone, Nathaniel Reeder, Thomas Williams, Samuel Stitt, Griffin Yeatman, Nehemiah Hunt and John Stall, trustees; John Mahard, assessor, Alexander King, marshal, and Thomas King, collector.

The first ordinance passed by the new Select Council directed that the house erected between Main and Sycamore be the market house and made provisions regulating the market. The ordinance especially provided for punishment for the enhancing the price or dearer selling of articles consigned to the market.

The first building regulation was by an ordinance passed November 4, 1805, requiring chimneys to be built of stone or brick laid in lime mortar and to extend at least a foot and a half above the ridge of the building. On the same day an ordinance was passed so modifying the market regulations as to permit the following articles in amounts exceeding the sum of a dollar to be purchased outside the market house: Flour, corn meal, beef and pork and vegetables of all kinds.

By ordinance of January 5, 1807, which was signed by John S. Gano as president and Martin Baum as clerk, certain streets were required to be improved by foot ways and good and pleasant walks raised to the proper height, kept clean and dry and nine feet in width. The material described was gravel or bricks or stones. The streets covered by this ordinance were Main street between Front and Sixth, Sycamore between Front and Fourth, Front between Beech (Race) and Eastern row, Second between Main and Eastern row and Fourth between Main and Sycamore. Provision was also made for the erection of posts and planting of trees.

An ordinance of November 14, 1806, levied a tax of $10 on "any theatrical performance of any kind or description, Puppet Shew, Tumbling, Rosp or Wire Dancing, Ballancing or deception or representation of any kind whatever either real or fictitious for which compensation is demanded."

As early as March 5, 1807, it became necessary to provide by ordinance that owners of fowls should keep them within their respective bounds.

The first ordinance signed by Martin Baum as president and at the same time by John Mahard, clerk, created the office of town surveyor for the purpose of surveying the streets, lanes, rows and alleys of the town and of pointing out the limits of building fences. This was passed April 21, 1807.

The first gambling ordinance, passed May 1, 1807, has the curious title "An Ordinance which will put Innkeepers on their Guard." It recites that some of the innkeepers had been transgressing good order and government by suffering wrong persons, minors, apprentices and servants to carry on gambling in their dwellings and by furnishing spirituous liquors to an unreasonable excess and harboring them at unreasonable hours which was regarded as "certainly very pernicious

to the morals of our citizens, youths and servants." The ordinance forbade gambling within the dwellings of innkeepers or the furnishing of an unreasonable quantity of liquors as well as other kindred offenses. No indication is given as to the quantity regarded as reasonable.

Street commissioners were provided for by ordinance of March 9, 1809.

The first ordinance signed by James Findlay, as president for the third time, and Ethan Stone as clerk was naturally one to regulate the hogs, pigs and swine running at large. This was under date of April 4, 1810.

An ordinance that created considerable excitement and opposition was that of July 11, 1811, which declared that pools of stagnant water at and around different brick-yards in the lower and western part of the town and the pond of water east of Broadway and south of Congress street were nuisances and required that they should be filled up. On November 21, 1811, was passed an ordinance changing the name of the main cross street which ran nearly east and west and passed by the Methodist meeting house, the Court House and new market house in a direction to the mouth of Mill creek from Fifth to Market street. This was of course repealed by the ordinance, referred to in a previous chapter, prepared by Nicholas Longworth and Daniel Drake of February 12, 1814, which determined the names of the streets and alleys of the town. A day later the new market house on Fifth street was established as a public market house, making it necessary to provide by ordinance for the two market houses.

The minutes of the Select Council and Town Council from the time of the election of William Stanley to the presidency in April, 1813, to the end of the life of the town in 1819 are preserved in an old volume in a vault of the city clerk's office. The first meeting of the Select Council whose proceedings are recorded in this volume, that of April 13, 1813, at the Columbian Inn, was attended by William Stanley, president; Samuel W. Davies, recorder; and Robert Richardson, Nicholas Longworth, Jacob Williams, John Mears, Jacob Burnet, Daniel Drake, George P. Torrence, trustees, and Andrew Brannon, marshal and collector. At the first meeting it was resolved that the owners of the different ponds, which were required to be filled up by the ordinance referred to above, be cited to appear before the Council at the next meeting. Another resolution was to the effect that the above members of the Council should consider it their duty to notice all violations of the ordinance and to give information thereof. Daniel Drake acted as clerk. At the following meeting on April 20th, the moderator and clerk of the annual town meeting on April 5, 1813, reported to the Council a resolution empowering that body to lay a tax for the purchase of a fire engine. This had been presided over by Abraham Ferris, moderator and James Kemper, clerk. The delinquent owners of brick-yards were cited before the Council and many admitted that they had neglected to comply with the ordinance but promised to do so at once but others, including John Wilson, William Pierson, Samuel Littell, Nicholas Longworth (himself a member of the Council), Elmore Williams and Ephraim Carter admitted the violation but were fined because they declined to comply with the law. The matter was passed to the next meeting. At the same meeting Jacob Burnet, Samuel W. Davies and Nicholas Longworth were appointed a committee to revise the ordinance of the corporation. The matter of brick pits seems to have been a serious one for at the meeting of May 1, 1813, an ordinance supplementary to the existing one and prepared by Davies and Drake was passed. The brick-makers' case was postponed.

At the session of May 8, 1813, authority was given to the committee on revision of the ordinances to employ Joseph Carpenter & Company to print 300 copies of an octavo edition of the ordinances of the corporation. Nicholas Longworth from the committee of revision reported certain agreed cases between the brick-yard delinquents and the Council which cases were to be submitted to the ensuing Supreme Court.

An important ordinance was passed at the suggestion of Dr. Drake on May 10, 1813. It provided that every practitioner of physic or surgery who should attend in a professional capacity during the last illness of any person dying within the town should leave in the house where the dissolution took place a written memorandum stating the name of the disease which occasioned the dissolution, the date of its occurrence and the age and sex of the deceased. The master of the house was required to make a return of this memorandum to the president of the Select Council and in default of receiving one from the physician to report the same. Provision was made for a record of these "Bills of Mortality."

This ordinance apparently was not complied with for on September 25th, the marshal was directed to summon Drs. Robert Allison, John Selman, John Douglass, Samuel Ramsay, Will-

iam T. Crissey, Christopher Anthony and John Cranmer for failure to comply with the ordinance. Drs. Anthony, Allison, Selman, Ramsay, Douglass and Crissey all appeared at the next meeting on October 2nd and made their peace with the trustees.

The ordinance of September 25, 1813, provided for public wells. The constant recurrence of the ordinance for the purpose of licensing theatrical performances indicates that there must have been a number of these at the time. The ordinance with relation to the streets passed February 12, 1814, is quoted elsewhere.

At a meeting of the Select Council on December 13, 1814, a motion was made to appoint a committee to draft a bill for the purchase of a fire engine but this was negatived and further consideration of the matter was postponed to the next meeting. At this meeting a committee of two, Nicholas Longworth and Daniel Drake, were appointed to draft an ordinance laying a tax for the purchase of a fire engine conformable to the resolution of the annual town meeting.

An ordinance of February 12, 1814, preventing disorderly conduct on Sunday, recited that much inconvenience had arisen to religious societies and the citizens in general from noisy, riotous and profane and disorderly conduct on the Lord's Day and frequent assembling of servants and others at taverns, shops and boats.

From the record in the minutes the following list of tavern keepers to whom licenses were granted during the year 1813 and 1814 is taken: James Crosson, Ebenezer Pruden, William Harlow, Nathaniel Edson, David J. Foor, Frederick Facorn, Joel Williams, Rufus Green, Samuel McHenry, Thomas Wingate, Andrew Burt, Stephen McFarland Patrick Dicky and Robert Hewes.

At the meeting of April 11, 1814, the newly elected officers were present. They were: Samuel W. Davies, president; Griffin Yeatman, recorder; William Irwin, Jacob Burnet, Samuel Stitt, John S. Wallace, Davis Embree, Jacob Wheeler and William Corry, trustees. Mr. Corry was appointed clerk. This meeting was at the Columbian Inn, but subsequent meetings were ordered to be held at the house of John Wingate.

On November 28, 1814, President Samuel W. Davies announced that he had licensed David R. Campbell & Company to exhibit balancing and rope dancing for two nights. A little later on January 4, 1815, Samuel Cogswell was licensed to exhibit living animals for seven days and Messrs. Lewis and Ives authorized to exhibit wax figures for the space of three weeks.

The last ordinance of the Select Council, passed February 23, 1815, was to regulate public celebrations which had become a source of danger to the thickly settled little community, especially at a time when celebrations of victories and, finally, peace were numerous.

Mr. L'Hommedieu thus described these celebrations:

"The news of the battle of the 8th of January, 1815, at New Orleans fought and won by Old Hickory reached our village, and what a glorification our people had! Some now present will remember the illumination, the grand procession that moved down Main street with a bull manacled and appropriately decorated.

"Another month or more brought news of peace, made before the great battle of the 8th was fought; and then another grand illumination of our village. What a joyous time we boys had! How we equipped ourselves with paper soldier-caps, with red belts and wooden swords, and marched under command of our brave captain as far as Western row, now Central avenue, where we reached the woods, and, for fear of Indians, returned to our mammas, reporting on the return march to old Major-General Gano, who, after putting us through a drill, gave each boy a fip to purchase gingerbread, baked by a venerable member, formerly president of this association." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 13.)

On February 24, 1815, after the consideration and passing of the ordinance regulating illumination, which appears among the ordinances as of date February 23, 1815, occurs the following entry: "Whereas information hath been received that preliminaries of Peace had been agreed upon between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Great Britain, therefore resolved by the Select Council of the town of Cincinnati that in commemoration of that joyous event a general illumination of the town be recommended to the citizens on Saturday evening the 26th instant; lights to be extinguished at ten o'clock and that the president be authorized to cause the same to be proclaimed according to the ordinance in such case made and provided." The ordinance forbade illumination except by authority of the Select Council after notice by the town marshal.

On March 1, 1815, Thomas Carr made application to the Select Council for use of the fire engine on behalf of an organized fire company of which he was captain. His application was

granted. Nathan Oliver and others asked that Water street be opened to Western row and Western row from Front street to the river, which petition was granted. At the same meeting the polling places for the first election to take place under the new charter were selected as follows: In the First Ward at the house of Samuel McHenry; in the Second Ward at the Court House; in the Third Ward at the house of John Wingate; in the Fourth Ward at the house of Nathaniel Edson. This being the last meeting of the Select Council, it adjourned *sine die*.

THE TOWN COUNCIL (1815 TO 1819).

The members of the first Town Council, provided for by the act of 1815, were: O. M. Spencer, Samuel W. Davies and Jonathan Pancoast; John Shaw, Jacob Burnet and William Corry; Francis Carr, Nicholas Longworth and William Ruffin; and Christopher Walker, Joseph Warner and David Kilgour, from the First, Second, Third and Fourth wards respectively. (*Liberty Hall*, April 8, 1815.) Other members during the town's life were James W. Gazlay, Charles Marsh, Martin Baum, William Corry, Richard Fosdick, J. H. Piatt, Richard Wheeler, John Williamson, Jesse Embree, Oliver Lovell, Jacob Wheeler, William Greene and George Libbey. (Henderson's History of Council, p. 20.)

The first meeting of the Town Council was held at the tavern of Samuel McHenry on April 6, 1816. There were present: William Corry, Jonathan Pancoast, Oliver M. Spencer, Joseph Warner, Christopher Walker, David Kilgour, Samuel W. Davies, Nicholas Longworth, John Shaw, William Ruffin, Francis Carr and Jacob Burnet. The trustees proceeded to the election of a moderator for the evening and Jacob Burnet was selected for that place and Nicholas Longworth as secretary. The trustees thereupon proceeded to the election by ballot of mayor, recorder, clerk and treasurer to which offices, respectively, William Corry, Oliver M. Spencer, William Ruffin and David Kilgour were elected.

The seal of the Council was readopted until another should be provided and Oliver M. Spencer, Jacob Burnet and Joseph Warren were appointed a committee to select a new one. A committee was appointed to examine the upper room of the Town House and to report as to its state and whether it would answer for a council chamber. Jonathan Pancoast and Francis Carr constituted this committee. Another committee was appointed to consider the throwing up of a levee in the western end of the town to keep out the water.

At the meeting on April 10, 1815, the Thespian Corps asked to be exempted from paying a tax for their performance. The Town House committee reported that a small expense would render the chamber useful for the Council and it was ordered repaired. Upon the report of Mr. Burnet of the committee on the city seal, the old seal with an alteration from 1802 to 1815 was adopted.

The first ordinance of the Town Council, passed April 14th, referred to the common and forbade the erecting of any structure on the common or digging thereon.

The matter of grading Main street formed a subject of discussion at several meetings in the early part of 1815. The first ordinance signed by a mayor, William Corry, of date June 15, 1815, related to the licensing of wagons, carts and drays. The last ordinance of the Town Council was passed February 27, 1819, and provided for punishment for offenses against the watch.

SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICIAL ACTS.

While on the subject of the civil government of the town, it may not be inappropriate to make some extracts from a very valuable original record, none of which has heretofore appeared in print. While not directly connected with the town government, it throws light upon one branch of the administration of affairs at that time.

From the earliest time to 1853 when Infirmary directors chosen by the city took charge, the trustees of Cincinnati township cared for the poor, aided by two overseers of the poor elected by the citizens each year. In addition to the trustees named in the following extracts, the following served as trustees during 1802-19: Isaac Anderson, Joseph Carpenter, Edward Dodson, James Ferguson, James Gibson, Levi James, Thomas McFarland, John Riddle, Nathaniel Reeder, William Ramsey, Jeremiah Reeder, Stephen Wheeler, William Woodward and Jacob Wheeler. The township clerks were Levi Woodward, who served from 1792 to 1805; Samuel Patterson (1805-08), Thomas Henderson (1808), James Rollins (Thomas Rawlins) (1809-10), Christopher Smith (1811-12), David Wade (1813-14), Jeremiah Reeder (1815), Jacob Reeder (1816), and Micajah T. Williams (1817-21). The overseers of the poor were Hugh Bracken, Benjamin K. Cozier, Edward

Dodson, Jesse Embree, Isaac F. Earle, Elias Fisher, James Gibson, John Humes, Ezekiel Hall, Nehemiah Hunt, James Kirby, Herman Long, Solomon Langdon, Thomas McFarland, Robert Merrie, Joseph McMurray, Charles Marsh, Alex. McNutt, Jonathan Pancoast, Lewis Rees, Daniel Stagg, Elmore Williams, Jacob Williams, John Williamson and John Woods. (Annual Reports, Cincinnati, 1888, p. 368.)

There is in the possession of Judge Frederick W. Moore, for many years the judge of our Court of Common Pleas and afterwards the judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, a most interesting volume entitled "Record of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Township of Cincinnati," commencing with the year 1808. It appears from this book that the trustees at that time, elected at a meeting of the citizens held April 4, 1808, were Sam Forster, Sam Swing and John W. Miles. At the same time Oliver M. Spencer was elected treasurer and Dav. L. Carney, clerk.

Other officers were "Benj. Mason, Appraiser, Jac. Fowble, Lister; Ez. Hall and Tho. M'Farland, Overseers of the Poor; Jas. Chambers, Jac. Stuart, Jed. Ayres, Rob. Terry, And. Brannon, Constables; Dave J. Poer, Will. I. Cullum, Rob. Richardson, Joshua Williams, Will Woodward, Tho. Dugan and Sam Swing, Supervisors of Highways; Christ. Cary, Isaac Anderson and Clark Bates, Fence Viewers." The principal duties of the trustees according to the entries made in this record seem to have concerned the overseeing of the poor. Frequent allowances were made to various citizens for the support of the paupers of the township.

Police jurisdiction of the trustees is shown by the following entry: "June 17, 1808, the Trustees by their warrant ordered Nancy ——— to leave the town immediately * * * ordered the overseers to take charge of the child." In August the township clerk, Mr. Carney, "begged to resign his office which resignation was accepted by the Trustees who immediately appointed Thomas Henderson as his successor." Henderson was sworn in on September 7th before Justice Ewing. On September 17th, the accounts of Griffin Yeatman, the late treasurer, were examined and it was found that he stood indebted to the township for $3.01½, which he promptly paid over to his successor, Oliver M. Spencer. At a subsequent meeting an order was issued "for the removal of ——— Powers and his Family who are likely to become chargeable and have not obtained a legal settlement." Other entries of frequent occurrence relate to the allowance of small sums, "for digging a grave for a poor child" and "for making a coffin for a poor child." Although Mr. Powers and family had been ordered out of the township in October, on the 30th of January of the following year Maxfield Hargraves was allowed $5.95 "for butcher meat furnished * * * to Jno. Powers a Poor man." At a later meeting, relief was voted "for an Insane Poor Man, a Stranger lying at the house of Solomon Pelly." "Agreeable to notice received from the clerk of the court" the following list of jurors was selected by the trustees for the year 1809: Grand jurors: John Selman, Thomas Henderson, Elnathan Kemper, John O'Farrell, Samuel Patterson, Robert Merrie, Culbertson Park, William Ramsey, John Kidd, John Shally, William Betts and Clark Bates. Petit jurors: James C. Morris, Benjamin Mason, Edward H. Stall, Jonathan Pancoast, Nehemiah Hunt, Martin Baum, Francis Carr, Ichabod Spinning, Samuel Best, Ezekiel Hutchinson, Phil. Price, Charles Fox, John M. Piatt, Ad. Dunseth and Evan Price.

John Powers again receives assistance in March, 1809. At the election held April 3, 1809, there seems to have been a complete change in the trustees. Joseph VanHorn, Benjamin Mason and Adam Moore were elected the trustees. Oliver M. Spencer continued as treasurer and James Rollins was elected township clerk. The justices elected were: James Ewing, John Mahard, James Lyon, Enos Hurin and William T. Callom. Among the other familiar names that appeared are those of Andrew Brannon, James Kirby, William Woodward, Ethan Stone, F. Menessier, Isaac Bates, Peter Mills and Cornelius R. Sedam. At an election held January 29, 1810, Griffin Yeatman was duly elected justice of the peace. On April 9th he was sworn in as township clerk. The following day the new trustees were elected: Adam Moore, Nehemiah Hunt and William Woodward. John H. Armstrong became the township treasurer and Aaron Goforth, lister of property. Among the supervisors are Cornelius R. Sedam, Ethan Stone, Thomas Ashburn and John Whetstone. It is recorded on May 12, 1810, that a warrant was issued to Robert Blair, constable, as follows:

"To Robert Blair, constable of Cincinnati township, Greeting:

"You are hereby required and this is your warrant to go forthwith to the house of John Win-

ters in hill street, to command a certain woman there, who calls her name Susanna Morris to leave this township immediately, by reading this writ in her presence, or leaving a copy at said house, and fail not. Given under our hands in Cincinnati, the eleventh day of May, A. D. 1810,

"BENJ. K. COZIER.
"*Overseer of the Poor.*"

A similar order was given to John Tibbles, constable, three days later directing him "to go to the house of Henry Sights and command a certain woman there who calls her name Jane Brown to depart this town immediately." A little later Andrew Brannon, another constable, was directed "to command a certain blind negro man by the name of Sam to depart this township immediately." Joshua L. Wilson, so long a favorite in Cincinnati, was appointed treasurer of the township on July 5, 1810. On the 19th of the same month Nathaniel Reeder became a trustee. On August 3rd, Constable Blair was directed to "warn a certain woman by the name of Mary Hayward and her four children to depart this township immediately." John Powers seems to have been a burden upon the township for some time, for regularly each quarter the sum of $31.25 is allowed for his keep. Another entry allows to Dr. Crissey $39 "for his physical aid" to one of the poor of the township. Griffin Yeatman on March 4, 1811, was allowed for his service as township clerk for one year the sum of $12 and each of the trustees for the same period received the sum of $10. Some of our prominent citizens seem to have been regular jurors in those days for on the list of the year 1811 there appear as grand jurors Samuel Patterson, Culbertson Park, Jacob Baymiller, Stephen McFarland, Isaac Anderson, Josiah Halley, Martin Baum, Francis Carr and John H. Piatt. Among the petit jurors were Alexander Gibson, John Martin, Ephraim Carmack, John Wozencroft, Edward Dodson, Hezekiah Flint, Robert Caldwell, Jonathan Pancoast, William Robinson, Samuel Stitt and William Ramsey. For the next year, Adam Moore, Robert Merrie and Christopher Walker were elected trustees. Joshua L. Wilson continued as treasurer and Nathaniel Reeder as appraiser and Christopher Smith became township clerk. On April 25, 1811, Elijah Adams was warned to leave the township. Apparently the compensation to the overseer of the poor was $5 a year which was allowed B. K. Cozier. Among the jurors drawn for the next year were some prominent men: Joseph Prince, David Kilgour, Elmore Williams, William Lytle and John S. Wallace. Among the petit jurors were Christopher Walker, William Cummings, Benjamin Mason, William Burr, James Hicks, Casper Hopple and Jeremiah Reeder. Dr. Daniel Drake was allowed this year the sum of $4 for medical services rendered to a pauper. Moore and Merrie continued as trustees for the following year and John Williamson took the place of Christopher Walker. The clerk and treasurer remained the same. The following year Adam Moore was reelected trustee and George P. Torrence and Jacob Wheeler were asssociated with him. David E. Wade was one of the overseers of the poor and Culbertson Park, an appraiser of property. William Woodward continued as one of the fence viewers. In 1815 among the names of the jurors appear those of John S. Wallace, Jesse Hunt, William Ramsey, Samuel Stitt, James Ferguson, David E. Wade, William Ruffin, Joseph Ruffner, John H. Piatt, William Barr, Elmore Williams and Martin Baum. Adam Moore, Benjamin Mason and Abraham Ferris became the trustees for 1815; the treasurer was David E. Wade and the clerk, Jeremiah Reeder. Solomon Langdon was an overseer of the poor and William Barr and Culbertson Park, the fence viewers. John Mahard continued as justice of the peace. The first action of this board was the issue of an order for $11 in favor of Archibald Holland, being the balance due him *for boarding his wife.* A little later Samuel Cunningham was allowed $10 "for removing foolish John out of this township." In 1816 Benjamin Mason, George B. Mason and William State became trustees. Jeremiah Reeder was elected clerk but declined serving and Jacob Reeder was selected in his place. The record closes November 30, 1816.

THE COURTS AND THE LAWYERS.

After the burning of the first Court House in 1814, already described by Drake, by reason of the carelessness of the United States troops quartered therein, work was begun to replace the public buildings on the spot formerly occupied at the corner of Fifth and Main streets. In the spring of 1815 an agitation arose whose purpose was to locate the buildings at a point which would be more central as the city grew larger. Judge Burnet made an offer to donate to the county as much ground as the public square then occupied and lay out streets 50 feet wide all around the square and give $4,000 be-

sides if the city would locate the Court House on the block at Seventh and Elm. James Ferguson also agreed if this offer was accepted to add $1,000 more and bear the expense of moving the foundation already laid at Fifth and Main. A little later Samuel Caldwell and Capt. Edward White offered to donate for the Court House and county buildings two acres of land at the second crossing of Mill creek beyond Carthage and to lay out 40 acres adjoining in town lots around the public square and give the alternate third lot to the county and $2,000 bonus. Jesse Hunt on the next day, 15th of April, having previously offered the lots on Main street together with $3,000 bonus, raised his bonus to $4,000 and added ten feet to each side of the proposed square. The Burnet proposition seemed to be carrying the day and on April 20th, Hunt, William Woodward, John Heighway and Samuel Stitt offered to bear the expenses of the removal of the foundation and pay $1,500 more. This offer was finally accepted on the 20th and as a result the present unfortunate location of the Court House was selected. The old lots, 20 in number, included in the square from Church alley to Fifth street between Main and Walnut, were offered for sale on 99-year leases and realized an annual income of six per cent on about $53,000.

In July, 1815, Leavenworth completed a brick house at the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut and the courts occupied two rooms in the upper story of this building for about one year. In June, 1816, David Thatcher's house on the opposite side of the street was leased.

In the meantime work had been begun on the new building, which had been planned by Jesse Hunt. Flint who was building it did not make the work move forward rapidly enough and on March 12, 1817, he was discharged from the work and John Dodson succeeded him in the contract. It was completed in 1819. On January 15, 1815, General Harrison as commissioner of the county received from the United States government $10,801 as the value of the property destroyed in the burning of the Hamilton County Court House by the troops. This same year a site for the jail was acquired and the contract for its building after the plan of Jonathan Pancoast was let to Loftus Keating for the sum of $6,900. In May the following year the prisoners were removed to this jail and on the 9th of June the bell man went through the town announcing the contemplated sale that evening of the old log jail. It was sold to Jacob Wolff for $220.

The constitution of 1802 provided for a Supreme Court of three judges and courts of Common Pleas for each county. The State was divided by law into three circuits, in each of which should be a president judge. In each county there were in addition to be appointed no more than three nor less than one associate judges. All judges were appointed for terms of seven years and by the Legislature. Strangely enough, it is by no means an easy matter at this time to give a list of the judges or their terms of service. This is true even of the judges of the Supreme Court. Two volumes which partake somewhat of the nature of official publications,—Taylor's "Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress" published in 1899 and the revision of the same book published under the authority of the General Assembly in 1901 as the "Ohio Hundred Year Book,"—differ as to the personnel of the highest court of the State. This difference strangely enough is as to members of the court from Hamilton County. As the Supreme Court was required to be held once a year in each county, the personality of that court properly belongs to this history. The court as originally constituted in 1803 was made up of Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., of Washington County, who had served five years in the Supreme Court of the Territory, Samuel Huntington of Cuyahoga and William Sprigg of Jefferson. Judge Meigs resigned after two years' service and on February 7, 1805, Daniel Symmes at that time presiding officer of the Senate and quartermaster-general of the first division of militia was elected to succeed him. Sprigg resigned in April, 1806, and Governor Tiffin appointed to succeed him George Todd of Trumbull County. He was afterwards elected to the seat by the General Assembly on January 1, 1807. Judge Symmes resigned January, 1808, to accept the presidential appointment as register of land at Cincinnati, whereupon William Sprigg was again elected to the bench. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., had received the vote of the State for the governorship of Ohio but had been declared ineligible to the office and as a result he was reelected as an additional judge of the Supreme Court on the same date, February 13, 1808. Huntington was elected Governor of Ohio and Meigs resigned to become United States Senator. This led to the election on February 17, 1809, of Thomas Scott of Ross County, who was chief clerk of the Senate, and Thomas

Morris, then a member of the House of Representatives from Clermont County. Morris, however, failed to quality before the General Assembly abolished the additional judgeship. In 1810 at the expiration of the first period of seven years, the two houses met on February 10th to elect a new Supreme Court. This court, as generally given, was made up of Thomas Scott, William W. Irwin of Fairfield County, who a few years before had been impeached by the House of Representatives and removed by the Senate as associate judge, and Ethan Allen Brown of Hamilton County. According to Mr. Taylor, the third judge elected was Francis Dunlevy at that time president judge for the circuit which included Hamilton County and this name is carried by Mr. Taylor among the list of Supreme Court judges up to February 5, 1814, at which time is substituted the name of John S. Edwards. He also states than on February 4, 1815, Ethan Allen Brown was elected by the Legislature judge of the Supreme Court. (Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress, pp. 60-81.)

The revision of this book and the usual version gives the court as first stated, that, is, Scott, Irwin and Brown. Scott and Irwin resigned in 1816 and on February 18th there were elected to succeed them Jessup N. Couch of Ross County, previously appointed by the Governor, John McLean of Warren County and Calvin Pease of Trumbull County, who had recently so successfully defended the prerogatives of the judiciary against attempted impeachment proceedings, was elected additional judge. The following year January 18, 1817, Brown was reelected as a consolation for having been defeated as Governor, so that at this time the court was constituted of Judges Brown, Couch, McLean and Pease.

There was also a little confusion and hence a little uncertainty as to the personality of the local courts during the time covered by the first State constitution. The meagreness of the information contained in the newspapers of the day and also in the various official reports and the destruction by fire of the court records make it almost impossible to state positively the names and terms of all the judges. It is not difficult, however, to trace the course of appointments by the Legislature.

On April 1, 1803, Francis Dunlevy (or Dunlavy) was elected by the General Assembly, president judge of the Western or Third Circuit, which included Hamilton County, and according to the best authorities he served in that position throughout the whole of the period of Cincinnati's town life. It is true that according to Mr. Taylor he was elected judge of the Supreme Court on February 10, 1810, at which time most authorities record the election of Ethan Allen Brown to that position but in all probability Dunlevy (speiled indiscriminately Dunlevy and Dunlavy) continued to preside in the Court of Common Pleas for a period of from 14 to 16 years.

It was the custom in those days to select the president judge from among members of the bar. This custom, however, did not prevail in the case of the associate judges who sat with the president judge and also as judges of Probate, although many of the associates were lawyers. The first associates for Hamilton County were Michael Jones, Luke Foster and James Silvers, elected by the Legislature on April 6, 1803, for the term of seven years. Jones resigned a couple of years later and Matthew Nimmo was appointed by Governor Tiffin in his place. He was elected by the Legislature to fill the vacancy on February 7, 1805. He in turn resigned and on February 13, 1808, John Matson (Master) was elected in his place. On February 15, 1810, Stephen Wood, Aaron Goforth and James Silvers were reelected for the full term of seven years. Goforth was subsequently elected Senator and on January 27, 1811, James Clark was elected to succeed him on the bench. On the expiration of Silvers' term, he was on January 18, 1817, reelected for another term of seven years. Stephen Wood was succeeded by Othniel Looker at the same time and in the following year, January 27, 1818, William Burke succeeded James Clark.

A number of other names are given as serving during this time. Ford gives Thomas Gibson as presiding judge in 1803 and Michael Jones in 1804. In 1807 William McFarland is given by him as associate. (Hamilton County, pp. 239-240.) He is followed in these particulars by Judge Thew Wright in his account of the bench and bar.

During all this period the clerk of the courts was John S. Gano, who served from 1793 to 1818, a period of 25 years. In fact the Ganos, John S. and Daniel, served from 1793 until 1835, at which time William H. Harrison succeeded and remained clerk until his election to the presidency. During the earlier part of this time, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., acted as prosecuting attorney and was succeeded by Ethan A. Brown, Elias Glover and David Wade, who served from 1812 to 1829. The sheriffs were James Smith,

who served from 1797 to 1804, and William McFarland, Aaron Goforth, Joseph Jenkinson and John S. Wallace, who each held a two years' term. Daniel Hosbrook was sheriff in 1816, and William Ruffin in 1817. Richard Ayres became sheriff in 1818 and held the office for four years.

Among the lawyers who were active during the life of Cincinnati were of course many of those already referred to in connection with its days under the territorial government when the courts were the actual authorities of the settlement. Judge Burnet still remained at the head of the bar; William McMillan occupied a most prominent place until his death in 1804. In this same year came Nicholas Longworth, Peyton S. Symmes and George P. Torrence, for so long a time presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas. James W. Gazlay came in 1813 and Judge David K. Este a year later. William Corry, of course, occupied a position of prominence. David Wade was public prosecutor in 1809 and for some years afterwards, while Moses Brooks, at first an innkeeper, practiced law for a time. Judge Nathaniel Wright did not arrive until 1816 and Judge Bellamy Storer a year later. An active practitioner of the time and afterwards, although no longer prominent at the bar, a leading citizen was Ethan Stone, a man, according to Mansfield, of high intelligence, sound judgment and signal integrity, who chose to do right rather than seek popularity by courting the multitude. He it was who made the contract with the county commissioners to build the bridge over Mill creek which after it had been finished but before it was accepted was swept away by the flood. This loss almost swamped him, but he so retrieved his fortune by many years of industry that he died a wealthy man. "It took twenty years, many of which he passed in comparative obscurity at his cottage in the country, to reestablish himself and he afterwards repurchased a small part of his homestead for fivefold that for which he had parted with it in payment of debt. He had built for a time an elegant mansion at the corner of Fourth and Vine streets, then a retired situation." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 141.)

Of course many of the list given by the Directory of 1810 were practitioners here some years before that time. Thomas Clark, who once threatened to fight a duel with Elias Glover, appears in that list, but Glover does not. Others not already mentioned who had achieved some prominence at that time were Elisha Hotchkiss subsequently mayor, Daniel Roe, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, Nathan Guilford, William M. Worthington and Joseph S. Benham. William Henry Harrison was himself a member of the bar but never engaged much in practice. His son of the same name was a man of brilliant promise, whose convivial habits made impossible any great success. Nicholas Longworth for a time was active.

A celebrated case of which a record has been preserved dating from 1807 gives the names of a number of the lawyers at that time engaged at the bar. This was the trial of a well known citizen who was charged and finally convicted of burglary and larceny for stealing from the office of General Findlay, receiver of public moneys for the district of Cincinnati, large sums in specie and bank notes amounting to many thousands of dollars. This case was most bitterly contested on both sides; a full account of it was published from the press of David L. Carney in 1807. This book, according to Thompson's "Bibliography," "is written in a malignant spirit and was published by V—'s enemies; all available copies were destroyed by his descendants." One copy, however, thought to be the only one in existence, is preserved in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. The prosecution was represented by Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Jacob Burnet, Ethan Stone and Elias Glover and the defense by Nicholas Longworth, Joseph H. Crane, William Brush and Richard S. Thomas. The defendant, who was a man of prominence and whose descendants have been very prominent since, was found guilty as charged and the sentence of the court was as follows: "That he the said ———— pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the use of the State; and sixteen hundred dollars to James Findlay, from whom the property was burglariously taken as charged in the first Count of the indictment; and that he be imprisoned thirty days. And also that he pay a fine, for the larceny, as charged in the second and third counts of the indictment set forth, of one Hundred dollars to the State of Ohio. And that he make restitution to James Findlay, by paying him Ninety-two thousand four hundred dollars and four cents. And also that he be publicly whipped ten stripes on his naked back at ten o'clock in the forenoon, on the 23d day of May next. And that he pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed until sentence be performed."

According to the chronicler, "In a whimpering tone of voice, and with tears in his eyes, the

MARTIN BAUM.

MAJ. DAVID ZIEGLER.

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.

GEN. JAMES FINDLAY.

prisoner said 'it was a hard sentence upon an innocent Man.'" An immediate effort was made to obtain a pardon or at least a remission of the part of the sentence referring to the public whipping, from the acting Governor, at that time Thomas Kirker. The result of this effort is given as follows:

"The morning of Saturday May 23, on which ——— was to be whipped, had now arrived and rumor said, the acting Governor had sent him a pardon. This gave a spring to the public sensibility.

"The town at an early hour exhibited signs of commotion, and a multitude from various parts of the country, had assembled, unapprized of the rumor, to see punishment inflicted on one, now the object of general detestation. The corps of Light Infantry turned out, to add solemnity to a scene, in which all appeared to be interested. At length the convict came forth attended by the sheriff, and took his stand upon the pillory the place in Cincinnati where corporal punishment is inflicted. He ascended the platform, amid the execrations of a vast concourse of citizens. The sheriff now produced, and read aloud, a pardon remitting the stripes and signed Thomas Kirker, acting Governor. Mortification and chagrin, were now visible among the multitude and found their vent in imprecations. * * *

"No sooner had the sheriff gone through the pardon, than murmurs of uncommon discontent fell from the populace. The prisoner was now taken back to jail, when a cart was drawn up to the pillory, bearing the figure of a man intending to represent the acting Governor, upon his breast were these words—

"'The stripes are now from Charley taken off —myself befitting'—and on his back was another label as follows:

"'The acting Governor of Ohio.—Charles —— is pardoned. Bank notes and embraces have a powerful effect.' The figure ascended the pillory and receiving the stripes, the number designed for Charley, it was afterwards burned. Late in the evening another concourse of citizens assembled and moved in tumultuous procession to the whipping post with martial music, playing the Rogue's March. They bore another figure —meant for ———. In Passing the Bank, the effigy was made to menace it with an attempt to break in. Parading for some time before the jail and calling on ——— to look out, the company returned to the whipping post, amidst the noise of drums and loud hussas. A fire was kindled and the effigy committed to the flames with marked indignity. This was a trying time for ———: who during the whole of it was under serious apprehensions that the enraged multitude would break into jail and destroy him."

The venom of the chronicler and the feeling aroused among the citizens is shown by an extract which in its insinuating style would do credit or discredit to the yellowest of modern journals. It can be said that the statement about the wife of the convict visiting Chillicothe and the reference to her is absolutely untrue.

"And Edward died and Thomas reigned in his stead—

"And it came to pass about those days that Charles, a Gaul by birth, was suspected of having broken the house of James, the Receiver, and taken therefrom much gold and silver and precious paper. And Charles was apprehended and thrown into prison, and they put bars of iron on his legs and on his arms. And they put a guard over the prison, which continued night and day that he should not escape. And when the wise men were gathered together, in the great city of Cincinnati, Charles was brought before them and so strong was the evidence of his guilt that all the people cried out aloud—hang him—hang him. And the wise men sentenced Charles to pay unto James Ninety and four thousand pieces; and into the treasury two hundred pieces; to lie in prison thirty days and receive eleven stripes save one. And the people were exceedingly rejoiced.

"Now Charles was a subtile rogue, and he cast about him, how he should avoid the stripes; and he said unto James unless you and your friends will petition the chief ruler to omit the stripes, I will squander my gold and silver and my precious paper which I have taken from you: and you shall become a bankrupt; but if you and your friends will petition to Thomas the chief ruler for me: then will I pay you as the wise men have directed. And James consulted with his friends: and they petitioned Thomas the chief ruler according to the wish of Charles: howbeit Thomas would not grant their request—but declared that unless the wise men who had condemned Charles to the stripes would certify that they believed Charles innocent he would in no wise listen to their request.

"And when Pamela the wife of Charles heard this she grieved exceedingly. And she said to Rebecca her handmaid, go to, prepare fine linen and costly apparel per adventure I may find favor in his eyes.

He had no copper pennies, but he had a second-hand copper whiskey still and horse (not the one stolen). He had left them at the tavern of Joel Williams (we had no hotels in those days). He offered me my choice to take the horse or still for my fee. A fair presumption was that both might be stolen and the horse most likely to be recovered and I am compelled to admit that this crossed my mind but I gave him not this reason but one that excited his gratitude and caused him to sqeeze my hand. I told him that I would take the still and leave him the horse for a reason greatly to his benefit, —that if he succeeded in getting his acquittal he could run away on the horse but could not on the still. He was acquitted, mounted the horse and did not even wait to bid the jailer goodbye. I went to Williams' Tavern to get the still. He told me he could not part with it, that he had built a whiskey distillery and I must sell it to him for fourteen and a half acres of ground in the city on Western row south of Eighth street. He was a brother Jerseyman and I consented. The ground is now worth if vacant only seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It would be an error to suppose that in those times of low fees the eloquence of the bar was at a low figure."

Another real estate transaction which failed was described as follows: "When I tried to purchase of our leading citizen Jacob Burnet on credit his cow pasture for five thousand dollars of thirty-two acres, for which he paid eight hundred dollars, he refused my offer saying 'What would be its operation on my character. They would say in our native town of Newark, New Jersey, that you came here to study law under my care and the first thing I did was to make you a slave for life by saddling you with a debt you could never pay for a piece of property good for nothing but pasture or to raise corn.'

"Judge Burnet had no rival at the bar and no lawyer's character ranked higher. By the failure of the old Miami Bank and the factory he had aided, the Judge lost a heavy sum and was obliged to sell the square his residence was on and had but little left but his eight hundred dollar purchase trade. The family still own a large part of it. The cow pasture is now worth two millions, four hundred thousand dollars."

THE POST OFFICE.

Dr. Drake tells us that Major Ruffin, who was postmaster for the town, performed all the duties of the office with his own hands and that the great Eastern mail was then brought once a week from Maysville, Kentucky, in a pair of saddle-bags. Major Ruffin unfortunately did not succeed in his business pursuits and was afterwards elected sheriff of the county for several terms. He was one of the most popular officials ever in the service of the town and the county and died in 1834, having earned the respect of the whole community after a long and useful life. During his incumbency the service was much improved. In 1799 a mail route was established between this place and "Chelicotha" and in 1800 we are informed by the newspaper that the post route had been opened between Louisville and Kaskaskia and another between Nashville and Natchez. There was but one mail route through the Miami country itself and this passed through Hamilton, Franklin, Dayton and as far north as Stanton, a town on the east bank of the Miami opposite the site of the present town of Troy, thence through Urbana, Yellow Springs and Lebanon back to Cincinnati. Afterwards it was reversed, starting by way of Lebanon and returning by Hamilton but touching at the same points. There was then no post office west of the Miami River. (McBride's Pioneer Biography.)

"In 1808-09 Peter Williams had contracts for carrying the mails between Louisville and Cincinnati, Cincinnati and Lexington, Cincinnati and Chillicothe, and Cincinnati and Greenville, in Darke County. All these contracts were performed with packhorses through the dense forests and along the 'blazed' tracks or paths which, in those days, were called roads. The trip from Cincinnati to Louisville was generally performed in about two weeks' time. The provender for the horses had frequently to be carried along, it being impossible to procure any on the way. So of the other routes to the different places named—everywhere through the grand, dense forests, filled with wild game of all kinds. Our informant recollects many rude incidents which occurred on many trips he, as a boy, made with his father, and afterwards by himself, as he became older, to Chillicothe, Greenville, Louisville, etc. Mr. Williams retained these mail contracts up to 1821, using packhorses during the whole time, and only releasing them on the advent of the stage-coach, owners of which could afford to carry the mails at about one-half the price he was getting. In those early days the packhorse was the only way in which supplies of every kind could be transported any distance; and Mr. Williams distinctly remembers

Eastern mails from Chillicothe, were the result of the authorities not being in possession of accurate information and the contempt and neglect of the former Postmaster General or the clerk in office. A committee of 15, including Jeremiah Neave, Jacob Burnet, Jesse Hunt, O. M. Spencer, Daniel Drake, Solomon Langdon, Martin Baum, Samuel W. Davies, Samuel C. Vance, George P. Torrence, William Ruffin, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Daniel Symmes, James Findlay and J. S. Gano, were appointed to correspond with their representatives in Washington on the subject,—with what degree of success is not now easy to ascertain.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

Considerable improvement was made in the matter of water supply during this time. In 1806 one William Gibson carted around water in a cask. Another water carter was Samuel Arthur. Eleven years later Jesse Reeder built a tank on the bank of the river near Ludlow street where by means of elevators assisted by horse power he raised the water and sold it to the carts. By the ordinance of March 31, 1817, the exclusive privilege of conveying water by tubes or otherwise from the Ohio River to the streets, lanes and alleys and commons of the town was vested in the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company for a term of 99 years. The company was required to complete the work so far as conveying water into that part of the town lying south of Third street commonly called the Bottom by July 1, 1819. It was to convey the water into that part of the town lying north of Third street commonly called the Hill so that the same might be delivered three feet above the first floor of James Ferguson's kitchen in the Second Ward of said town within another year. Water was to be taken from the reservoirs and conductors whenever necessary to extinguish fires and for this purpose the company was required to provide a fire plug for each square. The company was permitted to dig in the streets, alleys, lanes and commons of the town for the purpose of sinking their conductors and to demand from citizens who used the water such sums as they might agree upon. The rights of the company were not subject to forfeiture because of any temporary interruption in the supply. During the time covered by the lease, the franchise was to be an exclusive one. For this valuable concession the company was to pay the sum of $100 a year, which money was to be appropriated for the purpose of extinguishing fires.

By an ordinance passed the following year the time limit for the completion of the work in the Bottom was extended a year. The company whose principal business was the manufacturing of woolen goods expected to throw the water by a steam engine into a reservoir on a hill 200 feet above the river from which it was to be conveyed in aqueducts to different parts of the city. The expense it was thought would exceed $100,000. Work was commenced very shortly afterwards and a reservoir 40 by 30 feet and six feet deep was excavated on the hillside and two frame buildings erected on the bank, one to the north and the other to the south of Front street. The lifting pump was placed in the building on the south side of Front street and carried the water into a tank on the north side of Front, whence it was forced into the reservoir which was a little southwest of the present one. The work, however, did not progress rapidly enough to give any accommodation to the people during this period and it was not until after the incorporation of the city that any but the most primitive methods of supplying water were in use.

Reeder's appliance stood until the fire of May 7, 1829. (An elaborate history of the Water Works is contained in the City Water Works Report for 1880, found in the Cincinnati Annual Reports, 1880, pp. 463-519.)

FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION.

Provisions against fire have been partly described in the extracts from Dr. Drake's book. A meeting of citizens held July 14, 1802, at the new Court House on Fifth and Main, already referred to had made the provision of $12 for six fire ladders and the same amount for as many fire hooks. Mention is made of the purchase, on September 3, 1807, of two hand engines, one to be used in the Bottom and one on the Hill. It seems difficult to trace the source of this statement. From the account in the first directory quoted hereafter it will appear that very little was accomplished in the way of fire prevention during this period.

The Select Council discussed the purchase of an engine in the year 1808 and a meeting was

called for the purpose. An association called the Union Fire Company was formed and included in its membership nearly the entire male element of the city. The engine proved very unsatisfactory and the organization of the company was even worse and as a result it soon dropped out of sight. In July, 1808, the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company was organized. Its apparatus consisted of a large willow basket placed on a large four-wheel truck and containing leather fire buckets. The whole affair was about ten feet long and six feet high. Each householder was required by ordinance to keep two of these fire buckets in a conspicuous place on his premises. The headquarters of the company were on the north side of Fourth opposite the site of the present St. Paul Building.

An interesting relic preserved in the relic room of the present department is the old fire drum which dates from the year 1808. This gigantic drum five feet high with a circumference of sixteen feet five inches and heads five feet four inches in diameter was used until as late as 1824 to call the citizens to fires. The principal part of the town at that time was east of Walnut and along the river. In a field about where the end of the esplanade facing Walnut street now stands was a one-story frame building which was used as a carpenter shop. The drum was placed on the roof of this house, where it could be reached by any citizen desiring to give an alarm. A ladder in the rear of the house extended to the roof and furnished the means of access to this novel fire alarm. As the city grew, even a drum of these magnificent proportions was insufficient for the purpose and the more penetrating noise of the bell was substituted in its place. The principal one used was the bell of the Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fourth and Main, which it is said could be distinctly heard for miles along Reading road. This bell was used for fire purposes until about 1845. When the drum was abandoned, in 1824, it was placed in a hay press at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Here it was found in later years by an old painter, a former fire warden, named Oliver Lovell. He took it to his home and used it as an oat bin. Eventually it was discovered in his stable by some members of the old volunteer fire department and was taken possession of and has been preserved to the present day.

In 1810 the Washington Company, No. 1, was organized as an outgrowth of the Union Fire Company. Three years later the purchase of an engine was authorized by the Council, but although the tax was levied for this purpose the engine was not bought until 1816. It was purchased by Gen. John S. Gano and was put in charge of the company known as the Relief Fire Company, No. 2. Fortunately at this time fires were quite infrequent and the necessity for better fire-fighting facilities was not impressed upon the minds of the citizens. (History of the Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 55.)

The provision as to fire buckets and requirements as to attendance upon fires by all citizens are given in the quotations from Drake. (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 139.)

The discontent concerning the fire department seemed general. A fire at the brewery of Davis Embree which occurred February 12, 1815, impressed upon the public the necessity for a better department. Says *Liberty Hall*: "On this subject a reform is indeed indispensable. Another and better engine should be procured—rival companies should be organized, and their officers invested with power to press into active service or disperse the mob of knaves, fools and gentlemen who generally press round our fires and look up with the smiling and idiot gaze which they would bestow on a flight of rockets." Despite this pessimistic statement, the same issue contains a card from Mr. Embree presenting his grateful acknowledgement to his fellow citizens for their exertions in saving his property and stating that "on this occasion they evinced conduct which would do credit to the best organized fire companies."

Police protection was not much better. An ordinance establishing a night watch was passed March 29, 1803, as a result of a severe fire a few nights before. By its provisions, the poll was to be taken of all citizens of the town above the age of 21 years who were to be divided into classes of 12 men each who should serve as watchmen in rotation. From each set of 12 men one was chosen as the officer of the night. This patrol was divided into two sets who took turns in watching and guarding the town "by walking to and fro through the streets thereof in a quiet peaceable manner." Substitutes were permitted, provided that the substitute was a strong, able,

discreet, sober man of 21 years of age and upwards. The houses of Hugh McCullum and David J. Poor were designated as watch houses. If any man refused to act as a commander of the watch, he was subject to a fine of $10 and any one who refused to watch was fined $5. Any person insulting a patrolman on duty was subject to a fine of $20. The watch carried a watchman's rattle and large perforated tin lanterns. Their duties were not severe as the public generally retired at about nine o'clock and after that there was but little heard on the streets, except the hourly call of the patrolman.

John Palmer, who visited Cincinnati in 1817, says: "The police of the city are respectable; they have however no lamps or watch nor do they need any. We boarded in the heart of the town and our doors were mostly open night or day. Theft is very rare; the lowest character seemed above it." As the city at this time extended but from the river to Sixth street and from Broadway to Walnut with a few outlying houses it was not difficult to patrol the entire district. Any violations of ordinances were tried before the president of the Council, who acted as mayor.

In 1817 the guard consisted of a captain and six subordinates who were appointed by the Council. The captain's duty was to see that the watchmen kept the street lamps trimmed and lighted them about dusk. The watchmen were required to repair to the watch house at nine o'clock, where they continued under the captain's command until daylight. Any person found abroad after ten o'clock at night in commission of an unlawful act was to be taken before the captain, who could hold the prisoner until morning, at which time he was to appear before the mayor.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—III.

SOCIAL LIFE, AMUSEMENTS, CELEBRATIONS AND NEWSPAPERS.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE TOWN AS DESCRIBED BY MANSFIELD, COPPIN, MRS. YOUNG, FLINT, LONGWORTH, DR. DRAKE AND OTHERS—INVITATIONS—ST. CECILIA SOCIETY AND SOCIAL READING PARTY—AMATEUR THEATRICALS—THE SHELLBARK THEATRE—THE THESPIAN CORPS—THE PITTSBURG COMPANY—CINCINNATI HARMONICAL SOCIETY—THE AFRICAN APE AND THE CASSOWARA—GASTON'S FIREWORKS—MR. AND MRS. PEREZ—FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS—THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE TOWN—NOTICES AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE TOWN.

It is difficult of course after the lapse of many years to form any accurate conclusion as to the manners of a time already a century passed. The contemporary accounts are necessarily more or less colored by the people met by the writer. That there was a charming social life during the period of existence as a town is clear from the statements quoted from Drake, Mansfield or more especially from the visitors from abroad. This social life was undoubtedly of the simplest character and it is clear that luxury and display in dress were almost unknown. The passage already quoted from Drake's lecture, referring to the state of society about the year 1800, of course applies as well to that of a few years later. There was, however, a change which became manifest very shortly before the settlement entered upon its town life. During the years before, the military element predominated and the unfortunate excesses to which the soldiery were prone at that time necessarily affected the whole community. After the wars had terminated and the fort ceased to be a post of importance, this influence became of less consequence. Drake, speaking of a later time, tells us that the inhabitants,—in the main mechanics,—were temperate in their habits. Wealth was pretty evenly distributed and there was not very much luxury or extravagance. The traveler Ashe, writing of Cincinnati in 1806, received from the people in general a favorable impression. They were orderly, decent, sociable, liberal and unassuming. Some of the citizens he thought were of special worth and he mentions a number of names of distinction. Mansfield, writing some years afterwards in his life of Drake, describes the town of about the same period. The list of names given by him leaves no doubt as to the charm of the social life of the community.

MANSFIELD.

"Cincinnati was then emerging out of a village existence into that, not of a city, but of a town. In 1806 it was but a small and dirty county-town. But about that time commenced a career of growth and success which is unequalled in history. Such success, notwithstanding all natural advances, is always due as much to the mind and energy of the citizens as to all physical causes. If we look to the young men then as-

sociated with Dr. Drake and to the older citizens whom I have already mentioned, it will be found that no young place in America has gathered to itself a greater amount of personal energy and intellectual ability. I have named among the pioneers the St. Clairs, Symmeses, Burnets, Ganos, Findlays, Goforths and Oliver M. Spencer. In the class of young men, about 1806-7, were John McLean, now Supreme judge; Thomas S. Jessup, now quartermaster-general; Joseph G. Totten, now general of engineers; Ethan A. Brown, afterwards Governor, judge and canal commissioner; George Cutler, now colonel in the army; Mr. Sill, since member of Congress from Erie, Pennsylvania; Joseph Crane, afterwards judge; Judge Torrence, Dr. Drake, Nicholas Longworth, Peyton S. Symmes, David Wade, Samuel Perry, Joseph Pierce, a poet of decided talent; Mr. Armstrong and John F. Mansfield.

"The last two died early—the former, a young man of great ability, and the latter of distinguished scientific attainments and high promise. Such a circle of young men would grace any rising town, and impart to its mind and character a tone of energy and a spirit of ambition."

COPPIN.

Another reminiscence of this period is given in the inaugural address by Joseph Coppin, delivered before the Pioneer Association in 1880. His account of the costumes of that time is a little bit surprising:

"We had plenty of snow, but no pleasure sleighs; so the old pioneers thought that they must have a ride, and they procured a large canoe or pirogue, with a skiff attached behind and seated for the ladies. To this pirogue-sleigh were hitched ten horses, with ten boy-riders to guide them, the American flag flying, two fiddlers, two flute-players, and Dr. Stall as captain. They did not forget to pass the 'old black Betty,' filled with good old peach brandy, among the old pioneers, and wine for the lady pioneers —God bless them! And here they went it, merrily singing 'Gee-o, Dobbin; Dobbin, gee-o!' When the riding ended, both old and young pioneers wound up the sport with a ball—linsey woolsey dresses in place of silk on ladies, many buckskin suits on pioneer men, and moccasins on their feet in place of shoes."

Possibly this scene is the subject of the remarkable sketch printed by Dr. A. E. Jones, showing the amusements of the early aristocracy of the city. (Early Days of Cincinnati, opp. p. 70.)

MRS. YOUNG.

Mr. Coppin's description, however, is borne out to some extent by a letter of Mrs. Barbara Young, the widow of Philip Young, to the Pioneer Association. She came to Cincinnati with her husband as a young bride in 1811.

The party came down the river in the customary flat-boat. When they landed, Dr. Daniel Drake came aboard, took them on shore and escorted them to the Columbian Inn, kept by Mrs. Willis, near the corner of Columbia and Main streets. This hotel at that time, says Mrs. Young, was quite a fashionable place and a great many citizens of the pioneer race boarded there. "I well remember while we were boarding at this house how we were all awoke by the distant sound of thunder, the shaking of the houses and the terror of the villagers frightened out of their wits at what was afterwards discovered to be an earthquake. Cincinnati at this time was a small town of four thousand or five thousand inhabitants. Front street was the only one then called a business street, built up of log houses with here and there a frame one, from Broadway to Walnut street. Where the best part of the city now is (1816) was a forest with a clearing here and there with a few log cabins scattered about. The most refined and wealthy, or nearly all, wore what was called homespun or Kentucky jeans, and the linsey woolsey of the country. Few wore broadcloth, linen or cotton goods. Every kind of imported goods such as silks, dry goods, coffee, tea and so on was very high, while flour, corn and other products and game and meats of all kinds cost but a trifle. This great difference in prices was owing to the difficulties of transportation. This was before the time of steamboats."

FLINT.

Whatever may be the fact as to the dress of this period, there seems to be no doubt as to the cordiality of the inhabitants. It was about this time that Timothy Flint came to live in Cincinnati and in his "Recollections" he speaks with enthusiasm of his reception in this town sixteen hundred miles from the sea: "In no part of the old Continent that I have visited are strangers treated with more attention, politeness, and respect than in Cincinnati; and where, indeed, can an Englishman forget that he is not at home,

except in the United States? In most other regions he must forego many early habits, prejudices, and propensities, and accommodate himself to others, perhaps diametrically opposite; he must disguise or conceal his religious or political opinions; must forget his native language and acquire fluency in another before he can make even his wants known or his wishes understood; but here the same language and fashion as in his own prevail in every State; indeed, it is necessary for him to declare himself a foreigner, to be known as such, and I have always found this declaration a passport to increased attention and kindness; for every man in this land of freedom enjoys his opinions unmolested. Not having the slightest intention of stopping at any town on my way to New York, I was without any introductions; but this deficiency by no means prevented my receiving the usual benefit of the hospitality of the inhabitants, which was such as to induce us at first to remain a few days, and ultimately, probably, to end our lives with them." (Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 59.)

The language of the traveler, John Palmer, is very much to the same effect. The manners of most of the inhabitants he found social and refined. Many cultivated the fine arts, painting, engraving and music. The dress of the inhabitants he tells us was much in the English fashion. In summer many of both sexes wore domestic or home manufactured ginghams, and straw hats. Gentlemen, and many tradesmen, wore superfine cloth coats; blue and black were the prevailing colors. The ladies dressed elegantly in muslin, short-waisted gowns, vandyked frill or ruffle round the neck, and an English cottage or French straw hat. When about their household concerns, they wore a large, long, peaked hat, to defend their features from the swarthing influence of the sun and air.

LONGWORTH.

Mr. Longworth tells us that all the town came to see the first carpet laid down west of the mountains. Deacon Wade, who wore a wool hat during the week and a fur hat to church on Sundays, rendered in an ingrain carpet, window curtains and fine rush-seat chairs in the parlor. "A traveller from New York was standing at his door one afternoon gazing on the beautiful sunset that filled the sky with purple, crimson and gold, and upon the beautiful river flowing by amid hills clothed with the native forest in its fullest green. Turning to the Deacon he broke forth in a rhapsody of admiration on the grandeur of the view before him and said that at New York city we have no views to compare with this. 'Are you fond of beautiful parlors and furniture,' said the Deacon, and flung open the front door of his parlor and pointing to his red and yellow carpet, bright curtains and painted chairs, he said, 'Have you parlors in your city superior to this?'" Mr. Longworth boarded with Deacon Wade at that time and paid the high board of two dollars a week. At that time he tells us that mutton sold in the market for 10 cents a hind quarter and the butchers after ten o'clock cut off the tallow and threw the quarters at each other's heads. Corn was 12 cents a bushel.

The writer of the "Recollections of Cincinnati, 1817-1821," already quoted, gives some impressions of the social life of the town at the time of his residence. He tells us that the prominent men of the city included Judge Burnet, General Findlay, Doctor Drake, Martin Baum, Jesse Hunt, David Kilgour, John H. Piatt, General Gano, General Lytle, Judge Brown, Judge Burke, James Keys, Hugh Glenn, Judge Torrence, Nicholas Longworth, Mr. Irving, Samuel Perry and Joseph Perry, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Oliver M. Spencer, Mr. Riddle, William Barr, Colonel Davis, Mr. Stone, Mr. Vance, Col. William Piatt, Mr. Oliver, and Thomas Sloo, Jr. He met Bishop Chase at the table of Mr. Burnet. "He was then comparatively young, with an agreeable countenance, and a stout, portly person and none of the supercilious air of a bishop about him. He had no objection to a good dinner or a glass of wine. His address was dignified, but easy; his manners stately but pleasing. He had been accustomed to good society, was even fond of a joke, and would have been witty had he dared, and came nearer the writer's idea of a well-bred and well fed English bishop than any dignitary of the church he had yet seen." He dined at Mr. Kilgour's and the impression made upon him at that time seems to have been a marked one. "Talk of the *back woods!* said I myself, after dining with Mr. Kilgour,—by the beard of Jupiter I have never seen anything east of the mountains to be compared with the luxuries of that table! The costly dinner service, the splendid cut glass,—the rich wines,—the sumptuous dinner itself! Talk to me no more of the *back woods*, said I—these people live in the style of princes. I did not, however, like my friend St. Clair, after a great dinner at Find-

lay's, mistake my longitude in the dark, and walk off the bank into the river! But I marched off most heroically, over the stones, and through the puddles, repeating to myself at every step—talk to me no more about the *back woods!*—talk to me no more about the *back woods!* always emphasizing the last two words—and before I reached home, setting the line to music, and repeating it, like the chorus of an old ballad. I never after looked at the keen eye, the tall form, or hard hickory features of my friend Kilgour, without thinking of *that dinner!*"

DR. DRAKE.

Probably no better account of this as well as all other aspects of the life of the settlement can be given than that of Dr. Drake. In his "Picture of Cincinnati" he gives the following statement of the state of society at that time (1815):

"This cannot, of course, be pourtrayed with the same facility and exactness as in older communities. The people of the Miami country, may in part be characterized, as industrious, frugal, temperate, patriotic and religious; with as much intelligence, and more enterprise, than the families from which they were detached.

"In Cincinnati the population is more compounded, and the constant addition of emigrants from numerous countries, in varying proportions, must for many years render nugatory all attempts at a faithful portraiture. There is no State in the Union which has not enriched our town with some of its more enterprising or restless citizens; nor a kingdom of the west of Europe whose adventurous or desperate exiles are not commingled with us. To Kentucky, and the states north of Virginia—to England, Ireland, Germany, Scotland, France and Holland, we are most indebted.

"Among such a variety, but few points of coincidence are to be expected. Those which at present can be perceived, are industry, temperance, morality, and love of gain. With a population governed by such habits and principles, the town must necessarily advance in improvements at a rapid rate. This, in turn, excites emulation, and precludes the idleness which generates prodigality and vice. Wealth is moreover pretty equally distributed, and the prohibition of slavery diffuses labor—while the disproportionate immigration of young men, with the facility of obtaining sustenance, leads to frequent and hasty marriages, and places many females in the situation of matrons, who would of necessity be servants in older countries. The rich being thus compelled to labor, find but little time for indulgence in luxury and extravagance; their ostentation is restricted, and industry is made to become a characteristic virtue.

"It need scarcely be added, that we have as yet no epidemic amusements among us. Cards were fashionable in town for several years after the Indian war that succeeded its settlement; but it seems they have been since banished from the genteeler circles, and are harbored only in the vulgar *greg shop* or the nocturnal *gaming room*. Dancing is not infrequent among the wealthier classes; but is never carried to excess. Theatrical exhibitions, both by *amateurs* and *itinerants*, have occurred at intervals for a dozen years; and a society of young townsmen have lately erected a temporary wooden playhouse, in which they have themselves performed. But as the tendency of their institution to encourage *strollers* and engross time, has been deprecated by the more religious portion of our citizens; and as the members have failed to realize their anticipations, with regard to the accumulation of a fund for the relief of indigence, they will be likely soon to relinquish the pursuit, and leave their stage and its trappings to some future votaries of Thespis. During the winter, select parties are frequently assembled; at which the current amusements are social converse, singing and recitation—the latter of which has been lately predominant. Juvenile plays and diversions are sometimes resorted to; which are generally such as promote a rational exercise of the mental faculties. Sleigh riding and skating are rarely enjoyed, on account of the lightness and instability of the snow and ice. Sailing for pleasure on the Ohio is but seldom practiced; and riding out of town for recreation, on horseback or in carriages, is rather uncommon, for want of better roads. Evening walks are more habitual, in which the river bank and adjacent hills—the *Columbian garden*—and the *mound*, at the *west end*, are the principal resorts." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 166.)

INVITATIONS.

In the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio at Cincinnati are a number of invitations, cards and other souvenirs which reflect upon the social life of that time. The names attached to the following are of sufficient public interest to warrant their being included here:

The honor of Miss Goforth's Company is requested at a Tea party to be given at Mr. Yeatman's on Tuesday the 27th Inst. (next Tuesday).

A. Burt
O. M. Spencer } *Managers.*

The honor of Mrs. Findlay's company is solicited at a Ball, on Friday evening the 4th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M. at Griffin Yeatman's Hotel.

D. Ziegler
E. Stone
E. Cutler
N. Longworth } *Managers.*

July 1st, 1806.

INDEPENDENCE BALL.

The honor of Mrs. S——'s company is solicited at a Ball to be held at the Columbian Inn, on Friday evening next, at 7 o'clock, in the commemoration of the Birthday of American Independence.

MANAGERS.

Francis Carr,	I. C. Scott,
P. A. Sprigman,	T. C. Baker,
N. Longworth,	W. Irwin, Jr.

June 30, 1812.

The advertisements of these cotillions are a regular feature of the newspapers. They seem to have been held for many years at the hotels of the town. For instance, on April 1, 1816, appears the notice that the Cincinnati Cotillion Assembly will hold their next party at General Wingate's hotel. Two weeks later appears the advertisement:

A CARD.

"Come and trip as you go
On the light fantastic toe."

The ladies of Cincinnati are respectfully informed that the last party of the

CINCINNATI COTILLION ASSEMBLY

will be held This Evening, at the Hotel; where it is hoped they will gratify the Subscribers by affording them the honor of a general attendance.

The Gentlemen will be good enough to leave their names at the Bar, when the tickets are obtained—which will greatly add in the settlement of the club.

L. W.
P. S. S. } *Managers.*

Monday Morning, April 15, 1816.

The writer of "Recollections of Cincinnati, 1817-1821," tells us that at that time the hotel life was an important feature of the town. The hotel at which many of the most prominent citizens lived fronted the river and was a spacious building for those days. It was well kept and for two-thirds of the year full to overflowing. At the time of his arrival there were fifty to one hundred at the table daily and among other things that attracted his attention was the great quantity of liquors placed upon the dinner table and the small quantity that was actually drank—not one in twenty touching or meddling with the matter at all. A principal topic of conversation in all places was the public lands, the price and the quality, the choice of location, tracts, quarter sections, entries and the like.

This writer also gives vivid pen pictures of Judge Burnet, General Findlay, Martin Baum, John H. Piatt, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, Jr., Nicholas Longworth and Hugh Glenn and William M. Worthington.

The reviewer of Dr. Drake's book in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of April 1, 1816, comments at length on the Doctor's remarks on the state of society.

"An exact portrait of the manners and customs of this place, would, it is true, be almost a hopeless undertaking. But we are made out, so far as our author is conversant, to be, on the whole, a very moral and religious people. This opinion, however, as he says, is predicated on what appears only on the surface. He has never joined in the midnight orgies of our bacchanalian revellers; nor probed the bosoms of our abandoned profligates. Of these we are unqualified, even ourselves, to speak.——But in so new a spot, whose citizens are made up of all nations, and colors, and tongues, it can scarcely be supposed that the very cream of human nature should be accumulated,—or at best, that some unseemly dregs should not have come in to defile the mixture. These, however, as the Doctor implies, sink for the most part to the bottom; and can therefore but partially be given to the world, without diving into the lower regions of society, where they are to be found.

"With respect to Cards, we are not sure that our author is entirely accurate;—tho they have happily fallen into much greater opprobrium than formerly. Nor are we certain that our 'fair towns-women' never carry the amusements of the Ballroom to excess. We confess indeed we should shrink at the idea of becoming responsible for all the vexatious colds that are taken thro the medium of that polite accomplishment. One reason, we believe, why public Balls have not been more frequent, is the general dread, among all but striplings, to assume the office of manager;—and what is not a little to the discredit of our beaux, we are gravely informed that it is the difficulty of collecting the club that has for the most part created the aversion. This, we would fain hope, is an exaggerated charge;—but we believe it is too true, that an unwar-

rantable delay in these matters, does full often occur. The want of a suitable room, however, is a principal impediment.

"The 'frequent and hasty marriages' mentioned by the Doctor have very happily occurred this winter, and confirm his statement; and, indeed they have lately happened in such quick and gallant succession as almost to warrant a confidence in the effects which have been so long attributed to the reversing rights of leap year!—In the article of sleighriding, too, we have far exceeded the stated limits,—as during our late Christmas holidays, the horses & sliding vehicles of our citizens were in almost continual requisition; and so great was the furor for this fascinating amusement, that the rate of 30 dollars per diem was allowed for their use."

ST. CECILIA SOCIETY AND SOCIAL READING PARTY.

The reviewer tells us also of two new organizations which counted very much in a social way. These were the St. Cecilia Society and the Social Reading Party. The first of these was devoted to the delightful strains of the piano and the improvement and practice of its fair votaries in the 'witching powers of song. There seem to have been churlish critics who looked much upon the expertness and modulations of the voice and fingers but "there are enow left in the world who will always be capable of feeling and admiring the influence of music." It was thought that the St. Cecilian band was calculated to attune the soul to social sympathy and unite in harmonious concord the families at whose houses the meetings were alternately held. The Reading Party was composed in the main of ladies, although there were enough gentlemen to divide up the offices equally between the sexes. Its purpose was the promotion of literary taste as well as social relaxation. One of the principal subjects of study was English grammar and each entertainment closed with a recitation. The reviewer also ventures to comment upon the subject which still excites the criticism of many of the male persuasion: "Amid all these agreeable emotions, however, with regard to the most interesting part of creation we cannot (and at the same time 'trust we have good consciences') pass over without a protest against the fashionable, and ofttimes torturing bondage which so many of them are content to endure. We need hardly add that we allude to the health and shape destroying use of the Corsets, which have, like the yellow fever, been imported into America; and which with the similar tendency are only unequal in the number of their victims. What a pity that almost deities in shape, and only short of angels in perfection, should be content to disfigure the person and destroy the life created by Omnipotence —merely to pay homage to the changing idol, Fashion!

"Scarcely a month passes over, without wafting to us the news of some tight-laced damsel who was constrained to faint; or some hopeless votary who has untimely expired, at the shrine of the infernal Demon of Corsets."

The prevailing love of gain was also a subject of reprobation in those early days as at present. Another grievance was the lack of good servants and the matrons were told they must be content to labor on, because no adequate assistance could be had. The writer hastens to disarm any suspicion that he is advocating slavery and concludes (the same old story) "but we yet think that with a little more humility on the part of the maid, and a little more gentleness on the part of the mistress, the present unpopularity of the office of domestic assistant might in some measure be reduced."

AMATEUR THEATRICALS.

Still furnished considerable of the amusement for the people and we hear that in June, 1808, a special performance was given by the Thespians for the benefit of the fire company. Dr. Drake's prowess as an actor has been already referred to. The Harmonical Society furnished many of the amateurs and formed a brass band for the orchestra of the entertainments. Other actors besides those already mentioned were Ethan A. Brown, General Findlay, the attorneys Rawlins and Wade as well as Nicholas Longworth. The receipts were to be given for the Public Library but were finally used for building the Lower Market.

Mr. Longworth describes the earlier drama of pioneer days as follows: "Then an ambitious band of Thespians on a stage in Griffin Yeatman's stable occasionally acted plays for the benefit of the public and their own glorification and amusement. Our leading citizens were actors in men's and women's attire. Griffin Yeatman's tavern sign was a square in compass. I performed the part of Mungo in those days and recollect two lines of a prologue:

'To call in customers we make a rumpus,
You can't mistake the sign its Yeatman's square and compass.'

"This is the performance of 'The Poor Gentle-

man' at the opening of which General Findlay delivered an address. Major Ziegler dressed in cock hat and knee breeches with sword in hand was the doorkeeper."

This was in 1806. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., in his testimony in the Vattier case in 1807 mentions a series of three performances by a Mr. Smith in Vattier's stable in August, 1805. Afterwards he with several others formed the Thespian Corps which performed several times till Christmas or the beginning of the year 1806. The room over Vattier's stable was the most spacious one in town and it was during a Thespian performance in this loft that General Findlay's office was robbed. It was usual with the people of taste, said St. Clair, to frequent the theatre on play nights.

THE SHELLBARK THEATRE.

In 1814 the Shellbark Theatre so-called, which was a circus enclosure on Main below Fourth, was the scene of action. Among the performers at this time were Griffin Taylor, E. Webb, Joseph Thomas, William Douglas, Calvin Fletcher, John F. Stall, Thomas Henderson, Nathaniel Sloo, Abijah Ferguson, Junius and John H. James, Samuel Findlay, the two Hurduses, the Bensons, and Mr. Hepburn. Joseph Hurdus was also in charge of the scenery. The music was furnished by Cazelles and Doane, with Zeumer at the bassoon; C. Thomas, clarionet; Samuel Best, violin; Joseph and Samuel Harrison, bass drum. Benjamin Drake was president and Peyton S. Symmes, secretary.

Something more permanent in the way of amusement seems to have been desired and finally on December 13, 1814, *Liberty Hall* contained the following notice: "All persons who are favorable to the establishment of a THEATRE in this place are requested to meet at the Columbian Inn on Thursday evening next, the 15th inst., at seven o'clock. The members of the Cincinnati Thespian Society are also particularly requested to attend."

As a result of this meeting, a small frame theatre on the south side of Columbia between Main and Sycamore streets was erected at the point where subsequently stood the old Columbia Street Theatre. The early performances were furnished by the Thespians and the proceeds were devoted to charitable entertainments. So worldly an undertaking as this aroused the opposition of Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, who felt that the spirit of evil was responsible for so much levity. Theatrical performances he regarded as immoral and he started a sort of a crusade against the theatre which aroused much feeling and was the occasion of many communications to the papers. The Thespians and their friends were very indignant at the Reverend Doctor's monopoly of morality and they held strongly to their rights. At the Fourth of July celebration among the toasts was the following: "The Cincinnati Theatre—May it not, like the walls of Jericho, fall at the sound of Joshua's horn."

It is not probable that the theatre paid its expenses but the cause of the drama was upheld throughout the season and the sum of $50 given to charity. In the following year the Pittsburg Company of comedians headed by Mr. Drake, the so-called manager of the Kentucky theatres, stopped over on their way from Pittsburg to Lexington and gave a series of performances which met with considerable success. We are also told of the traveling museum of wax works and transparencies in charge of a Mr. and Mrs. Manley which visited the city in 1813 and furnished its share of amusement.

THE THESPIAN CORPS.

We learn from a communication to *Liberty Hall* January 11, 1815, that a number of young gentlemen of the city had united in the formation of a society for the purpose of improving themselves through the medium of dramatic exhibitions and also of aiding in the relief of suffering humanity by appropriating the accruing funds to the service of the poor. This excited great criticism and the correspondent returns to the subject two weeks later with a defense of the drama.

Rev. Joshua L. Wilson seems to have used the columns of the *Western Spy* for his attacks which were answered each week in *Liberty Hall* by "Theatricus." Despite the controversy however the play proceeded and on February 18, 1815, the Thespian Corps presented their thanks to the good people for their reception of the performance given the night before which was so cheering as to induce them to repeat on February 21st the same plays "The Point of Honor" and "The Weathercock." A little later appears the announcement that the Thespian Corps would exhibit on March 15, 1815, at their new play house the well known comedy of "John Bull" which would be preceded by an original prologue and followed by a farce called "Fortune's Frolic" and that the Harmonical Society had politely offered to assist in entertaining the audience with selected music between the acts.

THE PITTSBURG COMPANY.

An announcement of April 1, 1815, is to the effect that "the lovers of the drama are respectfully informed that the Pittsburg Company of comedians on their way to Kentucky intend presenting a few performances which they hope will receive and deserve their patronage. On Monday evening, April 3, will be presented a very celebrated drama in five acts called 'The Stranger or Misanthropy and Repentance,' after which a much admired musical farce written by Coleman author of 'The Poor Gentleman,' &c., called 'Love Laughs at Locksmiths.'" Tickets were one dollar each to be had at the principal inns, and performances were on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The parts of the "Stranger," "Mrs. Haller" and "Countess Wintersin" were by Mrs. Collins, Mrs. Barret and Mrs. Turner, respectively, and those of "Risk" and "Lydia" were taken by Mr. Morgan and Mrs. Turner. The same company under the auspices of the Thespian Corps presented on April 10th Sheridan's "School for Scandal" followed by a farce known as "The Wags of Windsor"; at this too the Harmonical Society assisted. Two days later by permission of the mayor was given the regular performance of the company including the play "Man and Wife" and the musical farce "Of Age To-morrow or the Wild Goose Chase." The following week the play was "Richard III," in which the parts were taken by Messrs. Collins and Caulfield and Mrs. Barret and Mrs. Turner. In the fifth act was exhibited a new tent scene painted by Mr. Jefferson and the performance concluded with the farce called "The World is a Stage." Between the play and the farce Mr. Morgan sang a comic song. This was Mr. Caulfield's last performance for on the morning of April 22nd he died after an illness of but two days. The dramatic season closed during the following week. The Thespian Corps solicited an audience of the "good people" for their last benefit from the Pittsburg Company to take place April 26th, at which was to be given the tragedy of "Hamlet" followed by a farce entitled "The Prize or 2, 5, 3, 8." Between the acts Mrs. Barret was to entertain the audience by reciting an "Ode in Honor of Masonry or Female Curiosity Gratified by the Aid of Guyges Ring in a Display of the Masonic Attributes." Tickets which were a dollar were for sale in the theatre and at the Columbian Inn and the audience was especially enjoined to assemble a little earlier than usual so that they could be dismissed at a seasonable hour. The door was to open at six o'clock and the curtain positively to rise at a quarter past seven. The last play of this dramatic season was "Romeo and Juliet" followed by a musical farce "The Poor Soldier." Between the play and the farce Mrs. Barret recited an ode on Jackson's victory at New Orleans. Apparently the success of the company was sufficient to induce them to reconsider their departure for on May 3rd "Romeo and Juliet" was again given, followed by the farce "Children in the Wood." A little later came the announcement of a benefit for the poor which in consequence of the protracted stay of the company was offered by the Thespian Corps to the "good people." This was given on May 8th. The principal play was "The Wonder or a Woman Keeps a Secret" and the farce was "How to Die for Love." There were also comic songs and recitations. On May 10th occurred Mrs. Barret's benefit at which was presented for the first time in this city Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy of "Macbeth." There was also an ode on Jackson's victory, a comic song "How to Please Woman" and a farce "The Padlock." Tickets were to be had at the usual places, at Mr. Zeumer's confectionery store and of Mrs. Barret. Several gentlemen of the Thespian Corps kindly offered their assistance for this performance. Mr. Jefferson's benefit took place on May 15th at which was given the tragedy of "George Barnwell" and a drama called "Tekeli or the Siege of Mont Gatz." Mr. Morgan's benefit on May 22nd was made the occasion of presenting "a very elegant drama called 'The Foundling of the Forest or the Unknown Female' followed by a popular farce 'Yes or No or Quaker Turned Soldier.'"

The issue of the paper announcing this benefit, that of May 22, 1815, contains a communication complaining of the riotous and abusive disturbance which had been raised by a parcel of contemptible vagabonds during the dramatic performances at the theatre. This was a repetition of a complaint made on April 8th. The writer refers to the suggestion of the expediency of suppressing all theatrical exhibitions as the only efficient method of putting down the disturbance, which suggestion he very properly reprobates. Mrs. Turner's benefit on May 29th included the play "The Doubtful Son or Secrets of a Palace" and the farce "The Bee Hive." Special announcement was made that a full band of music would perform in the orchestra. Special attention was called to this performance by a

communication in the paper in which Mrs. Turner was spoken of "as a much respected and old acquaintance of the citizens of Cincinnati.—As an actress she has been much admired and has frequently delighted the audience by a pleasing exhibition of talents not excelled by any performance in the city.—As a woman and mother of a family she is worthy of imitation and entitled to support. It is expected that the boxes of our theatre this evening will display the beauty and fashion of our growing town in an overflowing audience." This performance seems to have closed the theatrical season for that year.

CINCINNATI HARMONICAL SOCIETY.

The theatre was not the sole amusement of the people as was shown by the advertisements of the time. The Cincinnati Harmonical Society has been referred to a number of times. On October 10, 1815, announcement is made of a meeting of this organization at Mr. Burt's tavern where it was resolved that the society should meet at the same place every Saturday evening. On December 16th the society gave its annual concert and ball at the large brick house on Front street lately occupied by General Harrison.

THE AFRICAN APE AND THE CASSOWARA.

Another form of amusement was indicated by an advertisement of December 27, 1815, which headed by a striking woodcut of a monkey carrying a basket of apples reads as follows: "Naked Truth or Curious and Lovers of Natural History are most respectfully informed that there will be exhibited at Mr. Joel Williams' warehouse at the ferry, corner of Water and Main streets from 9 in the morning to 9 in the evening for one week from this date the Royal Tiger of Asia. This animal is full growm and the only one in America; he is nine feet in length, three and one-half feet high and weighs about four hundred pounds; and is the only animal in the world that dare face the lion. Also the African Ape: likewise the Long Tailed Mamozett. Admittance fifty cents; children twenty-five. Good musik on the organ and violin." The "mamozett" and tiger must have been a success for shortly afterwards arrived another interesting animal. On January 20, 1816, appears the following advertisement: "To the Lovers of Natural History just arrived and to be seen at the Columbian Inn in Cincinnati the grand Cassowara of India, a bird of prodigious size weighing one hundred and fifteen pounds and will take an apple out of a person's hand seven feet high and swallow it whole. There are also two very pretty little animals called the Barbary and African Apes. Good music on the organ, clarionet, violin, etc."

GASTON'S FIREWORKS.

On April 21, 1815, Mr. Gaston informs the ladies and gentlemen of Cincinnati and vicinity that he is preparing an exhibition of fireworks on Martin Baum's lot near the corner of Broadway and Fourth streets to be exhibited on Tuesday the 16th May next if the weather permit; composed of the following pieces: "1st, a double sun the different coloured fires turned vertically. 2d, the Ladies' fancy in grand Chinese fire turning horizontally in different forms. 3d, a Chinese vortex turning round a table in brilliant fire. 4th, a combat of four butterflies of different colours turning vertically in a large circle of Chinese fires. 5th, a grand Chinese chandelier turning horizontally forming the rose of a water engine. The cascade and parasol furnished with Roman candles and brilliant sheaves. 6th, the grand Polar Star in grand illumination terminated by a glory of China fire. The whole concluded by the explosion of the Devil's Castle in grand brilliant fire and mosaic works and a bunch of Sky Rockets. Several flying rockets between each piece of the entertainment. The ascent of the Balloon will take place a quarter of an hour before sundown; it will be decorated by an American Coat of Arms descriptive of the present times; the Balloon will be 80 feet in circumference." In order that this fiery entertainment might not be too trying upon its observers, an enclosure with seats was constructed in which a bar and refreshments could be found.

Another place of entertainment was the Columbian Garden of James Sinclair, which in the spring of 1815 was opened for the reception of company as a pleasure garden. It was located on Plumb street between Third and Fourth streets in the orchard formerly owned by Mr. Dexter, where patrons could be accommodated with mead, porter, ale and cider as well as fruits in their seasons.

In the review of Dr Drake's work published in *Liberty Hall* (April 1, 1816), we are told that the Thespian Corps had found that the enormous expenditure attendant upon the erection of a building and to supply it with scenery, dress and decorations was so great as to leave little to be turned over to charity. They complained that exclusive of the free tickets given out the "good people" afforded them no better house than

they bestowed upon strangers and the idea of acting any more was about abandoned. "We understand that a reputable company of comedians now at Louisville who had been acting with very general applause at Pittsburg and Frankfort during the past winter are about to establish something like a permanent system of Theatrics among a few of the principal cities of our interior; and by what we learn from their auditors we think that they would not dishonor the Thespian boards of Cincinnati. They have hitherto declined coming we are told on account of the opprobrium that is attached to the enormous tax levied upon shows by our corporation,—or rather by the mayor in whose discretionary hands the business is entirely left." This provision was regarded as intended to keep out vagabonds but not a regularly organized company.

MR. AND MRS. PEREZ.

The Thespian Corps became active again during the summer of 1815 at which time Mr. Perez exhibited a variety "of Interesting and Surprizing Fetes on the Tight and Slack Rope alone and with Mrs. Perez including as follows:—A horn pipe in fetters—with fireworks at his feet—balancing on a drumhead over the rope—bounding on his back—vaulting over musketry—with grotesque wooden shoes—grand transformation—stand heels over head on the rope and whirling around so rapidly as to be almost invisible—the whole to conclude with a diverting Pantomime called 'The Mistaken Shoemaker.'" This called forth a communication from "Tyro Quizicus and his Clan" in *Liberty Hall* of August 14th which criticises the exhibition but asks the public to attend for the purpose of helping the Thespian band to pay its debts. Mr. Perez evidently did succeed, for his performances continued for several weeks. The advertisements grow more and more thrilling with each performance and would do credit to a modern prestidigitateur, equilibrist and acrobat. The Thespian Corps on August 28th announces the first and only performance for the ensuing autumn of "Speed the Plough."

Another form of entertainment is indicated by an advertisement of Mr. Huntington's on November 27, 1815, to the effect that his last performance will be given in "General Wingate's Long Room" at half past six in the evening when "he will pronounce an oration endeavoring to demonstrate the utility at aiming at moral excellence and exposing the blighting influence of infidelity." He also delivered a commentary on Shakespeare with recitations from his writings and concluded with a variety of satirical and entertaining recitations.

The Thespian Corps seems to have reconsidered its announcement of the early fall for on December 5th we learn that they performed "The Sleep Walker" and "The Weathercock." "The Point of Honor" and "How to Die for Love" were given January 1, 1816. The first play was stated to be the favorite of Washington. This performance was repeated a few days later for the benefit "of the unfortunate individual who was lately thrown desolate upon the world by the conflagration of his building and its contents." The writer in the paper of the day lauds the performance to the skies and calls especial attention to the fact that the actors were drawn from the citizens themselves. An unfortunate result of this performance seems to have been the loss of some one's pocket pistol which apparently was stolen during the performance. The pistol was one of those in use on the stage.

On March 25th the Thespians produced "The Cure for Heartache" as well as other sketches, addresses, recitations and so on. The Harmonical Society furnished the music.

A few days later announcement was made that the Cincinnati Thespian Corps, having declined getting up any more comedies and being desirous of affording their country friends and those of the city who were prevented from attending their performance an opportunity of witnessing their last exhibition, would repeat "The Cure for Heartache" as well as the farce "Love Laughs at Locksmiths." The farewell address was also delivered.

Another theatrical notice of the same day is that of Mrs. Williams' benefit, given April 1, 1815, at which was presented the tragedy "Douglas" and Coleman's farce "The Wags of Windsor." The Harmonical Society also assisted at this performance.

The Thespian Corps and a few wandering companies of actors and the traveling mountebanks were obliged to struggle along in a rather precarious existence however during the most of this period as it was not until 1819 that the theatre gained a fixed position for itself.

The craving for another form of amusement created a demand for music books as shown by the advertisement of one John McCormick in *Liberty Hall* during April, 1815, who sets forth his intention to publish by subscription a new and valuable collection of music entitled "The Western Harmonist." Another book of the same

Colonel Spencer presided, once more assisted by Colonel Armstrong. This dinner was at Thomas Hinkinson's and 17 toasts added interest to the proceedings. This day was also celebrated across the river at Newport, Kentucky, where Washington Berry presided. In the following year the Republican dinner was at Disbrow's at Fifth and Main streets. This was attended by uniformed volunteers. Exercises were held at the spring above Deer creek. Daniel Symmes presided, William Goforth was vice-president, Elias Glover delivered the oration and J. Delaplaine furnished the song. On this occasion Daniel Gano acted as captain of a boys' company of infantry. The regular Light Dragoon Company was in charge of Capt. J. Ferguson. The Select Council dined at Yeatman's and among the distinguished guests were John S. Gano, George Gordon and Andrew Burt. A year later the dinner was held once more in the Beechen Grove near Mound street. Captain Wheeler's company of artillery took part and the orator was Thomas Henderson and the reader of the declaration, William McFarland. Fourth of July in 1808 came on Sunday, which made it proper for Rev. Joshua L. Wilson to deliver a sermon. At the exercises in Thomas McFarland's orchard on Front street, Ethan Allen Brown was the orator and Thomas Henderson the reader. The marshal of the day was Col. John Riddle. Nine cheers and two guns of the Independent Artillery enlivened the proceedings. A feature of the exercises was a derisive toast to Senator John Smith who had just left the country on account of the unjust charges made against him in connection with the Burr conspiracy. Col. John Riddle was marshal the following year. A military salute of 17 guns ushered in the day. At the Court House, Ethan Allen Brown read the Declaration of Independence, at a meeting presided over by John O'Farrell and Daniel Symmes. The party marched to the foot of Elm street and dined at Swing's. An organization known as the Socratic Society marched to Menessier's farm in the valley of Deer creek where they listened to an address from young Francis J. Menessier and took dinner. In 1810 the exercises were held in part at the Court House and part at the Beechen Grove near Mound street. James L. Looker was the reader and Seth M. Leavenworth, the orator. The next year saw a much more general celebration. The growth of the settlement tended to divide up the celebrants into parties. At the Court House after the reading of the all important document by Elias Glover, an oration was delivered by Judge Symmes who gave an account of the settlement and life in the early days which would be most interesting reading at this time. Colonel Riddle acted as marshal and led the procession to Mr. L'Hommedieu's new ropewalk in the West End. The dinner was by Fowble. On this occasion United States Judge Byrd presided, assisted by Judge Silvers of the State Court. The Republican celebration included a parade of military and citizens from Columbia street to the First Presbyterian Church and concluded with a dinner at the Wheat Sheaf Hotel. Robert Wallace, Jr., was the reader and Col. John Monroe the orator of this party. Another party met at the Columbian Inn under the auspices of Dr. Allison and General Gano while a celebration was held in a bower at Ezekiel Hutchinson's Spring in what was afterwards known as Cumminsville. Military of all descriptions, including artillery, cavalry and infantry, participated in the proceedings of the day. Independence Day in 1812 was naturally made more of because of the impending war. There was a recruiting station in the town in charge of Lieut. Hugh Moore and a senior corps of Home Guards under William Lytle. There was a meeting at the Court House, salutes from Jenkinson's artillery and the reading of the Declaration of Independence as well as the declaration of war and proclamation of the President by David Wade. The orator of the day was William Hendricks, then teaching school at the Court House and the marshal was of course Colonel Riddle. Another party, gathered in the orchard on the south side of Columbia street now Second street, included General Harrison, General Gano, Colonel Spencer, Othniel Looker and Dr. Allison. The toasts delivered naturally related to the impending war and the one given by General Harrison showed none of the prophetic instinct. It was as follows: "General Hull and his Army—They have passed that scene immortalized by the victory of Wayne: the spirit of that hero will animate them to deeds like his and teach them the lesson of victory or death."

In the year following the meeting was at the First Presbyterian meeting house in charge of Marshal William Stanley. The reader was Josiah Meigs and the orator of the day, Hon. Stanley Griswold. The dinner in the Court House yard was prepared by Andrew Burt, the son-in-law of General Gano. A year later we are told that the Tammanies met at the circus enclosure on the east side of Main below Fourth

where afterwards was the Thespians' Shellbark Theatre. Chaplain Thomas Hersey was the orator and Thomas Henderson once more the reader of the day, while two revenue officers strangely enough bore aloft the cap of liberty. The dinner was in Cummins' orchard and provided by Joel Williams.

In 1815 the day being Sunday was celebrated at the Baptist Church on Sixth street. The Cincinnati Light Infantry under Captain McFarland, accompanied by Colonel Oliver and Dr. Allison bearing the cap of liberty, headed the parade from the Cincinnati Hotel to this point. The services were in charge of Rev. A. Denison assisted by Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, while D. K. Este read the Declaration and J. C. Short acted as orator. The dinner at which General Gano, General Findlay and Major Torrence presided was at the well known Republican Springs on the bank near the water works reservoir. At this, Peyton S. Symmes read a poem in memory of Capt. J. F. Mansfield who had returned from the army to die from exposure. The Tammanies met at the wigwam of Joel Williams, and paraded to Gaston's fireworks enclosure at Fourth and Broadway where they listened to a long talk from Thomas Henderson. They then adjourned to Williams' Tavern for dinner. J. W. Gazlay and Rev. Ithiel Smead participated in the services. There were also dinners at Newtown and Harrison. Goodwin's at the southeast corner of Fifth and Main streets was the place and David Wade, Dr. Drake, Stephen McFarland and Daniel Gano the leading spirits of one dining party in 1816. The Cincinnati Light Infantry paraded from the Cincinnati Hotel once more to the Sixth Street Baptist Church where the officials of the year before once more took charge. This party dined at the Springs. J. W. Gazlay delivered a long talk to the Tammanies at their wigwam and Thomas Henderson was the reader. The dinner was of course furnished by Joel Williams. The day was saddened by the explosion of a gun at Newport as the result of which the gunner firing the salute lost his arm. At the celebration in Miami town in the following year (1817) General Harrison's volunteer toast left little doubt as to his attitude on a point about which there was afterwards much discussion: "May the fertile banks of the Miami River never be disgraced by the cultivation of a slave, or the revenue they afford go to enrich the coffers of a despot." (Address of John D. Caldwell, July 4, 1874; Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 7.)

THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE TOWN.

The newspapers of this period have been referred to in connection with Dr. Drake's book. Shortly after the publication of that work on December 11, 1815, the newly established *Cincinnati Gazette* was consolidated with *Liberty Hall* and the title of the paper was *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, which was a semi-weekly paper published by Morgan, Lodge & Company who succeeded J. H. Looker and A. Wallace.

Journalism in those days consisted mainly in getting advertisements and publishing marriage and death notices with a few items of general and local interest interspersed. The editor at rare intervals expressed himself on subjects of common interest but he usually found it necessary to have some other vocation. Rev. John W. Browne was also a publisher, preacher, town recorder, bookseller and dealer in patent medicines and was also called upon to show his prowess in other ways for in November, 1807, he was thrashed publicly by Judge Burnet for remarks which he had made. Looker & Wallace and Morgan, Lodge & Company were book publishers and printers.

The history of the first newspapers has been given with considerable length and enough has been quoted from their columns to indicate their general character. The *Centinel* and its successor, *Freeman's Journal*, covered a period of about six years from 1794 to 1800. The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* published by the distinguished soldier, Capt. Joseph Carpenter, began its existence in the spring of 1799 and continued under the same name for about ten years at the end of which time it came into the hands of Carney & Morgan who changed its name in 1809 to *The Whig*. But 58 numbers of this paper appeared when it again changed hands and became known as *The Advertiser*. The life of this paper ended in November, 1811.

In the meantime Captain Carpenter reestablished the *Western Spy* which at the time of Dr. Drake's account in 1815 had about twelve hundred subscribers and was edited by Messrs. Morgan and Williams. The subsequent history of the paper is brief. In 1819 it appears to have been called the *Western Spy and Cincinnati General Advertiser*. In 1823 we are told that its name was changed to the *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*, which appears in 1826 to have been published semi-weekly.

A little later in 1829 two papers shared the name, the *National Republican* which appeared

on Tuesdays and Fridays and the *Cincinnati Advertiser* which appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In 1831 Messrs. Looker and Reynolds were the publishers of the *Daily National Republican* which also had a tri-weekly and a weekly edition.

A paper which in some respects is entitled to be regarded as the one of the longest continued existence although under changed names appeared from the loft of a log cabin at the southeast corner of Third and Sycamore streets for the first time on December 9, 1804. (Dr. Drake says December 4.) This was first known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*. It was edited by Rev. John W. Browne who as editor, publisher, preacher, bookseller, patent medicine vender and public official was one of the best known of the citizens of the day and achieved particular distinction by being the first editor flogged in the streets of Cincinnati. The second name was soon dropped although it was still so styled by Dr. Drake in 1815 at which time edited by Messrs. Looker and A. Wallace it was of superroyal size and had upwards of fourteen hundred subscribers.

In July, 1814, a paper called the *Spirit of the West* appeared but its existence was limited to 41 numbers. (Drake, p. 41.)

A new name but one destined to be connected for many years with Cincinnati journalism appeared on July 15, 1815, at which time Thomas Palmer & Company published for the first time the *Cincinnati Gazette* which continued for a short time under an independent name. This was published on Main street near the clerk's office and the fourth door above Fifth street. It was a semi-weekly sheet with four columns to a page and sold for $2.50 a year if the subscription was paid in advance, $3.00 if paid within the year and $3.50 if not paid at all or at least if not paid within that time. On December 11, 1815, it was consolidated with *Liberty Hall* and the new paper became known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*. This paper bore a little more the appearance of a modern journal. It was published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds. Its first New Year's address was written by Peyton S. Symmes and the carriers for the year were Wesley Smead and S. S. L'Hommedieu. In 1819 it appears to have been a semi-weekly.

NOTICES AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

The first number of *Liberty Hall* contained in the Public Library of Cincinnati is that of date January 7, 1813. It is printed with reversed column rules in mourning for the death of its editor, Rev. John W. Browne, which had occurred on the previous Sunday. Rev. Mr. Browne was riding to Newtown where he expected to preach but while crossing the Little Miami River was thrown by his horse by the breaking of the saddle girth and as a result of his plunge into the cold water lost his life. He was an Englishman, born in 1764, who came to America in 1795 and to Cincinnati in May, 1798. He was a member of the State convention in 1802, recorder of Hamilton County for seven years and commissioner for leasing school lands. He became the editor of *Liberty Hall* in 1812. We learn from the same paper at that time that papers and letters were delivered at the Post Office at eight o'clock P. M.

An advertisement of May 31, 1814, announces the arrival of James W. Gazlay with a view to follow the profession of the law. On July 20th D. K. Este states that he occupies the office of Ethan Stone for the practice of the law and likewise for the sale and exchange of real estate.

It is noted that at the anniversary of the School of Literature and the Arts held November 23, 1814, two addresses were delivered, one by Samuel F. Hunt on "Commerce" and an anniversary oration by the president. Peyton S. Symmes delivered a recitation from Walter Scott.

An advertisement of August 23, 1814, announces an election at the inn of Major McHenry for the purpose of electing a captain and lieutenant for the second company of the Cincinnati battalion and one at the inn of Mr. Hughes on Front street for the purpose of electing a captain of the third company and one at the inn of General Wingate for the purpose of electing a captain of the fourth company. This is signed by Major Torrence, commanding the Cincinnati battalion.

A curious notice is contained in the issue of July 17, 1815. It reads as follows: "Any gentleman having a file of the two first newspapers printed in this place Wm. Maxwell and Samuel Freeman or possessing any information concerning the names, times of establishment or continuance of those Journals will confer a favor by communicating the same to the Editors."

The columns of the newspapers reflect so closely the life of the community that the temptation is great to quote at length from the advertisements as well as the news of these publications. Space however will not permit such quotations being extended beyond a few selections,

some of which have been used in other parts of this chapter. In 1814, for example, much of the contents of the papers was devoted to the war against England as well as to the stirring events abroad. Matters of general national interest such as proclamations of the President and newly enacted laws of Congress occupied much space. Most of the local interest attaches to the advertisements which show quite an active business community. The Cincinnati Steam Mill, Baum, Sloo & Company, David Kilgour, Samuel Newell, Benjamin Corp, Leatman & Anderson, Adams & Piatt, Ross & Coleman, Israel Byers and William Lyons the tailors, Baldwin, Reed & Company, Z. Leavenworth & Company, the Cincinnati Union Cotton Factory and Samuel Lowry are but few of the many advertisers whose notices to the public appear regularly. Among professional men the name of James W. Gazlay the attorney and the names of Drs. Barker and Fairchild are most frequent. A notice of June 28, 1814, of the removal of the Post Office which thereafter was to be kept on Main street two doors above Mr. Thompson's store, corner of Main and Columbia, is followed by one of the Bank of Cincinnati to the effect that all notes offered for discount must be lodged before two o'clock on Wednesday of each week and the form of the note which must be used is printed in the advertisement. Immediately following is a notice that the Tammany Society or Columbian Order would meet on the Fourth of July at their usual place and move in procession to the Hill market house and afterwards to "Coming's Orchard" at the west end of Front street where a dinner would be provided. In the event of bad weather the dinner was to be given at the house of brother Joel Williams.

Lost, strayed or stolen horses, apprentices, negroes and soldiers continued to be a frequent subject of attention.

The list of letters uncalled for are usually very long and run into many hundreds of names, many of which are of the most important citizens.

An interesting communication in *Liberty Hall* of July 26, 1814, is the defense written by Gen. William Hull which occupies a page of the paper. The same number contains an account of the capture by the British frigate "Phoebe" and sloop "Cherub" of the frigate "Essex" whose destruction ended the career of one of the most celebrated ships of war ever in the service of the United States. A little more cheerful news is contained in the account of the capture of Fort Erie.

The character of the stores is indicated by the advertisement of Samuel Lowry who had his store on Main street next door to the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank; it offers a supply of foreign and domestic merchandise which given in detail seems to include everything found in a modern department store from clothes, groceries and hardware to musical instruments and liquors of all sorts. A celebrated name and a sad story of government injustice is recalled by the advertisement of John H. Piatt, contractor for the Eighth Military District, who "wanted immediately a number of Pack Horses and Ox Teams delivered in Cincinnati."

The papers succeeding Independence Day contain columns of accounts of the celebrations of that day.

An advertisement of August 2, 1814, signed by Samuel W. Davies, president of the Select Council, calls attention to the fact that some weeks before a meeting of the electors had been called for the purpose of voting a tax on dogs and hogs but that no attention had been paid to it. At the solicitation of a number of citizens and being desirous to ascertain whether the inhabitants would second the attempts made and intended to be made for their benefit, a meeting was called at General Wingate's. Whether it took place does not appear.

On August 1, 1814, is noted the opening of a school at the house next to Mr. Pancoast's on Main street for the teaching of the French language. A local item of interest reports a meeting of citizens who had determined to support Othniel Looker for Governor and John McLean for Congress and appointed Solomon Langdon, D. C. Wallace and S. N. Leavenworth as the committee on correspondence.

The issue of August 30th contains a call signed by Governor Looker asking for volunteers in a campaign against the Indians to be commanded by Gen. Duncan McArthur.

The issues of September 6th and 13th contain the sad news of the capture of Washington by the British. With the latter issue begins the publication of the advertisement of John Mears, coppersmith, which with its rude cut of a still held its place in the papers for many months.

On September 20th is noted the passage through the town of a thousand Kentuckians on their way to the rendezvous at Urbana.

A serious situation is indicated by an advertisement of Davis Embree that the Cincinnati

Brewery for want of store room could not receive any more barley. Another advertisement of September 27th is published by the owners of the papers themselves and is to the effect that an editor was wanted, in other words, that the whole establishment was for sale.

An extra of October 1st contains the President's message to Congress on the state of war as well as the news of McDonough's victory on Lake Champlain which had occurred on September 11th.

The approaching election naturally attracted attention and the paper contains numerous communications with regard to it. An interesting one appeared on October 4th with reference to the candidacy for the State Legislature of Jacob Burnet, who had been opposed by some Jeffersonians by reason of his federalistic sympathies. The writer felt called upon to state that he had positive assurances that Mr. Burnet if elected would support the prosecution of the war.

On October 10, 1814, appears a notice of the meeting of the Cincinnati Harmonical Society at Mr. Burt's tavern at which it was unanimously resolved that the society should meet on Saturday evening of each succeeding week.

On October 18th the information is given that "the Reverend William Gray of Lebanon will preach in the court room this evening at early candle light." The same issue contains an abstract of the election held in Hamilton County. The highest number of votes cast seems to have been for E. Brown for Representative. He received 1,358 votes. Peter Bell received 1,337 for the same office. Jacob Burnet ran far behind, receiving but 562 which however was enough to elect him as well as Brown and Bell. John McLean for Congress received 1,355 votes which seem to have been all cast for this office. John Jones was elected Senator, C. Webb, commissioner, Daniel Cosbrook, sheriff and I. Spinning, coroner. The vote for Governor was pretty well divided, Othniel Looker receiving 727 and Thomas Worthington 607 votes.

On October 25th, the editors notified the subscribers that "we must have money." This announcement does not seem unwarranted in view of the further statement that many of the subscribers were in arrears for five years or more. Anxious inquirers were notified that Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" was in press. An advertisement offers wood cutters 75 cents a day. On November 8th appears the notice that the steamboat "Enterprise" would depart on Monday, the 14th instant, for Pittsburg. A new and afterwards well known store is announced in the advertisement of Jeremiah Neave & Son. Another firm, West, Stanley & Grant, who occupied the "Yellow House" on the corner of Main and Front streets well known by the name of "Stanley's Store," notified all persons "who had but little of the ready which they may wish to dispose of to advantage" that they were suffering from a case of conscience which they found greatly at variance with their interest and which they were resolved to put at rest by offering their goods at prices for which they can afford them. Another new advertising firm is that of Sayre, Avery & Sayre on Main street who include in their stock dry goods, groceries, hardware and queensware. On November 15th appears the information that the French evening school had been removed to the house of Samuel Best at the corner of Front and Cider streets, where also an afternoon school for young ladies was announced.

The recurring plea of the editors that they must have money was varied on the 22nd with the statement that wheat would be recived for subscriptions. On December 20th the Cincinnati Steam Mill through William Greene acting agent offers 75 cents a bushel for wheat. The wheat must be full 60 pounds to the bushel and clean. Farmers are informed that if they will bring the wheat they intend to plant it will be cleaned in the best manner gratis. "The life of farming is to sow clean seed." The same number contains the advertisements of James Reynolds & Company on Main street on the Hill; Ruffin & Oliver on Main street, fourth door north of Columbian Inn, at the frame house lately occupied by William Burke, Esq. for the Post Office; Alexander McCaine's book and stationery store in the house lately occupied by Dr. Crissey on Main street where also was kept a general assortment of dry goods; Samuel Newell, D. Drake & Company, druggists (to the effect that they returned to their old and improved stand on the west side of Main street nearly opposite the Lower Market house); J. W. Sturm, jeweler, in Columbia street next door east of Major Halley's; Alexander Gibson, brush manufactory; the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company and A. Dunseth. Other advertisements are those of the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge No. 2, as to an anniversary meeting of St. John the Evangelist and of the Cincinnati Miami Bible Society.

Mrs. Lee's Female Academy on Main street, Cincinnati, next door to the Farmers' & Mechan-

ies' Bank announces, on January 11th, the commencement of its second session. In addition to the usual branches Mrs. Lee taught needle work including "Filigree Print Work, Ribbon do. and Embroidery in sheneals."

A new lumber yard (of J. Wood and W. Lambdin) was announced at the southeast corner of Fourth and Broadway.

The issues of the papers which contain various reports of the success of General Jackson at New Orleans contain also a reference to a report that several citizens of the place had been detected in supplying the enemy near New Orleans with provisions for which they had been confined by order of General Jackson.

In the issue of February 25th, which by the politeness of Mr. Baum and General Gano who had favored the editor with Eastern newspapers was able to make the announcement of PEACE, the editor states that these calumnies were totally unfounded. A more complete statement appears in the issue of Tuesday, March the 7th, where it is stated that the reports referred to David C. Wallace. Mr. Wallace on his arrival at New Orleans had raised a company of volunteer boatmen of which he was placed in command by General Jackson. He was afterwards placed in command at the fort in New Orleans in which were a number of British prisoners. A fellow officer who had been ordered to convey the prisoners to Natchez and who was an enemy to Wallace made some charges of misconduct which resulted in the arrest of Wallace to await trial. No charge of treason to his own country was made. Wallace was subsequently acquitted and eventually his accuser gave him a written retraction.

On January 5, 1815, announcement is made in the head of fine arts that "the naval Panorama and American Museum of wax figures is still exhibiting at Gen. Wingate's. This collection contains likenesses of a number of our Naval Heroes who have nobly distinguished themselves in the present contest with G. Britain. Also a representation of the five Naval Victories achieved by the gallant Hull, Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge and Lawrence in five large transparent scenes each containing ninety feet square."

On January 11, 1815, announcement is made of the arrival of Major-General Gaines, the hero of Fort Erie, who was on his way to New Orleans. A public dinner was tendered to him by the citizens but the invitation was declined on account of the critical condition of affairs at New Orleans whither he was to proceed with all possible despatch. The same paper contains a number of orders with regard to the defense of New Orleans. Victory had however been achieved although the news of it had not yet been received. A most extraordinary advertisement, a column and a half in length, is contained in this issue,—that of "Father Smith's Pulvis Excitaria or Life Invigorating Powder," a remedy for almost every possible ailment. The advertisement is signed by Peter Smith of the Gospel and concludes with a certificate of William Burke to the effect that his hoarseness had been relieved by the use of this drug and that he hoped by the blessing of God to be entirely restored. The drug was put up in "small square papers signed on one square with my name corresponding to the like assignment on the bill attending it, without which the medicine is not to be esteemed genuine." To use it the powder must be dissolved in vinegar and of the mixture a teaspoonful was put in a half glass of sage tea which could be sweetened. The dose was to be repeated in double quantity every ten minutes "until the stomach becomes full warm and easy." Then the patient must drink a cup of hot toddy with hot toast crumbled into it and finally he must drink plentifully of some herb or root tea such as herb-balm, pennyroyal, horseradish root, square stock root or blueberry root, any of them alone or all mixed together. After this final dose the patient is supposed to eat and drink and sleep freely. In two hours the patient if still alive "will likely know if the point aimed at will succeed." This advertisement is accompanied by an elaborate system of notes and a series of observations together with references to the author's medical book called the "Indian Doctor's Dispensatory." Despite the use of this extraordinary remedy, Father Burke's hoarseness continued until the day of his death. Dr. Smith was not to have a monopoly for the following issue contains a notice of Dr. Thomas Hill from Boston to the effect that he had taken a house on Walnut street near the Academy where he intended to practice physics and surgery. The fact that he had practiced 13 years in a warm climate where the diseases were similar to this place was urged as of special importance.

The glorious victory of New Orleans was not announced in Cincinnati until Saturday, February 4, 1815, at which time a full account of the proceedings of the historic January 8th was published. Even the doctors seem to have been troubled in collecting their accounts. Dr. J. Farrington in this issue threatens to place his

accounts in the hands of an attorney. Another professional notice is that of Seth M. Leavenworth in the "Yellow Building" nearly opposite the west end of the market house on the Hill where the court sat. On January 26th, Daniel Gano and John S. Gano offered for sale a number of building lots on the square on which the clerk's office stands, also the building. On February 18th, we are informed that the Columbian Inn has passed into the hands of Luther Gere.

John Wells on January 23rd advertises that his wife Rachel had left him. There appears on February 18th "Rachel's answer to John" reciting that John had the impudence to advertise Rachel in the newspaper wherefore Rachel thought it her duty to make known to the public that John was a notorious liar. "He left me; and I expect on the account of his being a hog merchant." This same issue contains an announcement of a new town to be laid out at the mouth of the Licking River on the farm lately owned by Thomas Kennedy. The proprietors of this town were R. M. Gano, T. D. Carneal and John S. Gano. Its name was Covington. The first sale of lots was had on March 20, 1815.

A remarkable advertisement which appears in the issue of February 18th reads as follows:

"To Druggists and other venders of medicine in Ohio and Kentucky: An attempt has recently been made by the colored domestics of a family in this town, to destroy their Mistress, by infusing POISON into her coffee. As either Arsenic or Sugar of Lead, or both, were employed—and which will shortly be ascertained by analyzation—the Husband of the Lady earnestly entreats all persons who vend either of those deleterious articles, to give information by note addressed to either of the printers here, whether any people of color (describing them) have, for a few months past, purchased either or both of the poisons mentioned, or any other strong poison. In doing so, it will serve the cause of humanity. Cincinnati, February 11."

From time to time other familiar names appear among the advertisers, for instance those of Jacob Baymiller, dry goods, hardware and queensware; Henry D. Wheeler, black and whitesmith; Simeon Churchill, sign and house painter; Aaron Drake & Company, glue; Jesse Hunt, building lots on Broadway between Fourth and Fifth; Robert Boal, Jr., & Company, dry goods, etc.; Jesse Reeder, powder; Philip P. Price, clock maker; Sullivan & Locklin, tailors; Robert Best & Company "having removed their shop to the center one of three big brick houses lately erected on Main between Columbia and Market streets," jewelers; and Walsh & Matthews, dry goods, and Sam Newell and James Cobb, saddlers. Another advertisement is of John Piatt offering for sale "that elegant stand for entertainment the Cincinnati Hotel at present occupied by General Wingate, situated on the bank of the Ohio, near the Steam Mill, corner of Broadway and Front streets." Another advertisement continued for many months is that of a pamphlet entitled the "Accuser of the Brethren Exposed, by Truth supported by Facts, in a letter to Joshua L. Wilson, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati. By John Goadfoot Smith, cabinet maker." Another of similar character relates to "The Western Harmonist" by John McCormick, cited elsewhere.

On April 15, 1815, a communication relates to the result of an experiment with steam lately tried in the Cincinnati steam mills by which on one pair of burr stones six feet in diameter, 19½ bushels of wheat were ground in 59 minutes and on another pair of the same diameter 17 bushels were ground in one hour.

A familiar locality is called to mind in an advertisement of David Loring, offering for sale a number of lots on the bank of the river, one of the pleasantest parts in Cincinnati, known by the name of Hobson's Choice, this side of the steam sawmill.

That the publishers did not find the printing of the paper sufficient to occupy all their time is shown by the advertisement of Messrs. Looker and Wallace on May 2, 1815, to the effect that they had opened a store on the west side of Main two doors above Samuel Kidd's where they offer a "handsome assortment of Spring and Summer goods." A communication of May 8th calls for a meeting of the "Friends of Humanity" to be held at the office of Seth M. Leavenworth at early candle light for the purpose of forming a society for the freeing of such poor Africans as were held in bondage contrary to the laws of the State. This communication, signed by a "friend to the oppressed Africans," excited the ire of "a hater of duplicity" who accuses the judges with construing the laws relating to persons of color in a way which would threaten them with the loss of privilege, whatever that may mean. It states that the town was overrun with persons of color and that such a society would invite scores of negroes to run away from Kentucky and that the zealots of African freedom in other places have been guilty of forgery, perjury and violence. For this reason he

thought that as long as the magistrates, judges and prepossessions of the people were all engaged for the protection of these people it was not necessary to form a phalanx of this kind and thereby encourage an influx of negroes innumerable as the locusts and frogs which infested Egypt.

The *Liberty Hall* of May 9, 1815, contains the extraordinary news from Europe of the return of Napoleon Bonaparte as the Emperor of France on the 20th of March and the departure of King Louis and the princes of his family for England on the 19th of March. This extraordinary series of events filled practically the whole paper of May 5, 1815. On June 5th, D. Drake & Company published a card notifying the inhabitants that they had commenced the manufacturing of artificial mineral waters in a retired department of their drug store where ladies who were desirous of attending at the fountain could find it sufficiently detached from the bustle and confusion of business as to render their visits tranquil as they were salutary and refreshing. The ship news at the port of Cincinnati of that day announces the arrival on June 1st of the barge "Nonsuch," Capt. M. Baum of New Orleans, cargo,—cotton and sugar. On June 19th is chronicled the fact that the steamboat "Enterprise" had arrived at Louisville on the 1st instant in 25 days from New Orleans; left Louisville on the 10th and arrived at this place on the 13th. She departed on the 15th for Pittsburg. On the same day J. B. Robinson claims that three gentlemen whom he denominates as thieves and robbers had broken into his enclosure to steal the dimension of his horse wheel in order to obtain a patent right for their invention. He offers six cents for the disclosure of their names.

That the publisher's lot is not always a happy one is shown by the advertisement of M. S. Petit to the patrons of the *Spirit of the West* to the effect that circumstances of an uncontrollable nature had compelled him to dispose of his printing establishment and he therefore called upon his patrons for arrearages. His embarrassments were too well known to require a minutia of explanation. He was confined in the prison cell for debt.

Other extras were called for on August 17th and August 21st by reason of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. The first extra contains Wellington's account (dated June 19) of his success and the second gives the news of the abdication of Napoleon and the proclamation of his son as Emperor under the title of Napoleon II.

The first issue of the combined paper, *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, was that of December 11, 1815. The explanation of the addition to the title is given by the publishers in a statement to the effect that it was from a desire not only to designate the place of publication but the object,—"that of an ardent zeal for the welfare of this flourishing city and State." The new paper continued to be of the same size, four pages of five columns each. The first page of the first number was entirely taken up by advertisements but this was soon changed and a large part of the advertisements was moved to the last page. The local news was as before of very slight consequence, the first number in fact not containing any local item.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—IV.

RELIGION, EDUCATION, MEDICINE, INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND WAR OF 1812.

THE CHURCHES—THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—THE MEDICAL PROFESSION—THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS—STEAMBOATS—PHYSICAL DISTURBANCES—THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION—THE MARKETS—THE BRIDGES—THE WAR OF 1812.

THE CHURCHES.

A number of changes took place in the religious community during the town life of Cincinnati. After the termination of the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Wallace in April, 1804, the First Presbyterian Church was without any minister for a few years. The New Light doctrines seem to have produced dissensions and it was impossible to agree upon a permanent pastor. Three ministers, Revs. Dunlevy, McNemar and Thompson, had seceded from the Presbytery and the first two finally joined the Shakers. In fact the Cincinnati church was refused representation in that body because of allowing New Light preachers in its pulpit. Rev. Peter Davis officiated for a short time and at his death Rev. John Davies also acted on occasion. Interest in the church was revived in the fall and winter of 1806 and in January, 1807, the church was regularly incorporated at the First Presbyterian Society. Its first trustees, elected July 1st of that year, were James Ewin, Joseph Van Horn, David E. Wade, Thomas McFarland and Robert Merrie. Jacob Burnet was the treasurer. Its membership had increased to about eighty and the church longed "for a man of God who would take charge of it and stay." The man was found in the person of Rev. Joshua Lacy Wilson, who accepted the charge of the church on May 28, 1808, coming to this city from Bardstown, Kentucky. Wilson was a man of great ability, at that time 34 years of age and of four years service in the ministry. He remained for 38 years "a powerful and positive force in the community. * * * He had the ruggedness and severity of doctrinal conviction that impress while they dismay us in Hawthorne's pictures of Puritan New England. He prosecuted the trial of Lyman Beecher his brother pastor and pressed it to the conclusion, animated by the same spirit that was in Prym and Prynne, in Mather and Eliot. The voice of Nicaea was not more binding upon Athanasius and Leo, than was the truth as he had been taught it upon Dr. Wilson, and no man ever spoke with less uncertain sound upon the principles of the faith." (Dudley Ward Rhodes.)

Wilson was a native of Bedford County, Virginia, where he was born on September 22, 1774. His parents subsequently moved to Kentucky at the time he was seven years of age and it was there he made his preparation for the ministry for which he was ordained by the Presbytery of Transylvania. He entered upon his work when he was 30 years of age at Bardstown where he remained until he removed to

Cincinnati in 1808. His ministry here was terminated by his death March 14, 1846. His body rests in Spring Grove Cemetery.

Mansfield comments on him as follows: "The city he found a village of one thousand inhabitants, and left it, at his death, with one hundred thousand. In this period Dr. Wilson maintained throughout the same uniform character and the same inflexible firmness in principle. He was a man of ardent temperament, with great energy and decision of character. The principles he once adopted he held with indomitable courage and unyielding tenacity. He was not only a Presbyterian, but one of the strictest sect. It is not strange, therefore, that he contended with earnestness for what he thought the faith once delivered to the saints, and that in this he sometimes appeared as much of the soldier as the saint. In consequence of these characteristics, many persons supposed him a harsh or bigoted man. But this was a mistake, unless to be in earnest is harshness, and to maintain one's principles bigotry. On the contrary, Dr. Wilson was kind, charitable, and in those things he thought right, liberal. Among these was the great cause of popular education. Of this he was a most zealous advocate, but demanded that education should be founded on religion, and the Bible should be a primary element in all public education."

The same writer in his "Memories" says of him that after making due allowance for generals, lawyers and merchants there was no man in the Cincinnati of that day (1825) more noted, more respected or more remarkable. "Personally I knew little of him, but his name and acts in society were known to everybody. He was a man amiable in character, just in life, of great authority and scarcely less pugnacity. So though no Ishmaelite his hand was uplifted against the Ishmaelites when they came in his way. * * * * Wilson took the Bible in the simplicity of faith and its terms literally. It is said he never would have a portrait or picture in his house because it was an image. He was a strict Calvinist and thought he should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the Saints." (Memories, p. 150.)

The pastorate of Dr. Wilson was so successful that in 1812 it became necessary to arrange for a larger building. For this purpose another subscription paper was circulated. By its terms the money was to erect an edifice for public worship in which each subscriber should have the right to purchase a pew at public auction, which pews were to be subject to an annual tax for the support of the minister. The subscriptions given aggregated $16,745, and some of the sums given were quite large. William Lytle gave in land $1,000 and Jacob Burnet and Martin Baum gave $500 each. Daniel Symmes, David E. Wade, Jesse Hunt, Lucy Ziegler, James Ferguson and Joel Williams gave $400 each, the last named subscription being in land. Joseph Ruffner, William Woodward, Elmore Williams, William Stanley and Thomas Graham gave $300 each. John Riddle and James Riddle gave $250 each. Nicholas Longworth subscribed the same sum, of which $200 was to be in cash. His subscription was conditional upon the raising of $12,000. Others subscribed sums varying from $200 down as low as $25. Among the prominent names of these subscribers are those of Culbertson Park, Samuel Stitt, Francis Carr, Casper Hopple, Griffin Yeatman, Samuel Lowry, William Barr, John Kidd, David Kilgour, William Irwin, Jacob Williams, Nathaniel Reeder, Jesse Reeder, William Betts, John S. Wallace, Jacob Baymiller and John Armstrong. Each one subscribed two hundred dollars. George P. Torrence, O. M. Spencer, Isaac Bates, Clark Bates, Charles L'Hommedieu, Daniel Drake, Robert Allison, Jonah Martin, Samuel W. Davies, and Jeremiah Hunt were also among the subscribers.

The building was begun at once but not completed until the winter of 1814. The structure which was afterwards known as the "two horned" church was situated just in the rear of the old building and faced Main street. It was of brick, 68 by 85 feet with two square towers crowned with cupolas at its corners which gave it its name. It contained a large audience room with one hundred and twelve pews provided by five broad aisles. Around three sides ran a gallery and in the back was an octagonal projection for a vestry. Its height from the ground was but 40 feet except at the corners where the cupolas were 80 feet high. This is what gave it the low and heavy appearance of which Dr. Drake complained.

The old church was sold to Rev. William Burke who conducted an independent Methodist church and who moved it to the west side of Vine street about where the Emery Arcade is now located. As is well known, in 1847 it was broken up and some of its timbers were used for building cottages in Texas at the northwest corner of Clark and Cutter streets.

The women of the congregation took a large part in its work. In the early directories full

lists of various societies connected with the church were given, together with the names of the officers which included many of the most prominent citizens of the day.

The growth of the city was probably the principal cause for the organization of a new church although the exact circumstances are not clearly understood. We are told that at a meeting of the session held September 13, 1814, that a communication was received from Charles Greene and John Kelso looking to the establishment of another church. This met with opposition but it was the beginning of the Second Presbyterian Church. The records of that society begin January 29, 1816, although its organization was not authoritatively settled until 1818. It originated virtually in a small colony from the First Church who worshiped for some two years in such rooms as they could find about the city, in private houses, in school rooms and the like. In an application to the Presbytery for a minister to supply them, they offered the sum of $550 per annum. In 1817 or 1818 they erected a small building on the east side of Walnut street a little north of Fifth, where they continued to worship for about 12 years. "The erection of this humble building cost them not a little of trouble and anxiety. One of those mothers in Israel used to relate that at one time they were stopped in the work for want of lumber; they had not been able to lay it in beforehand, and there was none in the city, and none expected.

"They had a prayer-meeting at her house, and, among other things, prayed earnestly that God would help them along with the work. Next morning some of the members happening to be at the river, saw a raft of lumber afloat which the men aboard could not land for want of help. So they hurried out, helped them ashore, and in return got a supply of lumber very cheap, and thanked God for it. The architect of the Court House had a lot of window-sash, which, through some mistake, would not fit, and gave them to the church at half price. Thus it was that little church was built.

"The salary of Mr. Root, the first settled pastor, was nominally one thousand dollars; but it was fixed at a time when the circulating medium here was greatly depreciated, and ultimately contracts of that period were generally settled at one-third discount for specie; so that Mr. Root received only six hundred and sixty-six dollars in coin. I presume his salary was ultimately raised above that sum, though I find no record of it." (Nathaniel Wright's Memorial Address, p. 9.)

The membership of this church included some of the most prominent of the early citizens, among them such men as Judge Burnet, Martin Baum, John H. Groesbeck, Nathaniel Wright and Henry Starr. Of the first 11 members, however, but four were men. The church prospered and grew until it found it necessary to move once more, which it did in 1830. In this year it took charge of the building on the south side of Fourth street between Vine and Race, the site of the present McAlpin store where it remained for 43 years, to remove at the end of that time to its present location at Eighth and Elm streets.

Rev. William Burke had preached several times, as already stated, in the dwellings of the Methodists and once in the Court House but the actual birth of Methodism in Cincinnati is said to be due to Rev. John Collins who was a farmer living on the east fork of the Little Miami. In New Jersey, his old home, he had been licensed as a local preacher and had preached in his own neighborhood beyond the Miami on several occasions. One day he came to town to buy salt and to his great joy he found that the storekeper Mr. Carter was a Methodist. Such an opportunity could not be neglected and in the evening the young New Jersey exhorter preached to 12 people in an upper room in Mr. Carter's house on Front street between Walnut and Vine. The text of the sermon was: "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall de damned." Mark XVI, 15, 16.

The assemblage is described by the writer of the life of Collins as follows: "Will the reader linger a moment on that remarkable congregation of twelve—not remarkable for their positions in society, but as the first assemblage of Methodists, to hear a sermon by a Methodist preacher, in a town which, in a few years, was to become noted for Methodism? In the small apartment, lighted with one or two flickering candles, sat the twelve. The preacher performed his duty most faithfully and affectionately. Many tears were shed. Some wept under a conviction of their sins, others from a joyful hope of the future. The speaker had a word for each hearer, and it took effect. There were no dry eyes nor unfeeling hearts in the congregation. How small and how feeble was this

beginning; and yet who can limit the consequences which followed it?"

Shortly afterwards, Rev. John Sale, from the Scioto circuit, preached in a house on Main street between Front and Second streets to a congregation of 35 people and organized the first society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati.

"After preaching, a proposition was made to organize a society in the usual way, and according to the discipline of the church. Accordingly, a chapter was read from the Bible; then followed singing, prayer, and the reading of the General Rules of the society. All then who felt desirous of becoming members of the society, and were willing to abide by the General Rules as they had been read, came forward and gave in their names. The number who presented themselves on that occasion was only eight, consisting of the following, namely: Mr. and Mrs. Carter, their son and daughter (the latter afterwards Mrs. Dennison, mother of Governor Dennison, and long a resident of Cincinnati), Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, and Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair. Mr. Gibson was appointed the reader.

"A regular church being organized, arrangements were made to have preaching regularly every two weeks by the circuit preachers. The society received an accession in the ensuing spring by the arrival in town of two Methodist families, namely, those of Messrs. Nelson and Hall, and their families. * * * * Meetings were held in the little log school house below the Hill, and not far from the old fort. The location of this school house was such as to accommodate the villagers; and as its site was somewhere not far from the intersection of Lawrence and Congress streets, it is presumed that this portion of the town was the most thickly inhabited. Sometimes the rowdies would stone the house; and on one occasion Ezekiel Hall, a zealous Methodist, and one who was always present to lead the singing, was taken by the rowdies after the meeting, and carried to his home on Main street, where, after giving him three hearty cheers for his zeal and fortitude, they left him. The rioters were followed by two very strong young men, who were members of the church, and had determined at all hazards to protect their feeble brother. The young men were Benjamin Stewart, now (1854) living near Carthage, in this county, and Robert Richardson, now living on Broadway, in this city." (Finley's Western Methodism.)

During the following year the Methodist minister was Rev. John Meek. In this year too was held under the direction of Rev. William Burke, the presiding elder, the first revival meeting. Enthusiasm by this time had reached the point of erecting a church. A lot for the building and for the cemetery was purchased on the north side of Fifth street between Sycamore and Broadway and here on the site of the present Wesley Chapel was erected the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church so long known as the "Old Stone Church," which was finished and dedicated in 1806. This building was about 20 feet wide and 40 feet long and was soon found of insufficient capacity. The rear end was taken out and a brick structure 20 feet deep was added to it. In course of time the sides of the brick part were taken out and the building extended 20 feet in three directions giving the church the form of a cross. This church was the scene of many interesting episodes. Elder William Burke was regularly assigned to it in 1811 and preached there three times every Sunday and on Wednesday nights. As the Methodists were too poor to buy a stove to warm the house in winter and crowded the church to its full capacity every Sunday morning, the breath of the listeners would condense on the walls, causing the water to run down and across the floor. Father Burke as he was called finally lost his voice and Mansfield says that he "always spoke low and in guttural tones. He was always chewing tobacco, and being a postmaster was always a Democrat. He was a strong Methodist and seemed an amiable man." (Memories, p. 152.)

Another incident of early Methodist days is told concerning the Conference in 1813. The crowds were so large that no church was able to hold them and the meeting was adjourned to Lower Market street between Sycamore and Broadway. Here at eleven o'clock the services began, being participated in by Rev. Learner Blackman and several other ministers. Among the latter was the John Collins of the earlier days, "who, from the same butcher's block whereon the preachers had stood, commenced, with a soft and silvery voice, to sell the shambles, as only John Collins could, in the market. These he made emblematic of a full salvation, without money and without price. It was not long till the vast assembly were in tears at the melting, moving strains of the eloquent preacher."

The first named minister, Rev. Learner Blackman, was one of the most brilliant of the earlier Methodist preachers. He was a brother-in-law of Collins and in the fall of 1815 was crossing the river with his newly married young wife

to Covington on the way to his new station in Kentucky. The ferry boat was a crazy craft with sails and paddles. The hoisting of the sails frightened Mr. Blackman's horses and they plunged overboard dragging him with them. Although a good swimmer, he was entangled in the harness and was struck by the heels of the animals and sank at once.

Other churches established during this period were those of the New Jerusalem Society founded in 1811 by Rev. Adam Hurdus, and the Friends whose meeting house was west of Western row between Fourth and Fifth streets on a site part of which is still owned by that organization. The first meeting house was built by Peyton Short of Kentucky in the year 1800 (this date is disputed). The people are said to have wondered "why he built those two nice hewn log houses away out in the woods there." After a time one John Arnot rented the one toward the west and "cut wood on the lot and with a cart and two oxen hauled the wood away down town." This house was bought by the Friends in 1813. A frame structure was put on the east and with a few changes the building served its purpose until 1859 when it was replaced by the brick building so familiar to our contemporaries. Before this time the Friends had held their gatherings in private houses, particularly that of the late Oliver M. Spencer, and a public meeting had been held in the Court House on Main street south of Fifth street in the year 1812, which was attended by the celebrated English Quaker, Elizabeth Robson.

The first Baptist Church was a log house on Front, street, where, in 1813, 11 members worshiped for a time. By 1815 it had increased to a membership of 30 and the congregation augmented in a corresponding degree. The first baptism by immersion was performed in the summer of 1814. The church soon moved to its brick building at Sixth street and Lodge alley, where it had been presented with a lot by Gen. John S. Gano. The church divided in 1816 and the minority party for a time existed as the Enon Baptist Church.

The German Christian Church was started in 1814 by Rev. Joseph Zesline who died in 1818. Father Burke's church known as the Wesleyan Methodist Church was incorporated in 1817. It worshiped for a long time on Vine between Fourth and Fifth streets.

The first Protestant Episcopal Church known as Christ Church was formed at Dr. Drake's house on East Third street on May 18, 1817. Among the original members were General Harrison, Griffin Yeatman, Jacob Baymiller and Arthur St. Clair, Jr. The congregation met about from place to place at first, at times in a large cotton factory in Lodge alley between Fifth and Sixth streets, then in the old Presbyterian Church and finally in the Baptist building on West Sixth street which was bought by this church. Rev. Samuel Johnson was the rector at this time. In 1818 the society purchased a burial lot for $3,000, which was afterwards sold to the city in 1860 for $35,000 and now forms a part of Washington Park.

The Catholic Church continued to increase in numbers, but seems to have had no fixed place of abode. A frame church had been built for it in the so-called "Northern Liberties" but as yet no priest had been assigned to it.

Several of the churches had cemeteries attached to them. The only public cemetery was that of the First Presbyterian Church, which by 1810 had become so nearly filled as to make necessary the purchase of one of the out-lots on the site of Washington Park. The Methodist Church had a small cemetery attached to it but the Baptist Church by reason of the smallness of its lot was without any special burying place. The same is true of the Society of Friends.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

An act passed February 3, 1807 (5 O. L., 120), appointed John Riddle, Joseph Van Horn, William Stratton, Ethan Stone, Stephen Wood, Samuel Hildritch, Luke Foster, Matthew Nimmo and Daniel Symmes, commissioners to raise by way of a lottery a sum not to exceed $6,000 for the benefit of the Cincinnati University. At least $1,500 of this sum was to be expended for books and astronomical apparatus. The commissioners were to be sworn before the clerk of the court and to publish their scheme of the lottery in three or more newspapers and enter into a bond for the sum of $50,000 each. The result of the drawing was to be published in the newspapers of Cincinnati and Chillicothe and filed with the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County. The commissioners were not permitted to retain more than 15 per cent of the whole prizes obtained in said lottery.

By a subsequent act passed February 17, 1807 (7 O. L. 195), the commissioners were given greater powers with regard to the details of the scheme and William Ruffin, William Ramsey, Martin Baum and Jacob Burnet were appointed commissioners in place of Ethan Stone, Samuel

Hildritch, Matthew Nimmo and Daniel Symmes who had refused to act.

In the year 1806 an association under the name of the Cincinnati University had been formed which was incorporated in the following year by special act of the Legislature. Unfortunately it was without endowment and permission was obtained from the Legislature to obtain money by this lottery. A large number of tickets were sold, but the lottery for some reason never took place nor was the money refunded. The school house which had been erected was blown down on Sunday, May 28, 1809, and the Cincinnati University slumbered for some time longer. (Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, p. 157.)

A more successful attempt to establish an institution for the instruction of the youth of the city was made a little later. In 1814 Dr. Daniel Drake and Rev. Joshua L. Wilson became interested in the system of education which passed under the name of Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman, although really the suggestion of Andrew Bell, a Scotchman. The fundamental principle of this system was the use of the elder pupils as monitors and to some extent teachers, in whose charge were placed the younger scholars. It had been for a time very successful in England and seemed particularly adapted to a new community where there was a great scarcity of properly qualified teachers.

In 1814 one Edmond Harrison from Tennessee who had received instruction in the system from a pupil of Lancaster came to Cincinnati for the purpose of undertaking a school on this plan. He first made a proposition to the Methodist Church of which he was a member to establish a denominational school on the Lancasterian plan. The proposition was at once accepted and Rev. Oliver M. Spencer drew up the articles for the government of the association but made no provision for the so-called higher instruction. To this omission and also to a requirement that a majority of the trustees should be members of the Methodist Church, exception was taken by a number of citizens and a rival institution was organized to which was given the name of the Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary.

The two institutions were very soon united into one and on February 4, 1815, an act was passed incorporating Oliver M. Spencer, William Lytle, Martin Baum, John Kidd, and others under the name of the Lancaster Seminary. By this act power to acquire property to the extent of $10,000 was given as well as authority to employ teachers. No political, religious, moral or literary association was to have an ascendency in the directory nor were the tenets of any particular sect to be taught. The first trustees named were Jacob Burnet, Nicholas Longworth, Davis Embree, William Corry, Charles Marsh and Daniel Drake.

The Presbyterian Church executed a 99-year lease of the school lots at Fourth and Walnut as a site for the building, reserving the privilege of selecting 28 poor children each year who should be instructed without compensation. The seminary was to consist of a junior and a senior department, each in turn to have separate provision for the education of males and females. The junior department was to be organized on the Lancasterian plan and its surplus revenues were to be applied to the purchase of books and philosophical apparatus for the senior department. The price of schooling in this department and junior department was $8 a year and the children of a shareholder who died without leaving provision for their education were entitled to the regular course of instruction in the lower department. Jacob Burnet became the president from the outset.

The erection of a building upon a plan prepared by Isaac Stagge had been begun in 1814 and by April 17, 1815, one of the lower rooms was completed and a school composed of children of both sexes was opened. Within a fortnight 420 were admitted which was the limit of the capacity of the institution and subsequent applications had to be rejected. "By the indefatigable exertions of the teacher, order and method were at length introduced, and the proficiency of the scholars has equalled all reasonable expectation. A second school on the same plan for females only has just been commenced and promises to be well filled. The Board of Directors by a late resolution have decreed the establishment of a school for children of color, in a separate house; but no teacher has yet been procured." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 157.)

Liberty Hall on Tuesday, March 7, 1815, contains the following notice: "Opening of the Lancaster Seminary. The directors of this institution are happy to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati and its vicinity that they will commence a school on Monday the 27th instant. The terms of tuition are, to freeholders resident in the town who are not shareholders in the Seminary and to those shareholders who are in arrears $2.50 per quarter for each scholar—to all others $2.00. Those persons who wish to

CINCINNATI IN 1810.
(From Cutler's "Topographical Description," 1812.)

CINCINNATI IN 1840.
(From Shaffer's Directory of 1840.)

enter as scholars will please to apply at an early period to Jacob Burnet, Charles Marsh, William Corry, Nicholas Longworth, Davis Embree, and Daniel Drake and procure a certificate of admission which must be immediately presented to the teacher. Mr. Edmond Harrison, who may be found in the Seminary or at his dwelling near the Methodist meeting house. By order of the Board of Directors, D. Drake secretary.

A few weeks later it became necessary to announce that the opening of the school had been postponed by reason of the illness of the teacher. Coupled with this announcement is also the announcement of the annual meeting for the election of directors. This called forth a number of communications to the newspaper complaining of the delay in starting the school and other grievances.

There had been subscribed for the benefit of the seminary about $12,000 in shares of $25 each and provision was made by which the banks loaned sufficient money to erect the building. The building itself was described in the Directory of 1819 (p. 34) as "a capacious brick building, two stories in height, consisting of two parallel wings 90 feet in length and connecting by an intermediate apartment 18 by 30 feet, in which is a staircase leading into the rooms of the second story of each wing. This connecting apartment supports a handsome dome designed for an observatory and a bell and is placed between the wings 12 feet back of the front in order to admit of a gallery and rows of Tuscan pillars which the proprietors intend to erect. The wings are divided into convenient apartments for the different branches of science." (See also Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, pp. 136 and 155.)

As finally completed, the lower rooms had accommodations for about 900 children and the whole for 1,400. In the upper story was a large room which was used for apparatus and the general purposes of a philosophical hall. The building was considered the finest public edifice west of the Alleghanies.

An Englishman, Henry Bradshaw Fearon, who visited the city in 1817 described the condition of education in the village at that time as follows:

"The school house, when the whole plan is completed, will be a fine and extensive structure. In the first apartment, on the ground floor, the Lancasterian plan is already in successful operation. I counted one hundred and fifty scholars, among whom were children of the most respectable persons in the town, or, to use an American phrase, 'of the first standing.' This school house is, like most establishments in this country, a joint-stock concern. The terms for education, in the Lancasterian department, are to shareholders eleven shillings and threepence per quarter, others thirteen shillings and sixpence. There are in the same building three other departments (not Lancasterian); two for instruction in history, geography, and the classics, and the superior department for teaching languages. Males and females are taught in the same room, but sit on opposite sides. The terms for the historical, etc., department are, to shareholders, twenty-two shillings and sixpence per quarter; others twenty-seven shillings. There were present twenty-one males and nineteen females. In the department of languages the charge is, to shareholders, thirty-six shillings per quarter; others, forty-five shillings. Teachers are paid a yearly salary by the company. These men are, I believe, New Englanders, as are the schoolmasters in the Western country generally.

"I also visited a poor, half-starved, civil schoolmaster. He has two miserable rooms, for which he pays twenty-two shillings and sixpence per month; the number of scholars, both male and female, is twenty-eight; terms for all branches thirteen shillings and sixpence per quarter. He complains of great difficulty in getting paid, and also of the untameable insubordination of his scholars. The superintendent of the Lancasterian school informs me that they could not attempt to put in practice the greater part of the punishments as directed by the founder of that system."

One of the incorporators, Capt. John Kidd, died February 16, 1810. By his will executed the year before he directed his executors, Joshua L. Wilson and Oliver M. Spencer, to apply and expend for the education of poor children and youth in the town of Cincinnati the rents and proceeds from a perpetual lease of the lot at the corner of Front and Main streets to John Smith and David Loring. This was the first of the gifts of citizens to the cause of education. This fund amounting to $1,000 a year was paid for six years to the Cincinnati College that succeeded the Lancaster Seminary and upon its proceeds during this time from 75 to 100 were educated upon the Lancasterian plan. Afterwards when the tuition was reduced, some 325 children received its benefit. In 1825 an adverse claim was made against the property and finally the city lost the bequest.

An interesting adjunct to the cause of education was the School of Literature and the Arts, an association for literary and scientific improvement composed chiefly of young men organized in 1813 with Joshua Meigs as its first president. The exercises of the meeting included an address from the president, an essay from one of the members and a poetical recitation from another. The first anniversary was held on November 23, 1814, at which an oration was delivered by appointment from which says Dr. Drake it appeared that many interesting lectures and essays had been delivered and that infant institution was probably the germ of a permanent and respectable society. This organization is not mentioned in the first directory. Speaking of it, Judge Charles D. Drake, in the admirable biography of his father prefixed to the latter's letters to his children, says:

"That there should have been a School of Literature and the Arts organized in Cincinnati in 1813, when its population could not probably have exceeded four thousand, and it was still in the Far West, will be regarded as a fact of interest by those who have known that place only as a central object in a region inhabited by millions, among whom knowledge and intelligence are well nigh universally diffused.

"It is curious to know what, in that early period, the School of Literature and the Arts did. It appears from this address that during the first year of its existence it had assembled more than twenty times for literary exercises. He (Dr. Drake) says:

"'The essays of the members equalled all reasonable expectation. Some of them consisted chiefly of original matter, while others manifested a degree of research which is honorable to their authors and auspicious to the school. It would be amusing to review their contents; but, being restricted to limits too narrow for the undertaking, I will substitute a catalogue of their titles, that by a single glance we can see the number and diversity of the subjects to which our attention has been directed. I shall enumerate them in the order of their delivery:

"'1, An Essay on Education; 2, On the Earthquakes of 1811, 1812, 1813; 3, On Light; 4, On Carbon; 5, On Air; 6, On the Mind; 7, On Agriculture; 8, On Caloric; 9, On Gravitation; 10, On Instinct; 11, Notices of the Aurora Borealis of the 17th of April and 11th of September, 1814; 12, An Essay on Water, considered chemically and hydrostatically; 13, On Common Sense; 14, On Heat; 15, On the Mechanical Powers; 16, On the Theory of Earthquakes; 17, On Enthusiasm; 18, On the Geology of Cincinnati and its vicinity, illustrated with mineral specimens and a vertical map; 19, On the Internal Commerce of the United States; 20, On Hydrogen; 21, On Rural Economy; 22, On the Geology of some parts of New York; 23, On General Commerce.

"'The third and subordinate portion of our exercises, poetical recitations, has been strictly performed, and our album of poetry already exhibits specimens indicative of a cultivated taste. The proposition to connect with the pieces recited such critical remarks as they may suggest, has received some attention, and promises to give to this branch an interest and dignity which were not originally anticipated.'" (Pioneer Life in Kentucky, p. XVIII.)

Mr. Mansfield, who lived at the place of Col. Isaac Bates, attended a school in 1811 at a log school house which was located nearly opposite the present House of Refuge. At the close of the quarter in July there was a spelling battle and he came off at the head of the school. The pupils were then formed in a column and marched to a tavern near the present House of Refuge where the schoolmaster treated them to cherry bounce which was very strong and made Mansfield's head reel.

Mrs. Williams' school for young ladies at the house of Mr. Newman, saddler, was opened in the spring of 1802.

Another academy was that of Edward B. Hannegan opened on October 10, 1805. Hannegan's school is said to have been kept in Fort Washington. Maj. Daniel Gano was one of the pupils.

Another teacher of the early days was Oliver C. B. Stewart, who kept a Latin and English school in the first years of the century.

A boarding school some distance west of the city on the present site of Sedamsville was kept in a single room log cabin about 15 feet square by a couple named Carpenter in the year 1805. Major Gano also attended this school.

A number of other schools are referred to in advertisements in the papers of the day, but they were in the main quite short lived.

In the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of October 23, 1805, appears an advertisement of books, largely school books, offered for sale by Thomas Dugan, nearly opposite the Court House. Among those mentioned are "Marshall on Sanctification, Guthrie's Arithmetic, Pike's do. Sheridan's Dictionary, Entick's do. Gibson's

Surveying, Clerk's Magazine, Scott's Lessons, Lyle's Grammar, Kentucky & Other Hymn Books, David's Psalms, American Preceptor, Bibles, Testaments, Music Books, Blank do. and a variety of chap books, &c. &c."

S. S. L'Hommedieu tells us that in the years 1810, 1811 and 1812 there were but three or four small schools. One of these was kept in the second story of a frame building on the southwest corner of Sixth and Main by Thomas H. Wright. The stairs to the school room were on the outside of the house on Sixth street. John Hilton had a school over a cabinet-maker's shop on the east side of Main between Fifth and Sixth and David Cathcart held forth on the west side of Walnut near Fourth. Each school had about 40 scholars. "There was a custom in those early days, when the boys wanted a holiday, to join in 'barring out' the schoolmaster. Providing themselves with some provisions, they would take the opportunity, when the schoolmaster was out at noon, to fasten the windows, and bolt and doubly secure the door, so as to prevent Mr. Schoolmaster from obtaining entrance.

"In the years 1811 and 1812, my father lived nearly opposite the school of Mr. Wright, and I remember, on one occasion, to have seen him on his stairs, fretting, scolding, threatening the boys, and demanding entrance; but to no purpose, except on their terms; namely a day's holiday and a treat to apples, cider and gingercakes. There are, probably, those present who attended this school.

"There was still another custom among Western schoolboys in the early days of Cincinnati. At that time every one who came from east of the mountains was called a Yankee, whether from Maryland or New England. The first appearance of the Yankee boy at school, and during intermission, was the time for the Yankee to be whipped out of him. When I first witnessed the operation, I was too small to be whipped; but my elder brothers caught it. Not long afterward, I helped to whip the Yankee out of the Hon. Caleb B. Smith and his brothers, who came from Boston." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 30.)

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The medical fraternity is treated in a separate chapter of this work but no account of the life of Cincinnati during its existence as a town would be complete without special reference to Dr. Daniel Drake whose name has appeared many times in these pages. The bare outline in the facts of his life gives no adequate impression of the influence he exerted.

Arriving at Cincinnati December 18, 1800, a boy of 15 years of age, he very shortly obtained prominence in the young community and for a half century until the time of his death, November 5, 1852, he was one of the few men who could dispute the claim to the title of the most prominent man of the place. He was born at Plainfield, New Jersey, October 20, 1785 and came with his parents to Kentucky when he was but two and one-half years of age so that his life in the West began with that of the West itself.

In his letters to his children published nine years after his death is given the best account we have of the pioneer life of Kentucky and the West during those days. His father was a poor man and in fact affluence never fell to the lot of Drake for any considerable period of his life. The family's first residence was a sheep pen and from Drake's earliest boyhood he was obliged to perform the severest labor of the farm as his father was not able to hire any assistance. The so-called strenuous life of modern days fades into insignificance and the term becomes one of ridicule as compared with the labor that fell to the lot of the early pioneer.

Drake tells of his mother, tired out with the diet of bread and meat, making a call in a neighboring cabin where a woman was churning. She had fixed her heart on a drink of buttermilk and as the butter was ladled out and the churn set aside with the delicious beverage for which she was too proud to ask and which the other perhaps did not think of giving, she hastily left the house and took a good crying spell. (Pioneer Life in Kentucky, page 11.)

His early education was obtained in a log cabin school house and from the few books in his father's library. In his 15th year on the morning of December 16, 1800, he set out on horseback for Fort Washington and on the 19th the first student of medicine in Cincinnati entered that village. He entered the office of Dr. Goforth where he was medical student, apothecary's boy and lad of all work. Two years later Dr. John Stites who had studied medicine at Philadelphia became the partner of Goforth and for a time the instructor of Drake. In May, 1804, Goforth took the 18-year old boy into partnership. In the following year he conceived the idea of studying in Philadelphia and although the receipts of the partnership had been very small he set forth with what has been called the

first medical diploma ever granted in the interior valley of North America. This was given him by Dr. Goforth himself and was an "autographed diploma setting forth his ample attainments in all the branches of the profession and subscribing himself as he really was Surgeon General of the First Division of Ohio Militia." By this authority he practiced medicine for 11 years until he received a diploma from the Pennsylvania University, "the first ever conferred by that or any other school on a Cincinnati student."

In 1806 he came West and practiced medicine for a time in his Kentucky home. In the spring of 1807 Dr. Goforth made his pilgrimage to New Orleans and Drake on April 10th returned to Cincinnati to take Goforth's place, bringing with him his brother Benjamin. He succeded in retaining Dr. Goforth's practice and became prominent both in professional and social circles. He plunged eagerly into the life of the community and took part in its varied activities. He was a member of the debating society to which most of the prominent professional men belonged, being elsewhere referred to. He also took part in the private theatricals in which there appeared also Joseph G. Totten (afterwards general of engineers), Sill (subsequently member of Congress from Pennsylvania) and John F. Mansfield, as well as other young men. "The corps being entirely deficient in females, the young men had to assume both the parts and dress of the female characters. The performance took place in a large barn and is said to have gone off with great eclat." He became a frequent visitor to the house of Jared Mansfield who then lived in the Ludlow place and there in the fall of 1807 he married Harriet Sisson the 19-year old niece of Mansfield. The young couple went to housekeeping on the east side of Sycamore street between Third and Fourth in a two-story frame building and the married life which began here continued for 18 years. There is nothing more touching than the account given by Drake himself in the manuscript found after his death in which he pays a tribute to the memory of his wife. She was a companion to him in every sense of the word, shared in his reading, criticised his writing and traveled with him in his journeys more than five thousand miles by land and water and accompanied him in his doctor's gig each day on his round of visits to his patients.

In 1810 he published the pamphlet of 64 pages entitled "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," the first and rarest publication about the city. This was printed at the office of Rev. John Browne and was set we are told by an apprentice, Sacket Reynolds. In the year 1814 he delivered the anniversary address before the School of Literature and the Arts at Cincinnati.

In the following year he published the most important of the early books about the city, the "Picture of Cincinnati," a work which had occupied the leisure moments snatched from the practice of his profession during the preceding five years. He was also engaged in running a drug store on Main street between Second and Third and finally added to the sale of drugs the sale of groceries. In this undertaking his brother Benjamin joined him. He was active also in the business of the Lancaster Seminary of which he was secretary and of the Library Society of which he was president. Drake felt at all times the need of study concerning the latest methods and theories of his profession and in 1815 after he had acquired a large practice and had engaged in numerous business enterprises and published two works about his city which had given him a wide-spread reputation, he returned with his wife to Philadelphia there to attend the lectures of the Pennsylvania University. He spent the winter in that city where he became acquainted with the leading men of his own and other professions and where he made a very strong impression upon all who met him and returned in May, 1816, with a degree, the first conferred by that institution upon a citizen of Cincinnati. Upon his return to Cincinnati, he took up immediately an active and profitable practice and once more became occupied in every phase of the community's life.

The drug stock on Main street opposite Lower Market he seems to have sold out upon his departure to Philadelphia to Dr. John Woolley but the store itself he retained and in March, 1816, it was reopened under the name of Isaac Drake & Company to do a general business of dry goods, hardware and groceries. Isaac Drake was his father.

We are told that at that time there was no specialization of business. Dealers in hardware sold groceries and dry goods men sold books. But one firm of the day, Yeatman & Anderson, had groceries only. The times were supposed to be prosperous. The war with Great Britain had a tendency to foster unnaturally American manufactures. Its conclusion not only opened up the markets to foreign goods but brought with it the evils that always follow a war,—those of extravagance. Drake however did not make

a success in his business venture. He sold out his shares in the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, sold some of his real estate, borrowed considerable money and engaged somewhat extensively in new branches of business. In May, 1816, his firm announced that they furnished artificial mineral water, certainly a novelty for those days.

In the following year he became a member of the first faculty of the pioneer medical school of the West at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. Lexington at that time was a town of an importance about equal to that of Cincinnati. This appointment however did not take him at once from the city and his practice increased constantly until it reached a point at this time of $7,000 a year, certainly a very large practice for those days. After a winter at Lexington he returned to Cincinnati in the spring of 1818 and began his work in connection with the public institutions of his own town. He notes considerable change in Cincinnati in the few years since he published his second volume about it. Two steamboats had been completed at the place within eight months and seven more were on stocks. The engines for them and all the iron machinery were made at an extensive iron foundry between his old residence and the river. The principal streets were about to be paved. A horse ferry boat had been built. The two newspapers had been enlarged and the third was about commenced.

Drake's business house was still in active operation and had established a branch at Miami town. He himself was delivering subscription lectures on botany and together with his partners, Dr. Coleman Rogers and Dr. Black of the Lancaster Seminary, he commenced medical lectures to a class of about 12. At this time he lived at "Mount Poverty," a log cabin 16 feet square lined with pine boards with a kitchen and a bed room in the wings and all of one story and covered with planks. This was on the Hill towards the northern part of the city between Sycamore and Broadway. It was surrounded by woods and almost a mile from the town. He lived here while finishing his new house at the corner of Third and Ludlow which he entered in the month of October, 1818. About this time he issued five pamphlets some of them more or less of controversial character and one an introduction to his lectures on botany. His medical lectures developed into a medical college and in December, 1818, he secured the passage of acts incorporating Cincinnati College to be formed out of the Lancaster Seminary, the Medical College of Ohio and the Commercial Hospital, the last named to be connected with the medical school but managed by the township trustees of Cincinnati. This last was endowed with one-fourth of the auction dues of the town, which in time became a large amount and it was also selected as the Marine Hospital of the United States, for sick seamen.

The opening of the school was delayed and did not take place until November, 1820, the year following that in which Cincinnati became a city and its history and that of Dr. Drake is connected with the history of the city rather than with that of the town. He was a leading citizen until his death in 1852.

Among other physicians during the town life was Dr. John Stites already mentioned. He came in 1802 from Philadelphia but staid less that a year. Dr. John Blackburn came in 1805 from Pensylvania and moved away in 1809. Blackburn acted as assistant surgeon in Col. John S. Wallace's regiment in the projected campaign against the Prophet. Dr. Samuel Ramsay came in 1808 and formed a partnership with Dr. Allison which continued until the latter's death. He continued in practice in Cincinnati until 1831 when he died at the age of 50.

THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

An important event in the city's history was the establishment in 1803 of the Miami Exporting Company. One of the greatest difficulties under which the people labored at that time was that of conveying their products to market and procuring in turn such articles as they needed. Roads had not yet been built, canals hardly thought of and the rivers were so impeded by obstructions of different sorts as to make their navigation difficult and hazardous. Even when the water was at its most favorable stage the distance of the market and the imperfect means of transportation together with the low price consumed a large proportion of a cargo in expenses. The boats used were the well known pirogues, flat-boats and keel-boats which occupied six months in making the trip to New Orleans and back. Flat-boats of course which floated down the river could not be taken back and had to be abandoned at the end of the trip. This made it necessary for the river men to return by land frequently on foot through the wilderness, a distance of seven hundred or eight hundred miles much of which was through an Indian country. Pirogues and keel-boats could

return, although at the expense of much labor, with such articles as could be obtained in the Southern markets. As a result commerce languished a little and no encouragement to engage in it or to a farmer to increase his products beyond his mere necessities was given. We are told by Judge Burnet that corn and oats rarely commanded more than ten or twelve cents a bushel and were frequently purchased at eight cents while wheat was from thirty to forty cents. The average price of good beef was one dollar and fifty cents a hundred and pork one to two dollars. The farmers were able to live independently in a simple and comfortable way without luxury but were unable to accomplish anything more. Under these circumstances, Jesse Hunt a merchant of experience suggested the plan and project of the Miami Exporting Company. He first proposed the question to the merchants of the city and the farmers as to whether it was not possible to devise a plan by which a corporation could be forwarded that would reduce the difficulty and expense of transportation. The suggestion met with a favorable response and as a result a charter was asked in the Legislature. There was some doubt as to the ultimate success of the scheme. As a result of this the company asked that its charter should include banking powers so that if the business of shipping should not succeed the capital invested could be used in banking. No concealment was made of this purpose. There was at the time no bank in the country and no prejudice against one. The first purpose of the organization was undoubtedly shipping but unfortunately both agriculture and commerce were at that time at a very low point. The first improvement in navigation had been effected by the introduction of barges moved by sails when there was a wind and by oars and poles when there was not. These vessels were able to carry more than fifty to eighty tons. This enabled them to reduce the freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati to about five or six dollars a hundred which was below the average charge of carriage across the mountains. These boats were operated by two houses in Cincinnati,—Baum & Perry and Riddle, Bechtle & Company,—until the introduction of steamboats about the year 1817. (Burnet's Notes, p. 397.)

The Miami Exporting Company it is claimed is entitled to the credit of being the first steamboat company organized in the West. The date of its temporary organization was February 21, 1803, and on the 4th of March of that year a general citizens' meeting was held at Grummon's Tavern at which Major Ruffin presided and Samuel C. Vance acted as secretary. The name was selected for the company at this meeting and on June 16th Martin Baum, Daniel Symmes, Samuel C. Vance, Christian Waldsmith, William C. Schenck, Matthew Hueston, Jesse Hunt, Daniel Mayo, William Lytle, John Bigger and Israel Ludlow were elected as directors. The company soon afterwards bought the unfinished boat which had been built by Samuel Highway and John Pool in accordance with the circular of March 25, 1801, concerning the construction of boats to be propelled by the power of steam or elastic vapor already quoted. Unfortunately the financial crisis which came on about that time made it impossible to complete this boat as a steamboat and it was fitted as a broadhorn and sent to New Orleans. Thus although the company was the first organized for the purpose of operating a steamboat, for the best of reasons—the lack of funds—it never carried out this particular purpose of its organization and the first steamboat launched on the Western waters, the "New Orleans," came from Pittsburg in the year 1811.

By 1807 it became apparent that the shipping business did not pay under the conditions of that date and the company concluded to abandon this department of the business and take up that of banking exclusively. The capital stock was made $500,000. This was divided into shares of $100, of which $450,000 had been paid in by 1815 by 190 persons. Martin Baum was president and Oliver M. Spencer, cashier. The notes issued by this company were much smaller in size than the bank notes of the present day and were printed on plain linen paper. A number of these have been preserved and from one the following copy is taken.

One Dollar No. 2086 One Dollar

The President and Directors of the Miami Exporting Company promise to pay to bearer, on demand, ONE DOLLAR.

Cincinnati April 14, 1815.

O. M. Spencer, Cashier. M. Baum, President.

The engraving which was done by Looker & Wallace is as yet quite distinct and clear and the signatures of the officers apparently imperishable.

In 1815 Mr. Spencer had become the president and Samuel C. Vance, cashier. Vance was afterwards succeeded by Maj. William Oliver. The most prominent citizens of the town were among the stockholders, including Jesse Hunt, Martin

Baum, William Barr, David Kilgour and General Findlay. The directors in 1819 were David Kilgour, Francis Carr, Griffin Yeatman, Samuel Perry, William Barr, David E. Wade, Isaac G. Burnet, William Ruffin and William Ramsey. (Directory of 1819, p. 46.)

The banking house was located on Front street on the wharf about one hundred feet west of Sycamore.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank was founded in the gloomy year 1812 and received a charter in the year following. This charter was for but five years, at the expiration of which time the charters of all the banks in the State except that of the Miami Exporting Company which was for forty years would expire. Its capital stock was $200,000, divided into shares of $50 each. A third of its directors were required to be practical farmers and the same proportion practical mechanics. At the time of the organization of this company, business was depressed all over the country because of the approach of war but it apparently succeeded for a time and Dr. Drake in 1815 gives its rate of dividend as from eight to fourteen percent while that of the Miami Exporting Company fluctuated between ten and fifteen percent. At this time the president of the bank was William Irwin and the cashier, Samuel W. Davies. It issued a large number of notes which were somewhat similar to those of the other bank and engraved by W. Harrison. Its charter was subsequently extended and its capital increased to half a million dollars and in 1819 it became the depository of public moneys. At this time its directors were William Irwin, Thomas D. Carneal, James C. Morris, Stephen McFarland, John Cranmer, Nicholas Longworth, Cave Johnson, Richard Williams, Jacob Baymiller, Jacob Wheeler and William Woodward.

The Bank of Cincinnati was organized in June, 1814, in the midst of the war. Money was much more easily obtained at this time and the bank did a prosperous business. By 1815 $140,000 had been paid in, although the bank did not receive its charter until the following year and Dr. Drake tells us that the notes were in excellent credit and its dividends for a new institution very good, having advanced during the first year from six to eight percent. Its president was Ethan Stone and Lot Pugh was cashier. In 1819 the same officers still had charge and the other directors were Joshua Reynolds, James Glenn, Hezekiah Saunder, Nathaniel Reeder, Oliver Martin, Joshua Gibson, Jr., Levi James, John S. Wallace and Thomas Graham.

Liberty Hall of December 26, 1814, contains a notice signed by O. M. Spencer, William Irwin and Ethan Stone, presidents of the three banks, reciting that large importations of British goods into Eastern ports which during the war must be paid for in specie had raised the price of specie in the Eastern States from five to ten percent, which resulted in drawing specie from the West where it had been paid out by banks at par to the East and that therefore to guard against this withdrawal payments in specie for the present would be suspended.

This naturally resulted in dissatisfaction and eventually a meeting at the Columbian Inn was called for the purpose of inquiring into the cause of the different banks of this place who had ceased to pay specie for their notes. This meeting was held January 27, 1815, and was presided over by Maj.-Gen. John S. Gano with Daniel Drake acting as secretary. A committee consisting of Rev. J. L. Wilson, Gen. William Lytle, Majors W. Ruffin and W. C. Anderson, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and William Corry, Esquires, and Messrs. W. S. Keys, Davis Embree, Solomon Langdon, William Greene, Jeremiah Reeder, Levi James and Daniel Drake made an exhaustive report. This report recited that, several months before, the banks of the Southern and Middle States had perceived that large quantities of gold and silver were passing into the hands of enemies and had therefore discontinued specie payments. The Western banks continuing to pay specie soon found that many persons from the Atlantic States were transporting gold and silver from the West to the East where they could get a premium for it. As a result of this there was danger of the Western banks having their vaults drained of specie. The suspension of specie payments therefore arose not from the deficiency in the vaults of the banks but because it was necessary to retain the coins in this part of the country. The report further recited that the banks had contracted their circulating notes and increased their quantity of specie. The meeting commended by resolution the action of the banks and denominated as an enemy to the prosperity of the Western country every man who should attempt to depreciate the notes of the banks or should be detected in purchasing silver or gold with a view to its exportation. This report called for a communication from a country subscriber who desired to know how many of the committee were interested in the banks, which

enabled the editor to announce that not one of them was a bank director.

It will be remembered that Dr. Drake in his "Picture" of the city in the year 1815 speaks in very confident tones of the condition of Cincinnati banks and of business generally. This confidence was not justified. The speculative tendencies that seem always to accompany war times and the inflation which goes with it produced the same result it always produces. As just stated, a note of warning came at the end of the year 1815, when on the day after Christmas the three banks were compelled to suspend specie payments. It was doubtful whether there was coin enough in the West to redeem one-fourth of the bank issues. The causes which led up to this are not hard to understand and were general throughout the United States. The banks carried away by the enthusiasm about prosperity had issued an unprecedented number of bank notes which naturally were at a discount as metallic money had been driven out of the country. This depreciation in the value of money raised the price of all articles of consumption which to the unthinking was an increase in the value of property generally. Credits were extended and stores even in the small village settlements were filled with the highest priced goods. Speculation ran high and no one hesitated to incur debt feeling that in such an era of prosperity the time would be short within which he could relieve himself of the burden if indeed it was felt to be a burden. With the close of the war, importations began to be renewed. Specie payments had been suspended generally in the East as early as September, 1814, and the public were beginning to realize that a settlement was bound to come. The extravagances of the banks stimulated the demand for a national bank which would pay specie itself and have a tendency to require others to do the same.

In the meantime John H. Piatt & Company organized a private bank, which added its paper to the overwhelming tide of bank notes. A silent partner was Philip Grandin and John Armstrong was the cashier. Their office at first was on the south side of Lower Market street east of Main and afterwards it was removed to the southeast corner of Second and Broadway where the Broadway Hotel afterwards stood. Both these buildings were built by Mr. Piatt. The cashier of this bank in 1819 was Richard Dement.

But most important in its influence upon all these banks was the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Bank. The bill chartering this bank was passed April 10, 1816, and on the 28th of January of the following year the Branch was established in Cincinnati and opened for discount and deposit in April.

The older banks apparently recovered for the time from their difficulties and a period of inflation began which gave the appearance of prosperity. The termination of the war, the constantly increasing population and the building operations brought about by this increase, together with the accommodating tendency of the banks and particularly the Branch Bank, kept up the delusion of prosperity. Judge Burnet was the president and Gorham A. Worth cashier of the new institution. Other directors were Martin Baum, James Findlay, John H. Piatt, Hugh Glenn, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, Jr., William M. Worthington, Andrew Mack, William Piatt, Joseph Perry, Daniel Drake and William H. Harrison. Small wonder that with such lists of directors as those given the public felt confidence in the stability of their financial institutions. George Warren in an article contributed to "Cincinnati Past and Present" published in 1872 gives a picture of the apparently prosperous conditions. The terrible crash which opened the next period of Cincinnati's history was unforeseen by all and Cincinnati as a town looked forward to its new life as a city with hopefulness and confidence that its financial troubles had passed.

"Cincinnati, in the year 1817, was a bright, beautiful, and flourishing little city. It extended from the river to Sixth street, and from Broadway to Walnut street, and not much beyond those limits. The Court House, which stood upon the same ground as the present one, was considered to be in the country, and its location an outrage on the citizens. The houses were beautifully interspersed with vacant lots, not yet sold, which were covered with grass. The city contained about nine thousand inhabitants. These were then called girls and boys, and men and women. The fuel was wood, except in factories. The people generally had clean faces; for the men shaved, and did not allow their countenances to be covered with hair and dirt. There was an air of comfort pervading everything. In summer the women dressed as they pleased; but the men usually went to church in summer dresses. Sometimes they wore linen roundabouts and vests and woolien pants. The people were enterprising and industrious; a pedestrian could hardly walk a square without encountering a brick

wagon or stone wagon, or seeing a new cellar being dug. Industrious mechanics would be met hurrying to and fro, and in their working dress. A brick-layer would not hide his trowel, nor a carpenter his hatchet, under his coat. Everything gave promise of the city's continued prosperity, but a desire to become suddenly rich had led too many into wild speculations, on borrowed money, from the United States and other banks. They were willing to lend to almost anyone who could get two indorsers. This was no difficult matter, for it had got to be a maxim, 'You indorse for me, and I indorse for you.' Some persons not worth a dollar bought lots and built houses on speculation. Others bought wild lands, built steamboats, etc. Some, who had become rich in imagination, began to live in a style ill suited to their real condition." (Cincinnati Past and Present.)

The reaction came in a very short time,—just after the incorporation of the city.

STEAMBOATS.

The first steamboat seen in Cincinnati, the "New Orleans," arrived in the city on October 27, 1811. *Liberty Hall*, the newspaper of the day, in its issue of October 30th gives this interesting item: "The steamboat, lately built at Pittsburgh, passed this town at five o'clock in the afternoon, in fine stile, going at the rate of about ten or twelve miles an hour." This is certainly a very brief account of one of the most important events in the history of a city which owed its greatness more to the steamboats than any other cause and whose wonderful relative advancement did not cease until steamboats had given way to railroads. This boat the "New Orleans" in charge of Nicholas J. Roosevelt created great excitement at all points along the river. At Cincinnati which it reached two days after leaving Pittsburg, she rounded to opposite the city and cast anchor in the stream. "Levees and wharf boats were things unknown in 1811. Here, as at Pittsburg, the whole town seemed to have assembled on the bank, and many of the acquaintances of the former visit came off in small boats. 'Well, you are as good as your word; you have visited us in a steamboat,' they said; 'but we see you for the last time. Your boat may go down the river; but, as to coming up it, the very idea is an absurd one.' This was one of those occasions on which seeing was not believing. The keel-boatmen, whose shoulders had hardened as they pressed their poles for many a weary mile against the current, shook their heads, as they crowded around the strange visitor, and bandied river wit with the crew that had been selected from their own calling for the first voyage. Some flat-boatmen, whose ungainly arks the steamboat had passed a short distance above the town, and who now floated by with the current, seemed to have a better opinion of the new comer and proposed a tow in case they were again overtaken. But as to the boat's returning, all agreed that that could never be.

"The stay at Cincinnati was brief, only long enough to take in a supply of wood for the voyage to Louisville, which was reached on the night of the fourth day after leaving Pittsburg."

On the return trip the vessel was greeted "with an enthusiasm that exceeded, even, what was displayed on her descent from Pittsburg. No one doubted now." (Latrobe's First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters, pp. 15-18.)

A comet was visible at this time and the pioneers who heard the hissing sounds of the engines thought that the comet had fallen into the river. The earthquakes too which occurred during this trip were by some attributed to the unusual disturbance of the waters of the great rivers by this unusual form of vessel.

The next steam vessel on the Ohio after the "New Orleans" (which sank at Baton Rouge in 1814) was the "Comet" built at Pittsburg sometime before 1813. This was a 145-ton stern-wheeler. This was followed by the "Vesuvius," 390 tons, which Robert Fulton built at Pittsburg in November, 1813. It subsequently made an attempt to come up the river and pass the falls at Louisville but long before she came to that point she grounded and finally returned to the Lower Mississippi. A little later came the "Enterprise," built at Brownsville in 1814, the "Aetna," the "Despatch," the "Buffalo," the "James Monroe," and the "Washington." The "Eagle" has been called Cincinnati's first steamer. This was a small vessel of but 70 tons built in 1818. A little later came the "Hecla," the "Henderson" and the "Cincinnati." The last named, a vessel of 120 tons, was owned partly in this city. The first steamer owned entirely in the city was the "Experiment," constructed in 1818 and a 40-ton boat. Despite the fact that some 32 steamboats had been built by this time, steam transportation had by no means taken the place of the other methods of conveyance. The old Kentucky boats and flat-boats were much in use during this period. A notice in the first number of the *Cincinnati Ga-*

zette published July 15, 1815, speaks of the arrival at this port of the "elegant barge Cincinnati, Captain Jonathan Horton from New Orleans; passage eighty-seven days. Cargo sugars, molasses, rum, lignum vite, Spanish hides, etc., to Jacob Baymiller." Other notices appear in the quotations from the newspapers. The traveler Burnet says that in 1817 a number of arks with emigrants and their families bound to various parts of the Western country were generally near the landing. He counted seven Kentucky boats with coal, iron and dry goods from Pittsburg. There were four barges or keelboats, one of at least 150 tons with two masts, which traded up and down the rivers between New Orleans and Pittsburg and four large flats or scows with stones for building and salt from the "Kenhawa" works. Six arks were laden with emigrants and their furniture. The emigrants going down the Ohio usually stopped at Cincinnati to purchase provisions and collect information. Shortly after this, however, steamboat building became quite active and Cincinnati became a prominent ship building place. In the two seasons between 1817 and 1819 nearly a fourth of the vessels built on the Western waters were launched here and by the time that the town came to be a city the old broadhorn for business of any magnitude had been replaced by steam vessels. Cincinnati's great era of development was in the next 20 years, which were the years when the river navigation was of the utmost importance.

PHYSICAL DISTURBANCES.

During the year 1809 there occurred a most unusual autumnal frost on the 9th of August. This was probably the earliest one on record. On the last day of August in the year 1789 the Indian corn in the northern part of Kentucky had been destroyed by frost.

Another interesting physical disturbance was the hurricane of Sunday, May 28, 1809, which is described by Dr. Drake as follows: "For two or three days previous to that time, the wind was various, with a turbid atmosphere. On the morning of the 28th it veered to the south, and blew with violence. During the forenoon, while the lower clouds were passing rapidly to the north, the upper were moving with equal velocity to the east; indicating a superior current, which traversed the course of the south wind at right angles. Before twelve o'clock both strata of clouds were propelled eastwardly, and soon after the west wind was perceptible at the earth's surface. By three-quarters past one o'clock, the sky was very much obscured, and a narrow whirlwind or tornado of great force, swept impetuously across the eastern part of the town. It demolished a few old buildings, threw down the tops of several chimneys, and overturned many fruit and shade trees. The people in the centre of the town had scarcely time to view this alarming operation, before their own houses were shaken to the foundations by another gale of equal violence; this was immediately succeeded by a third, which traversed the western part of the town with augmented fury. By this last, a handsome brick edifice, designed for tuition [Cincinnati University] was blown down, in consequence of having a cupola disproportionate to its area; and various minor injuries of property were sustained—but the inhabitants escaped unhurt. A copious shower of rain and hail, with thunder and lightning, increased the terrific grandeur of the scene. Each of these tornadoes ascended the hill to the northeast of the town, forming a track through the forest, which remained visible for more than a year."

Five years later on May 4, 1814, there was experienced another hurricane not so violent which came from the same quarter. This was accompanied by a fall of hail which at Cincinnati was of the usual size but in the western part of the county the stones were of surprising magnitude and many angular forms. Several weighed from eight to ten ounces each and measured from 15 to 16 inches in circumference. The hail storm was followed by a rain shower and a powerful blast from the southwest in which were felt currents of air heated to an unusual degree. "On the next day the foliage of various plants was found to be destroyed. It was chiefly the leaves which grew to the windward, and were consequently most exposed, that suffered. They were neither lacerated nor wilted, but sustained an injury, which upon exposure to the sun the ensuing day, caused them to wither. In some cases, only the tip of the leaf perished; in others, the whole was destroyed. Whether this extraordinary effect should be ascribed to heat, or to a noxious quality of the wind, is uncertain. I could not perceive that one species of plant was more affected than another; and of individuals growing near the same spot, it was common to find only a part affected."

In Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" is contained an extended account of the earthquakes of 1811, 1812 and 1813. The first shock occurred

at 24 minutes past two o'clock in the morning of December 16, 1811. The motion was a quick oscillation or rocking, lasting some six or seven minutes. It was so violent as to agitate the loose furniture of the rooms and open doors that were fastened with falling latches and throw off the tops of some of the chimneys. It was stronger in the valley than in the adjoining uplands. Forty-five minutes later another slight vibration was felt and a little after seven o'clock in the morning there came a moderate rocking of a minute's duration, terminating in a strong throe of a few seconds. This was followed ten minutes later by another slight oscillation and about three hours later by another. One quarter of an hour before midnight of the next day a slightly stronger vibration was felt. On the morning of the 18th there was a moderate agitation and again in the early morning of the 31st of January, 1812, between two and three o'clock in the morning there was again a slight vibration. From this time until the 22nd no vibration of any consequence occurred although many thought that they felt slight agitation. During that period shocks were felt every day along the Mississippi. On the 23rd about nine o'clock in the morning a great number of strong undulations occurred and continued for four or five minutes having two or three distinct exacerbations in that time. This earthquake was nearly equal to that which commenced the series on December 16th. Again on January 27th there was a strong solitary heave which was repeated on February 24th. On the 5th and 6th many slight jars and tremors were received. On the 7th at about a quarter before four in the morning several alarming shocks came in rapid succession, the last greatly surpassing any other undulation known at this place. It threw down tops of more chimneys, made wider fissures in the brick walls and produced vertigo and nausea in a greater number of people than the earthquakes of December 16th or January 23rd. It was said by some that the earthquake was preceded by a light and a noise, but this was denied by others. During the greater part of the 8th the earth was in a state of ebullition with more decided agitations at eight o'clock and again at eight-thirty; the last continued for about a minute. At ten-forty there came a shock which was much stronger which produced a sensible degree of trembling but no oscillation, indicating perhaps a vertical instead of horizontal motion of the previous shocks. Immediately before this, was heard a noise of peculiar faint, dull, rumbling or rushing sound, near the horizon, to the southwest. It seemed to approach but did not arrive at the place of observation and after continuing five or six seconds was succeeded by a shake. During the remainder of this day and for the next and almost every day until the 17th there were gentle vibrations. On the last named date again in the morning a much stronger shock was felt. There were shocks on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, on March 3, 5, 10, 11, April 30, May 4, 10, June 25, 26, September 15, December 22, March 6, 1813, and again two on December 12th of the last named year. The principal shocks were those of December 16, 1811, January 23, 1812, and February 7, 1812. Dr. Drake discusses at length the features of these earthquakes and the electrical and other phenomena which attended them as well as the state of the atmosphere at the time.

A somewhat less scientific but certainly most interesting account of this same occurrence is given by Mansfield in his life of Drake:

"In the morning of the sixteenth of December, 1811, the inhabitants of the Miami country, and especially of Cincinnati and its neighborhood, were awoke from a sound sleep, at about three o'clock by a shaking of their houses, and by rumbling noises which seemed like distant thunder. To each one the phenomenon was alike unknown and awful. In the country the animals soon began to shriek, and all nature seemed to feel the shock of a common evil and the dread of a common danger. The most intelligent persons soon discovered it to be an earthquake; but this discovery by no means allayed the alarm. On the contrary, as earthquakes were never known before in this region, there was nothing to reason upon, and full scope for the imagination. Pictures of the earth opening to devour its inhabitants, of burning lava bursting forth, of yawning gulfs, and to many of a general destruction and a general doom, rose to the visions of the affrighted people, filling them with fears and anxieties.

"The shock of the sixteenth of December was so violent that it shook the chimneys of several houses. In the midst of the general alarm there was some amusement; and the buoyant spirits of young and happy people will often extract something pleasant, even from the most fearful circumstances. Mrs. Willis's Columbian Inn was a sort of fashionable hotel, where many of the gay people of the town boarded. I remember to have heard a great deal of laughter at the odd and curious appearance and grouping of maids

and madams, bachelors and husbands, as they rushed into the street, tumultuous, in midnight drapery. But this cheerfulness did not last long; for the earthquakes continued during the winter, and although they were better understood, they were not the less dreaded. This common fear, and indeed the common necessity of being prepared for any event, had a great influence in destroying the artificiality of society and bringing friends and neighbors together. Many families had their valuables carefully packed up, that they might take a rapid flight, in case of the destruction of their houses or chasms in the earth, which would render their departure necessary. As the shocks of an earthquake were generally preceded by signs of their approach, such as rumbling sounds and a peculiar atmosphere, families would often sit up late at night, in dread of a night shock, and neighbors and friends would assemble together to make the time pass more pleasantly, especially to the young, by cheerful conversation. In this manner social intercourse and friendly feeling was promoted, and as in other afflictions of Providence, good was still educed from evil. * * * *

"Most careful notes of the duration and deviation of the shocks were made by Colonel Mansfield at Bates' place. A carefully prepared pendulum hung in the parlor window of his house never ceased its vibration from December to the following May and several shocks occurred during the remainder of the year 1812.

"The original seat of this shaking of the earth seems to have been near New Madrid, on the Mississippi, a point four hundred miles, in a direct line, from Cincinnati. There the convulsion was terrific. Boats on the river were thrown into a boiling whirlpool, and seemed for a time to be engulfed in an endless vortex. The banks of the river were rent, the earth was opened, and the waters, rushing in, formed lakes for miles, where the land was dry before. Explosions from beneath took place, and fossils buried in the alluvium of ages were forced to the surface. The power of the original cause may be estimated by the fact of such violent effects at Cincinnati, four hundred miles distant, and that the movements, as of a lever, of this central force, were felt almost throughout North America, diminishing in intensity in the inverse ratio of the distance." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 85.)

Another interesting physical manifestation recorded by Dr. Drake is the aurora borealis of Sunday, April 17, 1814. This appeared soon after dark directly in the north and extended for 50 or 60 degrees along the horizon rising from 10 to 15 degrees above it. The upper part was most luminous and now and then faint obtuse flashes of light were sent upwards several degrees higher. At length an arch was formed over the bank of light, mounting upwards about 40 degrees and sending dim and slow coruscations to near the zenith. The ends of the arch were about 140 degrees asunder. It was composed of luminous spots, which appeared and disappeared alternately, in different parts, for more than half an hour and finally the whole manifestation ceased. The greatest illumination was from about half-past eight to half-past nine o'clock. The light was white, with a slight tinge of red and through it others were visible. On September 11, 1814, there was an aurora borealis which continued visible in Cincinnati from dark until midnight. It was accompanied by an unusual display of shooting stars.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION.

The matter of population during the early years is a little difficult of ascertainment. In 1800 the population had been estimated as 750. In 1805 it is said to have increased to 960. There were at that time 25 merchants and grocers, 15 joiners and cabinet-makers, 12 bricklayers, 11 innkeepers, nine attorneys, eight physicians, eight blacksmiths, seven shoemakers, five saddlers, seven tailors, five bakers, four hatters, three tanners, three silversmiths, three tobacconists, two printers, two brewers, two tinners, two coppersmiths and one bookbinder. In 1807 the vote of the city was 298, which would indicate a population of less than 1,500. In 1810 the census showed that the population was 2,320, of whom 1,051 were under 16, and 184 over 45. The town vote was 388, 90 more than three years previous, a rather light vote for the population. The population in 1813 was estimated as 4,000. This was based on a census made by the Select Council. Dr. Drake estimates the population in 1815 as 6,000, nearly ten to a dwelling house. In no town of the State was there so great a proportion of blacks who in 1810 amounted to 80 and in 1815 to 200. At the close of the town life the figures given in the first directory, showing the first population in the summer of 1818 to be 9,120 and in July, 1819, 10,283, are probably fairly accurate. The census of 1820 gives the population as 9,642, about 600 less than the figure given in the directory, a not uncommon thing with census takers.

In connection with the subject of the blacks, the following is in point:

"The following year, 1810," we are told, "was remarkable for the tide of immigration that set in from the adjoining State, Kentucky. Thousands of the colored inhabitants, black and brown, abandoned their homes, swam the river, and landed on the fertile bottoms of the Ohio. They came unarmed, without sword or spear, musket or ammunition, or other munitions of war than those bestowed upon them by nature. Immediately on landing they dispersed among the woods, prepared themselves log cabins or built more temporary structures, and set up housekeeping. Nothing could be more peaceable than their intentions. No class of citizens could have been more active, industrious, frugal, or cleanly in their habits. But, though as a class they were conceded to be productive, in political economy they were ranked as non-producers, and accordingly were doomed to suffer persecution. Then every white man was a Granger. Middlemen had not yet found their way out West; so war was immediately declared against the intruders, and every man, woman, and child arrayed themselves against these unarmed and inoffensive immigrants. War to the knife, bitter, relentless, exterminating war was waged, and speedily raged. From the township the war sentiment extended to the county; from the county to the State; until the Legislature actually passed a law for the extinction of the races, black and brown, indiscriminately. Every atrocity was then practiced and encouraged; and scalping commanded a high premium." (Nelson's Suburban Homes, p. 62.)

Although this remarkable and somewhat exaggerated story is told of Columbia township, it discloses a somewhat similar condition of affairs that affected the town for several years. The negro population and negroes from the South were for years a source of irritation and eventually resulted in the sad race riots described later.

Among the important additions to the community during its existence as a town are given the following, many of whom have been mentioned in various connections: 1802.—Ethan Stone, Samuel Perry and William Pierson. 1803.—Christopher and Robert Cary, grandfather and father of the celebrated Cary sisters, Thomas and Thankful Carter, grandparents of A. G. W. Carter. 1804.—Col. Stephen McFarland, General Findlay, Zachariah Ernst and his sons H. M., Jacob and Andrew Ernst. It is from this family that Ernst Station was named. Other arrivals of this year were Peyton S. Symmes, Benjamin Smith, P. A. Sprigman, George P. Torrence, Jonathan Pancoast, Robert Richardson, James Perry, Peter M. Nicoll, Adam Moore, William Moody, Benjamin Mason, Casper Hopple, Andrew Johnston, Ephraim Carter, James Crawford, William Crippen and Henry Craven. Of course the most distinguished arrivals of the following year were General Mansfield and his son E. D. Mansfield, the latter of whom survived until October 27, 1880. Another well known pioneer who arrived this year was Joseph Coppin, subsequently the president of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association and known to so many citizens now living. After 1806 which is generally regarded as the beginning of the real growth of Cincinnati, the arrivals were so numerous as to make it impossible to give them in detail. (Ford's Cincinnati *passim*, and Cincinnati Pioneer, No. VI, p. 18.)

One prominent man who came this year was Rev. Adam Hurdus, the founder of the Swedenborgian Church in the West who came on April 4th. He was also the grandfather of Judge Carter. In 1807 came Evans Price with his wife and four children and also $10,000 worth of goods with which he began a successful business career which continued for a long time. Gen. W. H. Lytle came to Cincinnati in 1810 as well as the L'Hommedieu, Fosdick and Roger families. James W. Gazlay arrived in 1813 and opened a law office in the outskirts of the village on Main between Sixth and Seventh. Another arrival of this year was Thomas Pierce, the anonymous author of "Horace in Cincinnati." In the year 1814 came David K. Este. The next year marked the first arrival of Timothy Flint. Bellamy Storer reached Cincinnati May 31, 1817. This was also the year of the arrival of Joseph Jonas, sometimes called the first Israelite in Cincinnati. He was a watchmaker at Third and Main streets and achieved the title of the "Father of Cincinnati Democracy." William Robson, a ship carpenter by trade who had worked on Fulton's first steamboat the "Clermont" and was afterwards at the head of the copper and brass business of the city, came in June, 1818.

The historic Lytle house on Lawrence street above Third, probably the oldest house in the city, was built by Gen. William Lytle in 1809 or 1810. It was two stories high and built of brick with a gable roof, dormer windows and tall chimneys. The original entrance was on Third street and opened into a hall 50 feet long and 12 feet wide. This has been closed and the present en-

trance is from Lawrence street. At the time the house was erected the grounds reached from Third to Fifth street. The property is in the possession of the Fosters, descendants of General Lytle.

William Barr who removed to Cincinnati in 1809 settled first on Main street where he remained until about 1815. At the sale of the estate of Israel Ludlow, Major Barr bought 60 acres of land lying between Fifth and Eighth streets and west of Western row, then occupied by a solitary small brick house and principally covered with a dense original forest growth. Included in this purchase was the large and beautiful mound, situated near what is now the corner of Mound and Fifth streets, which has since been entirely removed. Major Barr proposed to convey this mound, then covered with trees, with a surrounding lot, to the corporation of Cincinnati, on condition that they should enclose with a permanent fence and preserve it. But the offer was not accepted and the mound has passed away, and nothing remains of it, but the small hieroglyphic stone found in its center, and some remains of human bones which are still preserved.

In 1816 Major Barr commenced the erection of his mansion house afterwards known as No. 61 Mound street, which was a front adjoined to the house they previously occupied. This house was finished in 1817 and remained unchanged for a half century. (Memoir of Mrs. Mary Barr, p. 5.)

A serious loss was suffered by the infant town in the death of William McMillan, to whom as much as to any one man it owes its existence. This occurred in 1804. Major Ziegler's death which came in 1811 was made the occasion of a military funeral. In 1813 came the drowning of the editor of *Liberty Hall*, Rev. John W. Browne.

An event of the year 1814 was the death of the pioneer, John Cleves Symmes, which occurred February 26th at Cincinnati. A large number of citizens attended the funeral which occurred at the dwelling house of General Harrison on Front street. The procession moved to the landing of Joel Williams where the body was embarked for North Bend.

THE MARKETS.

Dr. Drake has told us of the little market house in the cove in front of Yeatman's, which continued in use well down into the first decade of the century. An advertisement in the *Spy* in the year 1801 is to the effect that the building of a market house would be offered for sale at Yeatman's Tavern. The under story was to be of stone and lime and the upper story of wood. This structure is supposed to be the old market house on Lower Market (Pearl) street between Main and Sycamore. In 1815 there were three market houses including the first one built in 1801 and another in what is now Government square. The two were each supported by a double row of brick pillars. A third one with a triple row of brick pillars extended nearly the whole distance from Broadway to Sycamore on Lower Market (Pearl) street and was upwards of 300 feet in length. This structure was in process of erection at the time of the appearance of Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" and was not yet attended. It was in fact completed in 1816 and the building erected at that time was used (with many alterations) until recent years.

There were also certain other spaces left vacant for market purposes which appear upon the first map. These were however never used for the markets but their location can still be traced by the divergence of street lines. One embraced the front of Sycamore on both sides from a short distance north of Seventh to the corner of Wayne (Ninth) street and the other ran from Elm to Plum just south of Fourth (McFarland) street.

There were four market days in each week, two mornings at Lower Market and two afternoons at Upper Market. These markets were regulated by a most elaborate series of ordinances which apparently were little observed. Still the markets were considered good. Dr. Drake's description is quoted in the extracts from his book. Brackenridge visiting the town in 1805 found the market "equal in goodness to that of Philadelphia but much cheaper. A turkey may be had for sixteen cents and if thought too high, a goose will be offered into the bargain."

An early *Cincinnati Price Current*, sometimes inaccurately called the first, gives the prices in May, 1804, as follows:

Bacon, per cwt	$18.75
Beeswax, per lb	.18
Coffee	.50
Cordage, per cwt	12.00
Cotton, clean	15.00
Corn, per bu	.75
Cotton bagging, per yd	.50
Flour, per bbl	10.00
Gunpowder, "K" per lb	.75
Gin, per gal	1.75
Iron, per cwt	10.00

Lime, per bu	.75
Pork, per bbl	14.00
Potatoes, sweet, per bu	.50
Rum, fourth proof, per gal	2.00
Sugar, per cwt	16.00
Salt, per bbl	7.00
Whisky, per gal	1.50

WINES.

Madeira, per gal	4.50
Amalga, per gal	2.50
Red Port, per gal	2.50
Teneriffe, per gal	2.50
Sherry, per gal	3.00
Claret (for gentlemen), per gal	8.00

A number of items are marked "none in market." They include beef, butter, candies, candles (molded and dipped), corn meal, cider, hemp, lard, Irish potatoes, rum (first, second and third proof), and tobacco.

Schultz in 1807 found the market "well furnished both as to abundance and variety." Timothy Flint's description of the market in 1816 with its "exuberant supplies of every article for consumption in the finest order and of the best quality," has already been given. Birkbeck, too, in 1817 mentions the markets as spacious and busy and thronged by five o'clock in the morning. By this time, as indicated by the comments of John Palmer, the three market houses were in full use. Mr. Palmer gives the price of provisions at Cincinnati in July, 1817, as follows:

	Dol.	Cents.	
Beef	0	6¼	per pound
Pork	0	6¼	ditto
Mutton	0	5	ditto
Veal	0	6¼	ditto
Hams	0	9	ditto
Fresh Venison	0	2	ditto
Butter	0	18¾	ditto
Cheese	0	12½	ditto
Wheat, fine Flour	3	0	per cwt
Corn Flour	0	50	per bushel
Salt	1	0	ditto
Potatoes	0	31¼	ditto
Coals	0	12½	ditto
Venison Hams	0	37½	each
Turkeys and Geese	0	80	per pair
Pullets	1	0	per dozen
Partridges	0	25	ditto
Eggs	0	9	ditto
Milk	0	25	gallon
Honey	1	0	ditto
Whiskey	0	50	ditto
Peach Brandy	1	0	ditto
Porter, Mead, and Spruce Beer	0	12½	per quart

"A cord of wood, two dollars, fifty cents. Preserved, or dried fruit, as apples, peaches, etc., about one dollar per bushel. Vegetables dear. French and port wine, sugar, tea and coffee, dearer than in England. Woollen, cotton and European goods very dear. Cherries, raspberries, strawberries, peaches and apples, very reasonable. River fish of various sorts, plentiful and cheap. The general price of a barrel of flour (196 pounds) is three dollars and fifty cents or four dollars; it has never been dearer than when we were here." (Journal of Travels in the United States, p. 83.)

THE BRIDGES.

In December, 1808, a rise in the Ohio unmoored one of Jefferson's gun-boats which had been built at the mouth of Crawfish creek just above Fulton and was moored by a grape-vine cable. As the vessel went floating by the village, every canoe in town followed her and finally she was caught and towed into Mill creek and secured under White's bridge. The river continuing to rise however so backed up Mill creek as to cause the boat to shove the bridge from its moorings. The string pieces and all above gave way and the bridge was about to float away in detached parts. To prevent this, White stripped the planks from the bridge and these he was able to save; the bridge itself went down the river. These planks are said to have formed the floor of the first warehouse built in Cincinnati. This bridge we are told by Judge Matson was not the original floating bridge of Francis White but a bridge built in 1806 of yellow poplar at a cost of about $700. A man named Parker was the architect and the money was raised by subscription. White was suspected of having secured the boat under the bridge with a design of carrying it away so that he could make more money by his ferry.

In 1811 a new bridge was put up by Ethan Stone which remained for 11 years, to be carried away by the great freshet of 1822. This structure was but 120 feet in length and shows how much narrower the ravine at Mill creek was at that time.

The date 1811 is that given by Judge Matson. It must be incorrect. Dr. Drake says in 1815 that "there was once a wooden bridge over Mill creek near its confluence with the Ohio but in consequence of a high flood in that river it was destroyed."

The toll-bridge authorized by the Legislature he thought would be commenced in the ensuing spring. The Directory of 1819 tells us that within two or three years a toll-bridge, one of the finest in the State, had been erected over the mouth of Mill creek by Ethan Stone. Drake speaks of the need of a new bridge across Deer creek and we learn that a year or so later two bridges were built, one at the confluence of Deer creek with

the Ohio and the other a few squares north. The first bridge was 340 feet in length. As early as 1815 the subject of a bridge across the Ohio was mooted by enthusiasts and the want of a steam ferry boat commented upon. At this time and for some years later a Mr. Bliss conducted a horse ferry boat whose qualities of "safety, comfort, dispatch and capacity for heavy burthen" commended themselves to the public.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The war with Great Britain of 1812 excited intense interest in Cincinnati as well as throughout the State. To the grievances felt by the country at large there were added the special complaints known only to those who remembered the long border wars with the Indians. In these wars the settlers had felt that at all times they had opposed to them not only the savages but the people of their own blood who were violating the treaty of peace which had been extorted at the end of the War for Independence. The names of the Girtys, McKee, Elliott and others who had been most active in stirring up atrocities were household words in the West and this locality had been a center of barbarity and cruelty. The particular subjects which brought about the war may not have interested them so seriously but the frame of mind was present and nowhere was there a more patriotic support of the government. There seems to have been no real difference of opinion in the city. Every act of aggression on the part of Great Britain and every movement of the Indians were carefully noted. The diplomatic features of the matter were discussed at great length in the press and at the fireside and in the taverns.

On May 19, 1812, "the Cincinnati Troop commanded by Capt. James W. Sloan with a great concourse of people assembled at the stone meeting house and listened to an eloquent discourse by Rev. W. Burke from the text: 'Prepare for war; wake up the mighty men; let them come up; beat your ploughshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong.'"

The army had been increased by an addition of 25,000 men and of the new officers Ohio was allowed one lieutenant-colonel, one major, seven captains, seventy lieutenants, seven 2nd lieutenants, six ensigns and one surgeon. The President too was authorized to accept militia, not to exceed 50,000 in number. A requisition was made upon the State for 1,200 men. To stimulate recruiting, the recruits were offered a bounty of $16 with three months additional pay and 160 acres of land upon honorable discharge. A recruiting office was opened in Cincinnati and the pomp and panoply of war became once more a feature of the city's life. The two Cincinnati companies,—the Light Dragoons under Captain Sloan and the Light Guards under Capt. John F. Mansfield,—drilled regularly. General Findlay accepted a major's commission to be with his own people.

Washington's birthday was celebrated with enthusiasm and solemnity. At the banquet at the Wheat Sheaf Inn many patriotic sentiments were toasted and great enthusiasm prevailed. In the early part of April, Gen. John Stites Gano had been ordered by Governor Meigs to raise eight companies for service in the field. The rendezvous for the State troops was fixed at a camp three miles above Dayton on Mad River. The first division of Ohio militia met at Hutchinson's Tavern (Jacob Hoffner's) on the Colerain road near Ludlow's Station. Mr. Mansfield tells us that the division presented as motley an appearance as has ever been seen. Some of the men had rifles but the greater part only sticks and cornstalks while the uniforms included hunting shirts and butternut jackets.

In addition to the companies of Captain Sloan and Captain Mansfield, other companies under Captains Carpenter, McFarland and Hugh Glenn are said to have had Hamilton County men on their rolls. The entire regiment commanded by General Findlay was from the Miami country.

Captain Carpenter was the publisher of the *Western Spy* and served throughout the campaign of 1813 and 1814, dying on his way from Fort Meigs to Urbana before he was discharged from the service. He was afterwards buried in Cincinnati with high military honors.

On March 30th the Governor fixed the 15th of April as a day of fasting and prayer. The subject of the prayer was supposed to be the advisability of peace but it is doubtful if any prayers to that effect came from the heart.

Volunteers began to collect in the city about the 25th of March and went into camp on the outskirts of the town on the top of the bluff along Fourth street. Governor Meigs reviewed the troops and delivered a patriotic address. Shortly afterwards he was constrained to deliver a proclamation as follows:

"A CALL ON THE PATRIOTISM OF CINCINNATI."

"The situation of our country has compelled the Government to resort to precautionary measures of defence. In obedience to its call, 400 men have abandoned the comforts of domestic life and are here assembled in camp, at the distance of some hundred miles from home, prepared to protect our frontier from the awful effects of savage and of civilized warfare. But the unprecedented celerity with which they have moved precluded the possibility of properly equipping them. Many, very many of them, are destitute of blankets, and without those indispensable articles it will be impossible for them to move to their point of destination. Citizens of Cincinnati! This appeal is made to you. Let each family furnish one or more blankets, and the requisite number will be easily completed. It is not requested as a boon: the moment your blankets are delivered you shall receive the full value in money—they are not to be had at the stores. The season of the year is approaching when each family may, without inconvenience, part with one. Mothers! Sisters! Wives!—Recollect that the men in whose favor this appeal is made, have connections as near and dear as any which can bind you to life. These they have voluntarily abandoned, trusting that the integrity and patriotism of their fellow-citizens will supply every requisite for themselves and their families, and trusting that the same spirit which enabled their fathers to achieve their independence will enable their sons to defend it. To-morrow arrangements will be made for their reception, and the price paid.

"R. J. MEIGS, Governor of Ohio."

"CINCINNATI, April 30, 1812."

The two Cincinnati companies under command of Mansfield and Sloan convened at the First Presbyterian Church on May 14th to hear the distinguished minister, Joshua Lacy Wilson, deliver a sermon entitled "War the Work of the Lord and the Coward Cursed." His text on this occasion was "cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."

Another episode of the campaign was the passage through the city of the Fourth Regiment of regulars. This regiment which had taken part in the battle of Tippecanoe arrived at Newport Barracks on June 1, 1812, and almost immediately crossed the Ohio for the frontiers. "While crossing, they were saluted with discharges from an artillery company stationed on the river bank, which were acknowledged by the music of the regiment, and when they ascended the bank, a general shout and three cheers expressed the sense entertained by our citizens of their soldierly behavior in that battle, when their cool collected conduct saved the body of the American troops, by giving them time to form in efficient order for defence, against the tremendous onset of their savage assailants. On Main street near 5th a triumphal arch had been erected, decorated with floral ornaments, and enscribed, 'To the heroes of Tippecanoe.' Here they were again saluted by artillery, and having marched about five miles out to encamp, they were supplied with bread, beef and whiskey, as a contribution from the citizens, and the next morning proceeded on their march to the lines."

The following address was delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, commanding the Fourth Regiment of the U. S. Army:

"Sir: The citizens of Cincinnati, impressed with a sense of the important service performed by the brave regiment (under the command of Col. Boyd at the battle of Tippecanoe) since their departure from us the last summer; sensible too of the great fatigues and privations which must have been experienced, most cordially salute you and each of the officers and soldiers under your command, on your return with your regiment, covered with glory. We cannot suffer you to pass us without presenting this tribute of our respect to the BRAVE. Your memories will live so long as we live, and will never be effaced from the annals of the Western world.

"As you pass to the northward at the call of your country, we are confident it will be but to gather fresh laurels. Our sons! will be by your side, composing the Militia of this State, destined on that service, and now encamped at the general rendezvous. Teach them the art to conquer—we will vouch for their spirit. On your tried and brave troops, much reliance is placed, and we confidently expect to hear a good account of the expedition.

"Accept for yourself, and for the officers and soldiers under your command, this small tribute of respect, from the inhabitants of Cincinnati, and their warmest wishes for your personal welfare, as well as for that of every individual, of the heroes whom you lead.

"Cincinnati, June 3, 1812."

—(Cist's Miscellany, Vol. 1, p. 204.)

This demonstration had been prepared by a military company of the older men under Gen. William Lytle calling themselves the Cincinnati. The regiment was accompanied by the son of Captain Spencer who was but 12 years of age. The father had been killed at the battle of Tippecanoe while his boy was at his side. The commanding colonel became famous by his response at Lundy's Lane: "I will try Sir."

On May 25th the Ohio militia had been turned over to the command of General Hull. The sad story of his surrender need not be told here.

War was declared on June 18th but the news was not heard until the 29th in Cincinnati, where it was received with a hearty welcome. On the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of War were read to the assembled citizens by David Wade and an oration delivered by William Hendricks. The ceremonies were enlivened by music and discharges of artillery. At these ceremonies which were "in an orchard on the south side of Columbia street" General Gano presided assisted by Gen. William Henry Harrison and Hon. John Cleves Symmes. One of the toasts proposed by General Harrison was as follows: "General Hull and his Army—They have passed that scene immortalized by the victory of Wayne; the spirit of that hero will animate them to deeds like his, and teach them the lesson of victory or death." Another toast was as follows: "The Northwestern Army: Our brethren and fellow-citizens now on the frontier—

Nor do they sigh ingloriously to return,
But breathe revenge, and for the battle burn,

May they have pleasant paths and unclouded spirit."

Strangely enough there seems to be no record of the War of 1812, which makes it impossible to give any complete account of the part taken in it by Cincinnati and her sons. The history of the war itself is a part of the history of the country. Among its victims was Captain Mansfield who has been so frequently spoken of. Prominent in the service were of course General Harrison, a citizen of Cincinnati, Col. W. S. Hatch, Stephen McFarland, Thomas Heckewelder and James Chambers.

In an address delivered at the 45th anniversary of the settlement on December 26, 1833, General Harrison refers to some of the exploits of Cincinnatians during the war. The young orator of that occasion was the lawyer Joseph Longworth and his mention of Cincinnati's soldiers called forth comment from Harrison. He described an episode at the siege of Fort Meigs in which Major Gwynne distinguished himself. Another citizen whose praises he sounded was Major Oliver. Of course Gen. John S. Gano and General Findlay too were mentioned. As to the latter, Harrison says that if his advice had been adopted the campaign would have had a different result and the honor of our armies would not have been tarnished by an inglorious surrender.

The jollifications after the victory at New Orleans and after the news of peace are described elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—I.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1819—THE FIRST CITY MAYOR—THE CITY CHARTER OF 1827—THE CITY CHARTER OF 1834—THE COURTS—THE "OLD COURT HOUSE"—THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—THE POLICE—THE WATER SUPPLY—THE POST OFFICE.

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1819.

With the year of 1819 begins Cincinnati's life as a city. The act of the General Assembly of 1819 incorporating the city, vested the legislative power in a Council, composed of a president, recorder and nine trustees. To the Council was given the power to make such ordinances and laws as they should think proper for the health, safety, cleanliness, convenience and good government of the city and to impose and collect reasonable fines for breaches of the ordinances. They were empowered particularly to secure the city against injuries from fire, to establish a night watch, to purchase fire engines, establish fire companies, keep the streets and commons open and in repair and free from nuisances. To them also was given power specifically to establish and regulate markets, to fix the assize of bread, to establish wharves, to regulate the landing of rafts and other water craft and to prevent every description of animals from running at large. They had the power to license and regulate taverns and public houses and on proper cause shown to suspend such licenses; to regulate and prohibit all puppet shows and all other exhibitions in the city; and to levy taxes on hogs and dogs. The tax on real property was limited to one per cent of its value, unless the voters should authorize them to lay a larger tax, and could be levied for street improvements only.

The judicial power was vested in a City Court which, consisting of the mayor and three aldermen, was appointed by the Council from among the citizens. This court held sessions once in every two months and had original jurisdiction over all crimes and misdemeanors committed within the city, the punishment of which did not involve confinement in the penitentiary, as well as appellate jurisdiction from the decisions of the mayor (who was *ex officio* a justice of the peace) and concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Common Pleas in all civil causes where the defendant resided within the corporation and the title to real property was not involved.

Appeals lay from this court direct to the Supreme Court of the county of Hamilton. The marshal was the ministerial officer of the court, which also was empowered to appoint a clerk and prosecutor. The mayor was forbidden from exercising any legislative functions and the recorder from exercising any judicial functions. In other respects the act with proper substitutions repeated the terms of the act of 1815. It provided for the same boundaries as those of the town and gave to the settlement the name of "The City of Cincinnati."

This act was passed February 5, 1819, and by virtue of a curative act passed three days later

took effect on March 1, of the same year. (17 O. L. L. 175-202.)

This the original charter of the city continued in force until March 1, 1827. During that time the city had but one mayor, Isaac G. Burnet. The first aldermen were David E. Wade, William Burke and Francis Carr and the City Council consisted of Samuel W. Davies, Jacob Wheeler and David Wade from the First Ward; Oliver Lovell, John Tuttle and Richard L. Coleman from the Second Ward; John Armstrong, Nicholas Longworth and Jesse Hunt from the Third Ward, and Peter A. Sprigman, William Oliver and Isaac Hough from the Fourth Ward. Of these, Hunt was president; Oliver, recorder; Wheeler, treasurer and Coleman, clerk.

The successive presiding officers of the Council during this time were: Jesse Hunt (1819-20), William Oliver (1821), Samuel Perry (1822-23), Calvin Fletcher (1824-25), and Lewis Howell (1826-28). The Council met in the brick Town House on the common until 1824, at which time quarters were rented in Francis Carr's brick building at the northwest corner of Third and Hammond streets. Here were the city offices, including the mayor's office, until 1828. (Henderson's Council, p. 33; City Hall, p. 6.) Previous to that time the mayor's office had been at Mayor Burnet's private office on Water street between Walnut and Vine, although he also as indicated by the Directory of 1819 had an office in the City Hall.

THE FIRST CITY MAYOR.

The mayor, Isaac G. Burnet, a son of Dr. William Burnet and brother of Jacob Burnet, was born in New Jersey, July 7, 1784. He moved to Cincinnati about the year 1804 where he studied law with his brother. In 1807 he married the daughter of Capt. George Gordon and moved to Dayton where for a time he practiced law. Nine years later he returned to Cincinnati and entered into partnership with Nicholas Longworth. He for a time edited *Liberty Hall*, retiring at the end of 1822. In 1819 he was elected the first mayor of the city of Cincinnati and reelected until the spring of 1831, when he declined to be a candidate. During a part of his term, in addition to the ordinary executive duties, he with certain aldermen constituted the City Court and he was obliged to act in his judicial capacity in most of the minor litigations of the community. In 1833 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of Hamilton County and held this office until the adoption of the constitution in 1851. He died March 11, 1856.

Mayor Burnet was for many years a cripple as a result of which he was obliged to use crutches. Although physically weak, he was possessed of great force of character, and did not hesitate to display the firmness required by the duties of his position. It was his presence of mind and great courage that saved the city from serious riots on more than one occasion.

By an act passed February 25, 1820 (18 O. L. L. 96), it was made unlawful for the Council to emit or authorize any notes or bills of credit and the members were made personally responsible for any notes so issued. Certain alterations were made in the jurisdiction of the City Court.

Another act providing for the election of members of the City Council and the appointment of treasurer and clerk and prescribing the duties of the marshal in certain cases providing for the selection of grand and petit jurors was passed January 29, 1821. (19 O. L. 106.)

An act of December 27, 1824 (23 O. L. L. 14), divided the city and township into four election districts corresponding to the four wards and made provision for the holding of elections.

By an act of January 31, 1826, all previous acts of incorporation were repealed and a new scheme of government was devised to be submitted to the voters on the 1st of March of that year. (24 O. L. 25.) The voters however rejected the charter, whereupon it was passed by the Legislature of the following year and as such constituted the second charter of the city.

The writer of the "Americans As They Are," who was in Cincinnati in 1827, describes the voting on a matter of public interest: "During my stay, on the twenty-fifth of October, a question of some importance for the inhabitants of Cincinnati was to be decided. It was concerning a stricter police and its necessary regulations. The City Council, with the wealthier class of inhabitants, had been for some time, previous to the decision, engaged in preparing and gaining over the multitude. I went to the Court House in company with Mr. Brama, a wholesale merchant, and several gentlemen, to hear the speeches delivered on both sides, and the result of the motion. It was four o'clock when we arrived, and about 600 persons were assembled in and outside of the Court House. The noise, however, was such, that it was impossible to hear more than detached periods. At eight o'clock, when almost dark, they had gone through the business, and the poll was about to commence.

The party for abridging public liberty was ordered to go out on the left:—those who insisted on the preservation of the present order of things, were to draw off to the right. On arriving before the Court House, they ranged themselves in two separate ranks, each of which was counted by the presiding judge. There was a majority of 72 votes in favour of the party which upheld the present system, and the question was, therefore, decided in favour of popular liberty. I found here, as well as everywhere else, that the freedom of a community is nowhere more exposed to encroachments than in large towns, where dissipation and occupations of every kind are likely to engross the attention of the people, who leave the magistrates to do what they please. The City Council were on the point of obtaining the majority, had it not been for the farmers whom the market-day had drawn to town. These, of course, did not fail to open the eyes of the honest burghers; and the question was accordingly negatived." (Americans As They Are, p. 7.)

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1827.

The second act incorporating the city of Cincinnati, passed January 26, 1827, repealed the previous acts. By this the limits of the corporation were as follows: Beginning on the Ohio River, at the east corner of fractional section No. 12, and running west with the township line of Cincinnati, to Mill creek, thence down Mill creek with its meanders to the Ohio River, thence eastwardly up said river with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio to the place of beginning.

The administrative officers designated were a mayor and a board of trustees consisting of three members from each ward to be known as the City Council, all to be elected by the people. The city consisted of four wards divided by Third and Main streets, the First Ward being the northeastern, the Second the northwestern, the Third the southeastern and the Fourth the southwestern one. Provision was also made for the election of a city marshal, treasurer and three city aldermen for terms of two years, and for the establishment of the City Court, having original concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Common Pleas of crimes, misdemeanors and offenses, the punishment of which was not capital or penitentiary confinement when committed within the city and of civil causes where both parties were residents of the city, and appellate jurisdiction of all judgments of the mayor. This court was composed of the mayor and the three aldermen, and was empowered to appoint its own clerk and the public prosecutor for the city.

The mayor was to be elected biennially by the people. In addition to the ordinary executive duties of such an officer in his judicial capacity, he had exclusive original jurisdiction of violations of the ordinances and such other jurisdiction as was given to justices of the peace; the right of appeal to the Court of Common Pleas and to the City Court was of course reserved. The trustees were to be elected three from each ward and must have been residents of the city three years and freeholders or householders for one year. They constituted the City Council and selected from their number a president and a recorder. They were given the custody and control of the city property with the power to purchase and sell, except in the case of the Public Landing which could not be sold without a vote of the majority of the citizens. They were given power to pass ordinances to secure the city against fire, thieves, robbery, burglars and persons violating the public peace and also to establish a board of health, a city watch under the general superintendence of the city marshal, to establish fire companies and to regulate the erection of wooden buildings, to license taverns, ale houses and the like, to abate nuisances and appropriate lands for streets, alleys, market places, etc., and appoint supervisors of the highways and regulate cattle running at large, license public shows, auctions and vehicles and inspect articles of produce or manufacture. The limit of the tax levy in any one year was one-fifth of one per cent of the aggregate value of the taxable property of the city. Each and every white male inhabitant above the age of 21 years having the qualification of an elector for members of the General Assembly, who had resided in the city for one year prior to the election, was entitled to vote under this act. This was the first act which gave manhood suffrage to the people without restriction as to property qualifications. There was no referendum clause in this charter and the act took effect by its terms March 1, 1827. (25 O. L. 40.)

Under the provisions of this charter, Isaac G. Burnet was again elected mayor and served four years (two terms) until Elisha Hotchkiss, who had been repeatedly a candidate for the office of mayor, finally succeeded in attaining that position in the election of 1831. Mr. Hotchkiss was an Englishman by birth and a lawyer by profession and was regarded as a genial, kind-hearted man of fine personal appearance. He served but one term, being succeeded in 1833 by the well

known citizen, Samuel W. Davies, whose service lasted 10 years. In the city's first quarter century there were but three mayors.

Davies it will be remembered was the last president of the Council under the charter of 1802. The presiding officers of the Council up to the end of Cincinnati's first half century were Daniel Stone, who succeeded Lewis Howell in 1829, succeeded in turn by E. S. Haines (1831), Nathaniel G. Pendleton (1832-33), E. S. Haines (1834-35), and George W. Neff (1836-38).

On June 18, 1828, the city offices with the exception of those of the mayor and marshal, were moved from Carr's Building to a new City Building erected on the north side of Fourth street between Main and Walnut on a lot owned by the First Presbyterian Society. Here they remained for 18 years. The office of the mayor remained in Carr's Building for more than 10 years longer.

In accordance with the authority given by the charter, the Council on March 7, 1827, passed an ordinance dividing the Second Ward by an east and west line beginning at Main street and running through Sixth street westwardly to the corporation line. The part north of Sixth street and west of Main street became the Fifth Ward and the part of the old Second Ward south of Sixth street remained the Second Ward. Two weeks later, on March 21, 1827, an alteration was made in the boundaries of the First and Third wards by which that part of the First Ward lying south of Symmes street and of the range of hills east of Deer creek bridge was attached to the Third Ward. As a result, the east and west dividing line between the First and Third wards began on Main street at the intersection of Third and ran eastwardly along the center of Third to Ludlow street, thence eastwardly along the center of Symmes street to High street and along the center of High street eastwardly to a point on the street bearing north 16 degrees east from the center of the cupola of David Kilgour's house near the reservoir and by said line north 19 degrees east to the northern boundary of the city. The part north of this line composed the First Ward and that south, the Third. What would have happened if David Kilgour's cupola had been destroyed can only be left to conjecture; fortunately no such disaster happened during the time this cupola was called upon to serve this important purpose. This division of wards continued until 1839.

On February 12, 1829, was passed another act (27 O. L. 33), which authorized the City Council to provide for the support of the common schools and for such purpose to divide the city into 10 school districts (two for each ward), to purchase suitable lots and erect a school house in each district and for that purpose to levy a tax of one mill on a dollar. Black or mulatto persons were not permitted to attend these schools but all taxes assessed on their property were expended alone for the education of black and mulattoes. The voters were directed to elect from each ward a trustee and visitor of the common schools who were to have general superintendence of the common schools of the city and who were in turn to select six persons as examiners and inspectors who should examine and inspect the schools. Other provisions of the act abolished the City Court and transferred its business to the Court of Common Pleas. (See Act of January 3, 1828.)

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1834.

On March 1, 1834, was passed "an act to incorporate and establish the city of Cincinnati, and for revising and repealing all laws and parts of laws heretofore enacted on that subject." The government was vested in a mayor, and a board of trustees consisting of three members of each ward to be denominated as the City Council. The mayor was to be elected by the people every two years and trustees every three years, the latter from the freeholders or householders. The Council was given the usual powers with very much the same limitations as those contained in former acts. One limitation however provided that no person confined at hard labor in the city prison should be fed on bread and water only nor fined and kept on bread and water only, nor should any person be punished by confinement to hard labor or kept on bread and water only, for any offense not evil in itself. Other officers provided for were marshal and treasurer. The election of constables for Cincinnati township, in the county of Hamilton, was abandoned as the township and city were coextensive and the selection of these officers and justices of the peace was left to be provided for by the City Council. The act also incorporated the school law passed a few years before. The mayor in his judicial capacity had exclusive original jurisdiction in cases of violations of ordinances and the criminal jurisdiction of a justice of the peace. The Council selected from their own body a president and a recorder, and a city clerk was also provided for.

This act superseding as it did the charter of 1827, although amended quite frequently, remained the fundamental law of the city, until the adoption of the new State constitution in 1851.

By an act passed March 19, 1838 (36 O. L. L. 219), provision was made for the addition of a tract north of Liberty street to the corporate limits of the city. The territory added is that contained within the following limits: "Beginning at Mill creek where the section line crosses the same about one mile north of the present north boundary line of the city of Cincinnati; running thence east parallel with the said north boundary line of Cincinnati to the west boundary line of Fulton township in said county; thence southwestwardly along said west boundary line of Fulton township to the said north boundary line of Cincinnati; thence westwardly along said north boundary line of Cincinnati to Mill creek; thence up said Mill creek with its meanders to the place of beginning." This constituted the Eighth Ward of the city. The annexation was passed by a vote of both the city and the district to be annexed.

THE COURTS.

At the election in 1818 Judge Ethan Allen Brown was more successful in his candidacy for the governorship than two years before and defeated his antagonist, James Dunlap, by a plurality of 22,000 out of 38,000 votes. He resigned his position on the Supreme bench just before he was inaugurated Governor and Peter Hitchcock, one of the most distinguished of Ohio's judges who had been a member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate and a member of Congress, was elected from Geauga County, beginning his service of 28 years on the bench, 21 of which he was chief justice. As a result the four judges of the Supreme Court at the time Cincinnati became a city were Couch, McLean, Pease and Hitchcock. Judge Couch died in 1821 and on December 24th Jacob Burnet who had been appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy was elected for the full term. During the following year John McLean resigned to accept the commissionership of the General Land Office and begin the career in the national service which ended with a Supreme Court justiceship. Charles R. Sherman of Fairfield County, the father of General and Senator Sherman, was elected to succeed him on January 11, 1823, at which time also was reelected Calvin Pease. For seven years the court remained unchanged. Judge Burnet resigned in December, 1828, to accept the United States senatorship to which he was elected without opposition as a successor of William H. Harrison and Joshua Collett of Warren County was elected to succeed him. Sherman died at Lebanon just before the expiration of his term and Gustavus Swan was appointed by the Governor to fill the unexpired term. In 1830, as the terms of Judges Pease and Sherman had expired, Elijah Hayward of Cincinnati and John M. Goodenow were elected to succeed them. The court during this summer was divided into two sections; that in which was located Hamilton County was assigned to Judges Goodenow and Hayward. Ill health however prevented either of these judges from acting and as a result no court was held for that year. Both judges resigned in 1830 and Henry Brush was appointed by the Governor to succeed Goodenow. As Hayward's resignation was received just prior to the meeting of the General Assembly, the vacancy was not filled until December, 1830, when the Legislature elected Ebenezer Lane of Huron County to succeed Hayward and John C. Wright of Jefferson County to succeed Brush who refused to be a candidate. Hitchcock's term expired in 1832 and the election of a successor resulted in a lively contest which lasted two days and through 19 ballots at the end of which Reuben Wood of Cleveland was elected over Judge Hitchcock and Benjamin Tappin. Two years later Judge Wright resigned and on February 28, 1835, Judge Hitchcock at that time President of the Senate was elected to succeed him. Judge Collett's term expired in 1836 and on January 30th of that year Frederick Grimke was elected to succeed him. Two years later Judge Lane was reelected so that the court from 1836 to 1842 consisted of Hitchcock, Lane, Wood and Grimke.

The records of the Legislature show the election on February 6, 1819, of George P. Torrence as president judge of the Ninth Circuit in which at that time was included Hamilton County. Judge Torrence was reelected for a full term on January 27, 1826, and served out his term. He was succeeded in 1833 by John M. Goodenow, who had been a member of Congress and a judge of the Supreme Court. Upon his resignation as stated hereafter, David K. Este was chosen in 1835. Judge Este served until the organization of the Superior Court of Cincinnati by act of March 15, 1838. He was elected by the Legislature as the first judge of this court for a term of seven years. The jurisdiction of this court which lasted down to the time of the adoption of the constitution of 1851 was largely concurrent with that of the Common Pleas Court. It is

usually referred to as the "Old Superior Court" to distinguish it from the present court of that name. Este was succeeded as president judge by Oliver M. Spencer, appointed by the Governor to act until the following session of the Legislature at which time Nathaniel C. Read was elected. The Directory of 1819, which appeared in October of that year, gives the associate judges as Othniel Looker, James Silvers and John C. Short. Short does not appear to have been elected by the Legislature. That body during the period from 1820 to 1838 selected the following associate judges: Peter Bell (1820), Samuel R. Miller (1823), Patrick Smith (1824), Benjamin M. Piatt (1825), Enos Woodruff (1827), Peter Bell (1828), John Burgoyne (1834) and Henry Moore (1838). Another name, that of John Jolley, is given in the Directory of 1825 as associated with Bell and Smith. In 1829 Enos Woodruff was associated with Bell and Smith. In 1831 appeared two names not given in the list of those elected by the General Assembly.—Samuel Rees and Thomas Henderson sitting with Enos Woodruff. Three years later the court is almost altogether a new one. John M. Goodenow presided and the associate judges were Thomas Henderson, Jonathan Cilley and John Burgoyne. Two years later (1836) the only change in the court is in the president judge, Este having succeeded Goodenow.

Among the judges of these days, which were the early days of the "Old Court House," were included many whose names still stand among those considered at the head of the profession. The president judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1819 to 1832 was a man of great distinction in the community, although his appointment aroused much controversy. At the time that he was appointed to the office by the Legislature he was a member of that body which had just created the Ninth Circuit, that of Hamilton County. It is claimed that his appointment was in violation of the constitutional provision forbidding the appointment of a Senator or Representative during the term for which he was elected to any office created during the term. The matter was taken to the Supreme Court without any conclusive result. The Legislature was called upon to abolish the circuit and the Senate passed a bill for that purpose but the House refused to concur. During the controversy Judge Torrence, in the language of Judge Thew Wright, held on to his office with an aggravating persistency and a serene indifference to fate that was a discomfiture to the evil minded. Judge Torrence was a man of dignity and of great personal charm and many interesting stories are told with relation to practice before him. Judge Carter's book the "Old Court House" has several fine anecdotes concerning the period and Judge Torrence plays his part in the stories recited.

The court in those days consisted of four members, a president and three associates. The president was supposed to be a lawyer but no such requirement was made as to the associates. As a natural result of this peculiar arrangement, there was at times considerable confusion. An anecdote of James W. Gazlay, a prominent member of the bar who attained celebrity by defeating William Henry Harrison for Congress in 1824, explains the origin of the term "Demarara team" which was applied for so many years to the old court.

Torrence was succeeded by John M. Goodenow who held the position for three years. An episode of his incumbency grew out of the appointment of a clerk of the court to succeed Daniel Gano. The judges failed to agree and for about a year no appointment was made. Finally in December, 1833, the bar as a body took up the matter and insisted upon the appointment being made, whereupon Goodenow and two of his associates, John Burgoyne and Jonathan Cilley, agreed upon an appointment which was regarded as an improper one by the bar who held a meeting and protested against it. The objection made was on the ground of bribery and corruption. The fourth judge, Enos Woodruff, stated publicly that the brother of the appointee had offered him $1,000 to vote for the appointment. As a result the vacancy was not filled for some time longer. Finally two of the judges made an entry in the journal of the court, appointing Gen. William H. Harrison as clerk, which appointment although apparently not made with the consent of the court was satisfactory to the community and held good. As a result of this, Judge Goodenow resigned his position, feeling that he had been affronted by his associates. He was succeeded by Judge David K. Este who retained the position until the time of the organization of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in 1838.

The City Court, which was made up of the mayor and three aldermen, was presided over by some distinguished men. Isaac G. Burnet was mayor during the life of this court. The first three aldermen were David E. Wade, William Burke and Francis Carr, all able men. Carr

was succeeded in 1822 by James W. Gazlay, a leading citizen of his time. In 1825 the aldermen were Philander Allen, Benjamin Basset and Benjamin M. Piatt, who soon went on the Common Pleas bench. William Greene, Samuel F. Hunt and Morgan Neville were elected in 1827.

David K. Este was a prominent figure in Cincinnati life from the date of his arrival in the town about 1809 until his death almost 70 years later. He was born in New Jersey in 1785 and was educated at Nassau Hall (Princeton) of which he was at the time of his death the oldest living graduate. After his arrival in Cincinnati he lived for a time at Hamilton but in 1814 permanently established himself here with an office at the corner of Fifth and Main. From 1817 to 1821 he was in partnership with Bellamy Storer and from 1839 to 1835 with Ezekiel Haines. In the latter year he was appointed president judge of Hamilton County and subsequently upon the organization of the Superior Court he became its first judge in 1838, serving until 1845. Upon the expiration of his term in 1845, he retired from professional life although he remained a prominent citizen of the city until his death more than 30 years later in his 91st year. His career at the bar and on the bench was a distinguished one. He was regarded as a good lawyer and was especially "distinguished for courtesy of manners, propriety of conduct and success in business. Like Burnet he was one of those cool and careful temperaments, who are incapable of being excited beyond a certain point and who never commit themselves out of the way." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 161.) He had great faith in the value of Cincinnati real estate and at various times owned considerable property in different parts of the city. His residence at the corner of Ninth and Main was for many years among the most palatial in the city and a center of social life. He subsequently erected 18 buildings on Main, Ninth, Sycamore and Fourth streets. In 1858 he built the fine stone residence on West Fourth street which he occupied until the time of his death. It subsequently was known as the Shoemaker residence and is now owned by Michael M. Shoemaker. Judge Este married a daughter of General Harrison in 1819, who died in 1826. One daughter the result of this marriage lived to womanhood, dying some years before her father. In 1829 he married a daughter of Judge William Miller by whom he had seven children, four of whom reached maturity. The Judge is one of those members of the bar who figure in Judge Carter's reminiscences.

THE "OLD COURT HOUSE,"

The second in the history of Hamilton County, finished in 1819, was the seat of justice from that time until July 9, 1849, when it like its predecessor and successor was destroyed by fire. It stood on Main street about where the present temple of Justice stands, on a circular plat of ground about 200 feet in diameter. Its length east and west was about 62 feet and its breadth 56 feet. The height to the cornice was 50 feet, to the top of the cupola which stood in the center of the sloping roof rising from all four sides, 120 feet. From the cupola rose a spire 40 feet higher. It was very substantially built and contained fireproof rooms for the offices of the clerks of the Supreme and Common Pleas courts and the recorder. Three large outside doors pierced its eastern, western and southern sides and these with its 50 Venetian-blinded windows, cream colored paint, imposing dome, and gilded vane gave it an important appearance. The large yard about it was well sodded and filled with shrubs and trees and surrounded by a white rail fence containing four ornamental gates. The principal court room was on the first floor above the basement and, 30 feet in width, extended the whole length of the building. The elevated bench for the four judges was at the north. In front was the lawyers' table and at the sides the desks of the sheriff and clerk.

The spectators stood to the south, separated by a balustrade, or sat in the enclosed gallery overhead which extended across the southern side of the room. There was also a jury box and a prisoners' dock capable of accommodating a number of prisoners. The floor was covered with a striped rag carpet and a number of huge spittoons. A huge fireplace and a large stove served to heat this great room. Another court room much smaller was constructed in the floor above, when in 1838 the old Superior Court with Judge Este presiding was installed. Other offices in the building were those of the sheriff and county commissioners and there were a number of jury rooms. At a later time two buildings erected on Main street, one north and the other south of the Court House, served for the various county offices. The jail was a dingy brick building over the canal on Sycamore street. (Carter's "Old Court House," pp. 7-14.)

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The Directory of 1819 contains the following with reference to the fire department at the time of the incorporation of Cincinnati as a city:

"There are two engines owned by the corporation, but, strange as it may appear, neither of them are kept in proper repair. A most unpardonable apathy on this subject pervades our citizens generally. Almost destitute of ladders, fire-hooks, buckets (or even water in most parts of the city), should the fiery element assail us in a dry and windy season, the denouement of the awful tragedy would be a general devastation of our now flourishing city. The most practicable means ought immediately to be taken for creating a supply of water, the number of engines increased and put in working condition, and every other apparatus procured which can be of service in restricting the ravages of this powerful destroyer. Otherwise the 'good easy man,' who retires to his couch meditating on the competency of his fortune, may stalk forth a beggar in the morning."

The engines referred to were in the service of the Washington Fire Company (No. 1) and the Relief Fire Company (No. 2).

The Cincinnati Fire Wardens' Association was organized shortly afterwards as a result of the fire ordinance of October 2, 1819, reestablishing the department. The presidents of this association from the date of its organization, October 30, 1819, to the introduction of the paid department in 1853 were Benjamin Mason (1819-21), Davis Embree (1821-25), R. L. Coleman (1825-29), J. L. Avery (1829-31), Oliver Lovell (1831-36), George W. Jones (1836-38), Archibald Irwin (1839-43), William Stephenson (1843-46), Aaron Valentine (1846-47), S. Hogan (1847-48), and D. H. Horne (1848-52). The secretaries were Moses Brooks and Fred H. Oehlmann.

The Independence Fire Company (No. 3) was organized at the store of Thomas Tucker, bookseller and tailor on Main street, November 15, 1819. Mr. Tucker was chosen foreman and Thomas Conley, secretary, by the 18 members present. The meeting resolved that the painted hat provided by the fire ordinance was heavy and uncomfortable and appointed a committee to ask the Council to rescind the portion of the ordinance relating thereto. This committee was successful and reported back a little later that the Council had repealed that part of the ordinance. This company was first located on the north side of Fourth street between Walnut and Main streets on the lot of the old Presbyterian Church adjoining the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company. Its first engine was called the "Constitution" and was supplied with water by the bucket company who formed a line from the river or nearest cistern along which buckets were passed to the engine box. Subsequently the "Liberty" engine and the hose-reel "Veteran" were added to the equipment of the company. The church authorities finally desired to obtain possession of the ground upon which the engine house was located but the fire boys refused to give way; thereupon the church employed men to pull down the building and push the engine into Fourth street. The fire boys learning of this filled the box of the engine full of lampblack and water and as the men began their work the firemen began playing the hose upon them. As a result the church concluded to pay the company $500 for vacating the premises. In 1820 a new engine named the "Independence" was substituted for the old. This company subsequently purchased property on the south side of Fourth street between Vine and Walnut on the spot where the book store of The Robert Clarke Company stood for so many years and here erected the handsomest engine house in Cincinnati. On one occasion in 1822 when the chief engineer, who was their own former foreman, Thomas Tucker, ordered the company to appear with its engines at the river they refused to comply on the ground that they were not subject to the orders of city officials. On the Council sustaining the chief, the company returned the Council's report with a declaration of their independence. Among the early foremen of this company were Thomas Tucker, J. Seymour, S. Ankeny, S. L. Fosdick, Isaac Stevens and Benjamin Chase. Distinguished members during the life of the company were Miles Greenwood, Erasmus Gest, C. H. Paddock and W. B. Smith.

In November, 1819, Thomas Tucker was chosen chief engineer of the department.

The Franklin Fire Engine and Hose Company formed in 1819 as Fire Engine Company No. 4, was placed in regular service in May, 1820. Its engine was the "Nereide," which was supplied with fire buckets. The company's headquarters were on the west side of Sycamore street near Lower Market in a frame 12 by 18 structure. In 1824 they removed to the corner of Sycamore and Third and afterwards to Third and Hammond. This company's name was subsequently changed to that of the Eagle Fire Company (No. 4).

The Protection Company (No. 1) was organized in 1820 and continued to do duties similar to those of a salvage corps for many years. Its membership was limited to 100 and it was con-

ducted as an independent organization with the object of preserving lives and property and preventing theft during fires.

In 1821 the fire wardens were authorized by ordinance to act in any of the wards and the fire marshal was directed to examine buildings and dwellings for the purpose of seeing that fire buckets were kept. Delinquents were required to pay the sum of $3.50. A new fire ordinance was passed on July 5, 1821, which made a substantial change in the organization of the department. By this at least three persons were appointed annually by the City Council in each ward as fire wardens who should carry speaking trumpets and distinguishing badges and were given authority to order fences, lumber or other combustibles to be removed and when three were acting together to order any house or building to be pulled down. They were empowered to order able bodied men into the ranks to convey water or to perform other necessary duties during the fire not attendant with immedate personal danger. The head of the department was called the chief engineer. Authority was given for the organization of volunteer companies who could select a foreman and secretary. The foreman appointed one man to convey all the fire buckets to fires and to see that they were returned after they had been used, properly washed and cleaned. Provisions were made requiring householders to provide leather fire buckets in numbers proportioned to the size of their houses. Very strict provisions were made with regard to the conduct of householders. If a chimney took fire as a result of improper cleaning, the owner was fined. It was forbidden to put fire into chimneys for cleaning purposes except in the daytime and then only during rain or when there was snow on the roofs. The burning of shavings in streets or the keeping of wheat or other grain in stacks within 100 yards of any building within lots of the city, including the lots laid out by Jesse Hunt and others on the north, and Nicholas Longworth and others on the west and Main and Columbia streets to the corporation lines, was forbidden. The amount of gunpowder permitted to citizens was also limited by ordinance. The marshals and fire wardens were permitted to enter houses to examine as to the violation of this part of the ordinance. Citizens were also prohibited from using a lighted candle or other light in a stable, unless it was secured in a tin, horn or glass lantern. Despite all these precautions a number of fires of some magnitude occurred, the principal of which was that of the immense stone mill on the river front at the foot of Broadway which was burned November 23, 1823.

By 1825 the directory is able to state that the fire department consisted of four engine companies, a hose company, a hook and ladder company, a bucket company and Protection Society, including 155 firemen and 16 fire wardens, with Thomas Tucker, chief engineer and Jeremiah Kiersted his assistant. The Protection Society at that time consisted of 50 members of which William Burke was president, William Mills, vice-president; Noble S. Johnson, secretary; Samuel Borden, chief director; and Elam P. Langdon, Joseph Gest, William Schillinger and Charles Tatem, directors. The utensils of the fire department we are told were in first rate repair and the companies well organized and ready on the first notice to do their duty. (Directory for 1825, p. 121; Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 67.)

The care that was exercised by the citizens in the matter of fires was shown at the time of the reception to General Lafayette as described elsewhere. He was received most enthusiastically and everything that could be suggested to do him honor was cheerfully agreed upon. One suggestion however was overruled by reason of the fear of danger to the community; this was the suggestion of having a street illumination. The fire wardens on September 29, 1825, reported to the City Council that in their opinion an illumination of the city would be attended with danger and suggested that a committee be appointed to confer with the committee for the reception of General Lafayette to request that the illumination be waived. This request was conformed to and as a result the citizens passed the night without any fear of fire. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 67.)

In 1826 the department is described practically as it was in the directory preceding. Special note is made of the fact that five substantial brick cisterns each containing upwards of 5,000 gallons of water had been erected in different parts of the city. These were kept constantly filled and afforded the chief and only certain supply of water. (Cincinnati in 1826, p. 32.)

In 1826 the Eagle Fire Company (No. 4) was added to the department with Moses Lyon as foreman. Jeremiah Kiersted became chief engineer. Another company was organized in 1829 under the name of Fire Company No. 5. Its headquarters were located over the canal at the northeast corner of Vine and Canal streets. It was soon found however that most of the fires

were south of the canal and as a result the city purchased a lot on the east side of Vine between Court and Canal where was erected a much more commodious building. The engines of the company were named "Fame" and "Jefferson" and were made by Jeffrey Seymour in Pleasant court between Fourth and Fifth streets in the rear of the subsequent site of the Indiana House. A large figure of Jefferson about 10 feet in height was placed in a niche over the doorway on Vine street. This company at various times claimed as members such prominent men as Nicholas W. Thomas (many years later mayor of the city), David T. Sneibaker (also mayor), James F. Torrence (subsequently mayor), Meigs Robinson, Samuel H. Dunning, Robert Hedger, George W. Runyan, John S. Gano, Samuel Stephen, John C. Schooly, Godfrey Ludwig and Enoch Schott. Among the survivors of this famous company is our fellow citizen, Henry C. Urner, the present secretary of the Little Miami Railroad Company. Mr. Urner since the day that he ran with the machine has been one of the most prominent of Cincinnati's citizens. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce, one of those commissioned to rebuild the Court House and United States marshal during President Cleveland's first term.

The Directory of 1829 discusses the fire department at some length. It included at that time nine organized companies under the control of the City Council, with Zebulon Byington as chief engineer and Moses Coffin, assistant. At that time John L. Avery was president and Moses Brooks, secretary, of Fire Warden Company No. 1, with 20 members; Hugh Gilbreath, A. G. Dodd, William Brown, Thomas Barwise and E. D. Williams, foremen of Fire Engine companies Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, respectively. The assistants of these companies were S. R. Teal, J. S. Ross, John Morris and S. Covington, there being a vacancy in Company No. 3. Both posts of Fire Engine Company No. 1 were vacant. Each of these companies contained 35 members. The Protection Society of 50 members was under the control of Joseph Gest as president, assisted by a complete board of officers made up of our most prominent citizens. The foreman of the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company was A. M. Ferguson and his assistant, Nathaniel Reeder. Two cisterns, one at the intersection of Eighth and Main and the other at Fourth and Sycamore, had been erected during the year. Each of these had a capacity of over 5,000 gallons and were kept filled by the water works. (Directory of 1829, p. 163.)

It is of some interest, throwing light upon the character of these companies, to note the occupations of the officers who were named. For instance Byington kept a tavern at No. 192 Main street, while Coffin was the wharf master; Gilbreath was also a tavern keeper on Water street near Main; Dodd was a wagon maker at the corner of Plum and Canal, while Barwise was a carpenter.

A great fire which occurred on the last day of the year 1829 attracted attention to the inadequacy of the department. This started on the east side of Main just below Third and swept its way eastward and northward as far as Fourth street. The water supply proved deficient despite the wonderful cisterns, and it became necessary to form lines of citizens and pass buckets of water from the river. Among those who stood in the line was Mrs. Alex. Drake, the well known actress, who at that time was performing at the Columbian Theatre. The great danger to which the city had been subjected was the occasion for a meeting of citizens to consider the organization of another company and the building of cisterns and generally better protection against fire. Another company was formed which became well known as the "Silk Stocking Company" or the "Rovers." The official name was the Cincinnati Independent Fire Engine and Hose Company, organized February 22, 1830. Among its incorporators was George W. Neff, George W. Jones and Thomas Sharpless. Mr. Neff became the president of this company; Joseph Pierce, vice-president; Charles D. Dana, secretary, and Kirkbride Yardley, treasurer.

George W. Neff, who was president of the Cincinnati Independent Fire Engine and Hose Company and one of the founders of the organized fire department of Cincinnati, was a man of great prominence in the city's life. He was the first president of the Little Miami Railroad Company; he drew up the charter of the Firemen's Insurance Company and was its president until his death; and was director of the Lafayette Bank for many years, president of the City Council from 1836 to 1838, a trustee of Lane Theological Seminary and largely interested in the establishment of Spring Grove Cemetery. He was born at Frankfort, Pennsylvania, on May 19, 1800, the eldest son of Peter and Rebecca Neff. He received a plain education in a village school and afterwards was fitted for the junior class at Nassau Hall (Princeton), which he entered in 1816.

After graduating with distinguished honor in 1818 he entered into the practice of the law at Philadelphia with Horace Binney in the year 1821. In 1824 he was induced by his brothers to come to Cincinnati where he remained the rest of his life. He was a successful business man and one of the most public spirited of Cincinnati's citizens and as a result he was universally esteemed and beloved. He died after a lingering illness at Yellow Springs, on August 9, 1850. His remains were brought to the city where after the largest funeral that had ever been witnessed in Cincinnati up to that time he was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery. Practically the whole population headed by the firemen took part in the procession, and the fire bells of the city tolled continuously until the body was lowered into the grave.

It was largely due to Mr. Neff's efforts that the funds to purchase apparatus were raised. Two new engines and a hose reel were brought from Philadelphia and named the "Pilot," the "Water Witch" and "Red Rover" respectively. The quarters of the company were on the south side of Fifth, at the corner of the alley between Sycamore and Broadway, the site of the Nevada Building. Subsequently an engine house was built for the company on Fourth street, between Sycamore and Broadway, where the company was installed by 1834. Among the prominent members of this company at various times were such men as Fenton Lawson, Gen. Charles H. Sargent, Henry E. Spencer (afterwards mayor), J. F. Torrence, Pollock Wilson, Ferdinand K. Martin, Calvin W. Thomas and Seth C. Gosborn. The tremendous influence of the fire companies in the life of the city can be judged at a glance at the personality of some of these members. Mr. Neff, already mentioned, was a president of the Council, Spencer and Torrence were both mayors of the city, while the other members named were very active in the public life of the community. Fenton Lawson who was at the head of the company for a decade was a Yorkshireman who came to this country in early childhood and was almost a lifelong resident of Cincinnati. It was Mr. Lawson who contracted for the purchase of the engines, whose arrival created so much excitement in the city. In 1851 he retired from the service of the company and at that time the fire boys presented him at a public meeting in Melodian Hall at the northwest corner of Fourth and Walnut streets with a most elaborate silver tea service embellished with engines, firemen and all the paraphernalia of the department.

An organization formed in the year 1830 was the Cincinnati Fire Association. Its purpose was the regulation of the fire department, the providing for sick and disabled members of the companies and settling disputes. It was composed of members selected from the different companies. Its president was John L. Avery; vice-president, John J. Stratton; secretary, Joseph Landis, and treasurer, William Scudder. A feature of the organization was the annual procession of all the companies composing the association held on the first Thursday of May. During this same year the name of the Eagle Company was changed to that of the Franklin Fire Engine and Hose Company (No. 4) and the company was moved to an engine house especially built for the purpose on Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh streets. One of the many casualties attendant upon fires in the city occurred in 1831 at the burning of Scowden's grocery store at the southwest corner of Front and Elm streets. A quantity of gunpowder was stored in this store and during the conflagration an explosion took place, killing Washington Armstrong, the father of Washington Armstrong, who subsequently was so much interested in the volunteer fire department.

The Cincinnati Fire Guards were instituted in August, 1832, for the purpose of affording quasi police protection at fires. They formed a line around the fire, kept out intruders, protected property and were empowered to press bystanders into the service. The first director of this company was Joseph Gest. The company continued in existence until December, 1854. Later directors were J. C. Avery, D. C. Wallace and J. M. Guiteau.

During the same year (1832) was organized the so-called "Flat Iron" or "Checked Shirt" Company, so called from the fact that a number of its members being mechanics wore checked shirts. At the first meeting of the company Mr. Neff was elected president and a committee was appointed to purchase two engines. The company was incorporated under the name of the Cincinnati Fire Engine and Hose Company (No. 2) on January 15, 1833. In February, at a meeting held at Holman's coffee-house, Bellamy Storer and S. W. Davies reported the organization of the company and the purchase of the apparatus, including two engines, the "Deluge" and the "Cataract" and a hose carriage, the "Pioneer." Subsequently the company purchased a lot on the corner of

Symmes and Lawrence streets where an engine house was soon built. This is the present Deluge No. 10 Company. Among the distinguished members of the "Flat Iron" Company were Robert T. Lytle, James J. Faran, David T. Disney, John Shillito, John Beggs and Jacob Baum. The "Deluge" was the victor in the contest with Louisville in 1848.

The Directory of 1834 tells us that the department owned at that time 15 engines and 10,150 feet of hose. It was divided into seven brigades, each with two engines and a hose reel, buckets and 150 members. Among the officers were such well known citizens as George G. Smith, J. Cochnower, Amasa Higbee, Miles Greenwood, David T. Disney, William Scudder, N. W. Thomas, James Wise, Joseph S. Ross, J. J. Stratton, Samuel Davis, Luther Taylor, David Farmer, Joseph Pierce, A. H. Ewing, George W. Neff, Edmund Dexter, Bellamy Storer, S. H. Davies, Joseph Cartwright, Stephen Wheeler, A. L. Voorheis, Oliver Lovell, Moses Brooks, Casper Hopple, George P. Torrence, John Whetstone, Christopher Smith, John L. Talbott, Elam P. Langdon, William Butler, Joseph Gest, J. C. Avery, David Churchill, William Thoms and Moses Lyon.

A new feature was the enrollment of boys to constitute the Vigilant Fire Engine and Bucket Company. Of this the president was Benjamin Brice. Other officers were Henry Pierce, James Gilbreath, William Coppin, Samuel James and Miller Ayres.

The president of the Protection Society at this time was Judge George P. Torrence. Its chief director was Elam P. Langdon. Another association of somewhat similar character was the Cincinnati Fire Guards, of which Joseph Gest was the chief director. The Cincinnati Fire Association was composed of persons of different fire companies for the mutual benefit of the department. Its president was George W. Neff and secretary, S. S. L'Hommedieu.

The chief engineer over the cisterns and fire plugs was William Hedley. The location of the cisterns gives some idea as to the territory occupied by the city. The northernmost one was at Eighth and Main streets; there was one also on Sixth and Broadway; three on Sycamore,—at the junction of Lower Market, at Fourth and at Seventh streets; two were on Western row,—one at Fourth and the other at Sixth street.

The name of Miles Greenwood, afterwards perhaps the most important figure in the fire department of the city, appears as assistant engineer of the Independence Fire Company No. 3, which had its location on Fourth street under the council chamber. Two years later in 1836 Mr. Greenwood was the vice-president of the Cincinnati Fire Association, and president from 1836 to 1840. The organization was not materially changed during this interval. The names of the companies and their engines as well as the officers are given in full in the directory for the years 1836 and 1837.

Among the prominent names included in the department at this time are those of R. F. L'Hommedieu, R. G. Mitchell, Alexander Lewis, Alexander Neff, Samuel Taft, George H. Hill, A. Trowbridge, A. Baldwin, David Griffin, Cephas Wilder, E. Hinman, D. K. Cady, A. H. Ernst, Platt Evens, William Schillinger, Jeremiah Butler, E. Dodson, William Medary, Fullum Perry, S. Hinkle, J. Jonas, William S. Merrell, Jesse Justice, Harvey Hall and William Stephenson. (Directory of 1836, p. 251.)

A feature connected with the fire department was the Fire Department Insurance Company incorporated in April, 1837, with a capital stock of $50,000. The purpose of this organization was to benefit the department exclusively. Its shares could be held by none but firemen and one individual could hold but 50 of them valued at $10 each. The different companies however could hold in their corporate capacity stock to an unlimited amount. Ten per cent of the dividends was paid to the Cincinnati Fire Association to constitute a fund for the relief of sick or disabled firemen and other benevolent purposes connected with the department. The business of the company was at first confined to fire risks, to which was finally added marine insurance and the usual powers and privileges incident to the insurance business. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 86.) A new company, the Buckeye Independent No. 3, appears at this time.

THE POLICE.

Police protection during this period was not much better than that against fire. The increase of the department to two captains and 18 men just prior to 1826 has already been referred to. The first marshal under the city charter was Samuel R. Miller. He was succeeded after a time by William C. Anderson, who in turn gave way to William Doty. At the election of 1827 at which time Isaac G. Burnet, who had been mayor since the organization of the city in 1819, was reelected by a small majority. Zebulon Byington received for the office of marshal a major-

ity of 931. He had been a constable and member of the watch at various times prior to this election. Shortly after his election the Council provided for the appointment of one captain, one assistant and five patrolmen and the captain was empowered to employ additional patrolmen not to exceed four in number, if necessary. Burnet was reelected mayor in 1829 and with him was chosen as city marshal, William Doty, defeating Thomas Heckewelder. Doty served for four years. During his administration an ordinance was passed authorizing the city marshal to organize a night watch of not more than 20 persons and to procure a building for a watch house in the central portion of the city. This was intended not so much for the lodgment of prisoners as a place for the night watch to meet at sundown in the evening and at sunrise in the morning to answer roll call, instead of meeting at the houses of private citizens as theretofore. In 1833 when Samuel W. Davies became mayor, Jesse Justice became marshal and served for one term of two years. During the last year of his term, the marshal's salary was fixed at $1,000 per annum. He was succeeded in 1835 by James Saffin, who had been connected with the police force such as it was for many years. He held the position for 12 years and seems to have been very successful as an officer. In those days the fees of the office were very large and it was not uncommon for a marshal to make from $15,000 to $20,000 and sometimes as high as $25,000. The police themselves were ridiculously underpaid. The first regular tax provision for a watch fund was made by an ordinance passed June 18, 1834, levying one mill on a dollar for the support of the night watch. It was not until six years later that a watchman's compensation was regularly fixed at one dollar per night. It was during the term of Marshal Saffin that the slavery riots in 1836 took place. Saffin afterwards became Police Court judge and at a later time was promoted to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas. (Roe's Our Police.)

In 1836 Marshal Saffin's deputies were Ira A. Butterfield and George Whann with their office of course as was their chief's at the mayor's office on Third between Main and Sycamore. In 1840 Butterfield had become captain of the watch and James Wise was lieutenant. The watch itself consisted of 21 members, three from each ward, whose names are given in the "Cincinnati Almanac" of Glezen & Shepard for that year.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

The progress of the water works has been noted in the extracts from the directories already given. After the erection of the reservoir and buildings by Mr. Davies, who bought out his associates on March 17, 1820, wooden pipes were laid from the reservoir through Martin Baum's orchard down to Deer creek, on the west side of the creek through Baum's fields to Broadway, thence along Fifth street to Sycamore and down Sycamore to Lower Market. Here the first fire plug and wooden penstock were placed and water was lifted for the first time by machinery and distributed to the citizens through the pipes on July 3, 1821. Three years later Colonel Davies bought the engine boiler of the steamboat "Vesta" which was repaired by Joseph Dickinson and fitted up in the frame building south of Front street. By means of this, water was lifted to a tank in the same building and forced up the hill 400 feet through a five-inch iron pipe and 350 feet through gum-wood pipe into the reservoir. The trees for the pipe were cut in Deacon Wade's woods near Western row (Central avenue) and Everett street. Davies found that his means were inadequate to carry out the scheme in accordance with his original plan and offered the works as they stood to the city for an amount less than what they had actually cost him. This offer was very foolishly refused and thereupon he associated with himself Davis B. Lawler, William Greene, Samuel Foote, John P. Foote, W. A. Ware, and M. P. Cassilly, and a stock company was organized with a capital of $75,000, under the name of the Cincinnati Water Company, to which was transferred the entire establishment which included almost 27,000 feet of wooden pipe, 530 hydrants and an income of not less than $5,000. Ware afterwards sold out his share to George Grim and William S. Johnston. Of this company, John P. Foote became president, Greene, secretary and Lawler, treasurer. S. W. Davies acted as superintendent. In 1832 another attempt to sell to the city was voted down. The company continued to add new pipe to improve the works so that by the year 1834 its iron piping extended 6,800 feet throughout the city and its wooden piping almost 25 miles. By 1836 the iron piping had increased to two miles. In 1828 the engine was repaired and the entire pumping apparatus was remodeled by Anthony Harkness. The water was thrown by a 12-inch iron pipe into a new reservoir, 100 feet by 50 and 12 feet deep. Un-

fortunately, however, for the company, the receipts did not seem sufficient to pay the expense of the undertaking and it was finally determined to offer the entire works once more to the city. This offer was submitted to a vote of the citizens and as a result in 1839 the municipality acquired, at a price of about half the cost, the work of the entire system of supplying its citizens with water and the private franchise was extinguished. The amount paid was $300,000, for which bonds were issued by the city. At the time of the purchase the length of pipe is given as 20,423 feet of iron and 117,843 feet of wooden pipe. The iron was of three or four inch bore and the wooden pipe two and one-half inch. A new engine and pumping apparatus had been put up by Harkness in 1833 which continued in use for many years. (Cist, Cincinnati in 1841; Directories of 1819-25-29-31-34-36.)

The citizens voted five times on the question of municipal ownership of the water works. In 1824 the vote was 294 to 25 against the purchase. In 1832 it was 717 to 303 against the proposition. It was again lost in 1836 by a vote of 1,274 to 956. In 1838 the proposition carried by a vote of 1,573 to 311 and in the following year the vote under a special remedial act, 728 to 553 in favor of the purchase.

THE POST OFFICE.

The postmaster at this time was still Father William Burke, who was assisted by Elam P. Langdon. In 1826 we learn that the postage aggregated for the year $8,162 and that within the same period 3,750 free letters were delivered. Twenty mails a week were received and sent from the city. Ten of these were carried in stages, three eastward on the Chillicothe route, three on the Lebanon, three on the Dayton and Columbus and one on the Southern route to Georgetown, Kentucky. The other 10 were transported on horseback. The Post Office in the meantime had been removed to the north side of Third street between Main and Walnut at the east end of the Masonic lot. (Cincinnati in 1826, p. 79.)

In 1829 the postage received on letters had increased to $12,150, an increase of almost 50 per cent in three years. Twenty-three mails arrived and departed weekly, of which 18 were conveyed in stages and five on horseback. (Directory of 1829, p. 160.)

A new line of stages had been established by way of Xenia, Urbana, Maysville and Bucyrus to Lower Sandusky from which point letters by boat reached New York in 10 days. There was also a daily line to Wheeling, reaching Baltimore in eight or nine days. By the end of the year the number of mails had increased to 32 per week, of which but three were carried on horseback. The revenues of the office for the year 1829-30 were $16,251, and in 1833, $26,118, showing again a large increase, this time more than 50 percent in three years. During the year 1833 there were 64 mails received and sent from the office per week. Thirty-six of which were in stages, 10 in steamboats, 11 on horse and seven by steamboat and land carriage. (Directory of 1834, p. 255.)

The Directory of 1836 contains a most elaborate schedule showing the arrival and departure of mails. This included the so-called Eastern mail, Southern mail via steamboat, Northern via Hamilton, Chillicothe, West Union, Southern via Georgetown, Brookville, Cynthiana, Western via Lawrenceburg, Maysville, Newport and Covington, Walnut Hills, Mount Healthy and *Cummingsville*. Many of these mails were daily, others three times a week. There was also a small mail twice a week to Guyandotte, Virginia. The postage on letters for distances below 30 miles was six and one-fourth cents and increased up to 25 cents if over 400 miles, while double letters were charged double and treble letters were charged treble and so on.

Shortly after this the Post Office was moved once more, to the north side of Third street between Walnut and Vine, occupying the property owned by the late Samuel Wiggins. This was immediately east of the familiar Foote mansion shown in one of the illustrations of this work. The revenues of the office for the last year of the first half century of the city's life were $55,017.32.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—II.

THE EARLY CITY DIRECTORIES.

DIRECTORY OF 1819—DIRECTORY OF 1825—CINCINNATI IN 1826—DIRECTORY OF 1829—DIRECTORIES OF 1831, 1834 AND 1836.

Cincinnati has been especially fortunate in the number of contemporary accounts given of it in the shape of directories and similar works. This is particularly true of the period prior to the war. Mr. Cist's labors included in the three books giving accounts of the city in 1841, 1851 and 1859 are quite familiar. The books which appeared before that time and which are equally as valuable are not so well known. Dr. Drake's two books, one published in 1810 and the other in 1815, have been used liberally in the chapters covering those periods. In the first 20 years of Cincinnati's life as a city, the last 20 of the first half century of her existence, were published a number of other works of somewhat similar character which are invaluable as giving general views of the settlement at the times they were published. This is especially true of the directories of 1819, 1825 and 1829 and of the little book of Messrs. Drake and Mansfield published in 1826. The directories of those days were enabled by reason of the small size of the community to give a general view of the town such as would be impossible in a city of the present size of Cincinnati. Possibly it is true that the information in a city directory somewhat resembles that in an unabridged dictionary in that it is mighty interesting reading but a little disconnected, but to one who is imbued with the fondness for the old names and the old places, such books as being the earliest contemporary systematic records of the progress of the community contain information of the greatest value and interest. At the risk of frequent repetition which the nature of the subject and the manner of treatment,—chronological rather than topical,—makes imperative, a résumé of some of these books will be made the subject of this chapter.

Not the least interesting features of these books are the maps of the city which many of them contain. These are all engraved and printed with unusual clearness and the results will bear more than favorable comparison with the maps of the present day.

DIRECTORY OF 1819.

In the year 1819 appeared the first directory which is the third of the historic volumes connected with the history of the city. Its full title gives a fair statement of its contents. It is as follows: "The Cincinnati Directory containing the names, profession and occupation of the inhabitants of the town, alphabetically arranged; with the number of the building occupied by each. Also an account of its officers, population, institutions and societies, public buildings, manufactures, &c. with an interesting sketch of its local situation and improvements. Illustrated by a copperplate engraving, exhibiting a view of the city. By a citizen. Published by Oliver Farnsworth. Morgan, Lodge and Co. printers, October, 1819."

On the back is an advertisement of Mallory & Newell, auctioneers and commission mer-

chants at No. 10 Lower Market street, and also one of the publisher, Oliver Farnsworth, who offers school books. He mentions particularly Bingham's "American Preceptor," Daniel Adams' "Scholars' Arithmetic," Webster's "American Spelling Book" and Lindley Murray's "English Reader" and "English Grammar." Very few copies of the work in the original boards are now known to be in existence.

The plan of Cincinnati prefixed to the book shows that some considerable changes must have taken place subsequent to the publication of Dr. Drake's book less than four years before. The township and north corporation line is shown from a point where it touches the river at its eastern terminus and also extends westward to the west line of section 24 of the fourth township of the first fractional range. The lots, both in-lots and out-lots, are numbered. The subdivisions of the streets and lots west of Western row and south of Fifth street as far west as Smith street occupy what was a blank space in the earlier map. North of the corporation line on either side of Vine street are shown a number of lots lying on the new streets, Green, New, North, Poplar, Elder, Pleasant and Back. North of Northern row which is now called Seventh street and between Elm and Vine streets all lots are laid off. The streets beginning at the south are Seventh, New Market, Wayne and St. Clair. Beyond this are two more streets which are not named on the map. A number of new lots and streets are laid off east of Broadway, Harrison being the only one named. On the opposite side of the river Covington and Newport are indicated. The principal roads that are marked leading from the city are the road to Mill creek lower ford (now Eighth street), the road to Hamilton (McMicken avenue), the road to Dayton which no longer exists on the line shown, the road to Lebanon (now Reading road) and the road to Columbia continuing from East Front street.

The steam mill is still shown and the Broadway wharf is indicated as a feature of prominence. The ferries are still in the places shown four years before. The council house is shown at the west end of the Public Landing at the spot which was the subject of the Williams' litigation.

In addition to the three banks shown before, there is now the bank of J. H. Piatt & Company at the southeast corner of Second and Broadway, and the United States Branch Bank on the west side of Broadway below Third street on lot 108. At the foot of Smith street were the glass works and considerably beyond at the foot of Mill street the steam saw mill. The Episcopal Church on the north side of Sixth street between Vine and Walnut and the Methodist Church at the northeast corner of Fourth and Plum are new features, as is also the factory of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company in the eastern part of the town. Three private residences are indicated, that of William Barr on the west side of Mound street, that of General Lytle (still the residence of General Lytle's descendants), at the northeast corner of Lawrence and Symmes and that of David Kilgour on East Symmes street. At the southwest corner of Seventh street and Western row extending for about two blocks to the west are ropewalks. The ancient works are still shown on the map and the two levels of the city are indicated, while Deer creek still pursues its uneventful course.

The directory was compiled with unusual care and accuracy and gives a most valuable view of the city at the time. It is preceded by an historical sketch said to have been written by Nathan Guilford. This is followed by a statistical view from which can be extracted a real picture of the community at that time. According to this, the population as taken during the summer of 1818 numbered 9,120 inhabitants of whom there were 2,364 males of 21 years and upwards and 1,632 females of the same age. The males from 12 to 21 years were 840, while the females of the same age numbered 823. Males under the age of 12 were 1,549, females 1,545, making an excess of males over females of 753. People of color numbered 367. The population as taken for the directory in July, 1819, was: White males, 5,402, white females, 4,471, a total of 9,873 white persons; and male persons of color 215, females of color 195, making 410 in all. This makes a total population of 10,283. This mixed assembly we are told was composed of emigrants from almost every part of Christendom, the greater part being from the Middle and Northern States. There were many foreigners however and it was not uncommon "to hear three or four different languages spoken in the street at the same time." As a result the writer claimed that there were few of those provincial traits of character so visible in older settlements as every individual was obliged to sacrifice his prejudices and local peculiarities to the general opinion and to adopt a more liberal mode of acting and thinking. A spirit of enterprise and a restless ambition to acquire property were prevailing characteristics. "The citizens of Cincinnati are generally temper-

ate, peaceable and industrious. Gaming is a vice almost unknown in the city. Under the influence of a strict police, good order is maintained; fighting or riot in the streets is very rare, and is uniformly punished with rigor. Great attention is paid to the institutions of religion, and the mass of the more respectable citizens are regular in their attendance on public worship. In their parties, assemblies, and social meetings, the greatest ease and familiarity prevail, and many traits are to be met with of that politeness and urbanity of manners which distinguish the polished circles of older cities." (p. 33.)

The number of buildings at that time was given as 1,890; of these there were of brick and stone (two stories and upwards) 387; (one story) 45; of wood (two stories and upward) 615, (one story) 843. Classified in another way there were "occupied as separate dwelling houses 1,003, mercantile stores 95, groceries 102, druggist stores 11, 'confectionaries' 4, auction and commission stores 5, printing offices 5, 'book and stationary' stores 4, places of public worship 10, banks 5, 'mechanicks'' shops, factories and mills 214, taverns 17, seminary, court house and jail 3, warehouses and other buildings 412." This enumeration was made in March, 1819, and the author states that subsequent to that time many new buildings had been erected so that at the close of the year the number would amount to more than 2,000, among which were a Court House, a jail, seminary, eight churches, two market houses and several manufactories. The Court House, the "Old Court House" so-called, which burned to the ground in 1849 as did its predecessor in 1814, had just been completed. It was 62 feet long and 56 feet wide. Its height to the cornice was 50 feet, to the summit of the dome 120 feet and to the top of the spire 160 feet. It contained two fireproof rooms in which the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and Supreme Court and the register of deeds kept their offices. It had also a spacious court room, jury rooms and offices.

The jail was a new brick building located at the head of Sycamore street about where the canal is now located. It contained seven rooms for criminals and debtors and about the same number for the use of the jailer. Other buildings not previously mentioned were the new brick Methodist Church at the corner of Fourth and Plum, that of Rev. William Burke on Vine street, the Second Presbyterian Church on Walnut street and the Roman Catholic Church in the Northern Liberties; these last were all of wood. An interesting item is the following in the description of the woolen factory building and the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company: "The proprietors have contracted with the Corporation of Cincinnati to supply the city with water. The water is to be thrown by a steam engine and force pump into a reservoir to be placed on the Hill, 200 feet above the river, and conveyed from thence in aqueducts to the different parts of the city. The citizens are to have the free use of the water in cases of fire. This important undertaking is already commenced, and the proprietors are bound to complete it the ensuing season. The expense, it is conjectured, will exceed one hundred thousand dollars. There is also connected with this establishment a patent machine for making window sashes."

The glass manufactory already mentioned, a cylindrical building of brick standing on the river at the foot of Plum street, employed 35 workmen in manufacturing various kinds of glass.

The ox saw mill was the first of the kind known to have been established upon the principle of animal power. The saws were driven by an inclined wheel put in motion by cattle walking on the wheel, an invention of Joseph B. Robinson of this city. The mill cut 800,000 feet of boards annually.

The sugar refinery carried on in a large brick building on the brow of the Hill near Broadway had a capacity of 180,000 pounds a year.

The market houses are described, the one on Fifth street as being 200 feet in length, that on Lower Market, 300 feet and the new one in the western part of the city then being erected, about 200 feet.

Under the head of education, comment is made on the fact that although every neighborhood in the city had its school which generally continued the year round, there were no public funds set apart for the purpose and the schools were supported entirely by private munificence as a result of which it was feared that the children of some of the poorer classes were deprived of the means of education. Institutions mentioned were the Lancaster Seminary which had just been incorporated as the Cincinnati College with Dr. Elijah Slack as president and the Medical College of Ohio which had been established in the summer of 1818 by Dr. Daniel Drake, assisted by Dr. Slack and Dr. Coleman Rogers.

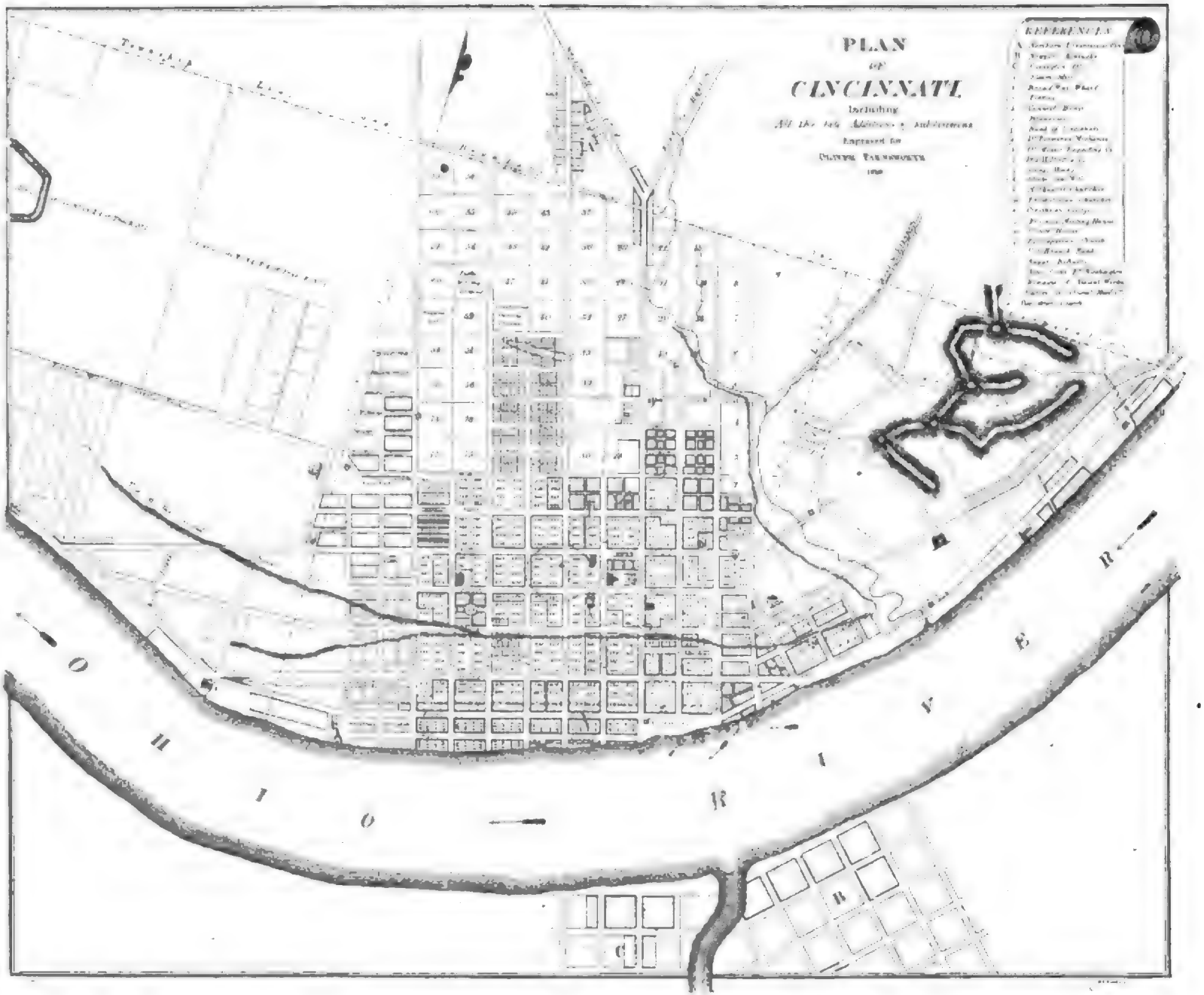
Another institution which had been established in June, 1818, and had commenced its regular meetings in July, 1819, was the Western Museum

Society, whose principal object was to make a collection of the natural productions and antiquities of the Western country. The museum also contained a number of specimens from abroad. The price of membership was $50, which was transferable and which secured admission for the subscriber's whole family. The museum collection was placed in the building of the Cincinnati College. "Decent strangers" were cheerfully admitted.

The list of societies given in the directory includes the following: The First Presbyterian Society, formed in 1791 and chartered in 1807, had 230 communicants and settled preacher, Rev. Joshua L. Wilson. The Methodist Episcopal Society, founded in 1804 with 10 members and incorporated in 1811, had 700 communicants in 1819. Its clergymen were Rev. James Quinn and Truman Bishop. The New Jerusalem Society, instituted in 1811 with a membership of from 40 to 50, was about building a church 40 by 26 feet. Rev. Adam Hurdus acted as pastor. The Society of Friends was formed in 1813 and consisted of about 40 families and 108 individuals. The First Baptist Church, formed in 1813 with 11 members, held religious meetings in the small building on Main street. The German Christian Society was instituted in 1814 and continued under the pastoral care of Rev. Joseph Zesline until his death in 1818. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Benevolent Society of Cincinnati was incorporated in 1817 and occupied a church on Vine street under the charge of Rev. William Burke. The Second Presbyterian Church, organized in 1817, worshiped on Walnut street; its pastor for a time had been Rev. Samuel Robinson. In the same year was formed the Episcopal Society which contained 70 families and between 20 and 30 communicants. This church occupied the Baptist Church at that time but had already purchased a site for a new church and had sent for an organ to be attached to the church. The Roman Catholic Society was formed in 1818 with about 100 members who worshiped in a frame meeting house in the Northern Liberties although they had as yet no settled priest. The Miami Bible Society was instituted in 1814 for the purpose of distributing Bibles among the poor. Its officers were Oliver M. Spencer, president; Joshua L. Wilson, secretary; and William Burke, treasurer. There was also a Female Auxiliary Bible Society instituted in 1816, the Dorcass (sic) Society instituted in 1817 to afford relief to the poor in cases of want and sickness, a Female Association for the Benefit of Africans formed in 1817 to give religious and other instructions to negroes, the First Female Society of Cincinnati for Charitable and Religious Purposes, the Tract Society, the Western Navigation, Bible and Tract Society, the Union Sabbath School Society, the Wesleyan Sunday School Society, Cincinnati Sunday School Society, Sunday School Society of the Episcopal Church and Episcopal Singing Society to which Arthur St. Clair, Jr., made a donation of a lot of land and Jacob Baymiller of a building. All of these institutions seem to have been organized in the years 1817 to 1819. Among the officers the same names recur with great frequency. In addition to those already mentioned, there were Mrs. H. Kinney, Mrs. C. C. L. Risk, Mrs. C. H. Davies, Mrs. S. R. Strong, Mrs. Ziegler, Miss J. McKnight, Miss N. Pierson, Mrs. S. M. Wilson, Mrs. J. Wheeler, Miss S. Yeaman, Thomas L. Payne, John Smith, William Lytle, Daniel P. Robbins, Samuel Johnston, Jacob Baymiller, James Chute, Robert Boal, James Quinn, Abdiel Coleman, John Tomlinson, Elijah Slack, Jacob Burnet, E. B. Cooke, Thomas Tucker, Samuel Robinson, John Dillingham, Ethan Stone, Samuel Johnston, Richard Fosdick, Luman Watson, F. A. Blake and James M. Mason. Among these names are many which have become familiar to the later residents of the city.

Another singing society is the Haydn Society, founded in 1819, composed of singers selected from the different societies of the city. Other societies mentioned are the Master Carpenters and Joiners' Society, the Mutual Relief Society of Journeymen Hatters, the Society of Master Taylors, Union Benevolent Society of Journeymen Taylors and Journeymen Cabinet Makers' Society.

The Cincinnati Medical Society, established in 1819, had for its president Elijah Slack; O. B. Baldwin, vice-president; John Woolley, secretary; and William Barnes, treasurer. Among the names of officers of the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge, No. 2, Cincinnati, instituted as has been stated in 1791, were those of William Burke, Elam P. Langdon, David Jackson, Rue Pugh, John Mahard and Solomon Sisco. The officers of the Miami Lodge, No. 64, Cincinnati, founded in 1818, were Luman Watson, Joseph Jonas, Moses Brooks, Edward B. Cooke, Stephen Burrows and Solomon Sisco. The most valuable society, with an imposing list of officers, was the Humane Society instituted in 1819 for the purpose of resuscitating drowned persons.



The society had 300 members, and a complete set of apparatus consisting of three large boats with four sets of drags for each boat. Three houses were also provided on the river bank for its accommodation. It also owned a movable bed with a stove and apparatus for warming it, and a bellows of several nozzles to be used when occasion required. The officers and directors included the following distinguished names: William Lytle, Jacob Burnet, Daniel Drake, William Burke, Benjamin Drake, Peyton Symmes, Moses Guest, Jesse Embree, Nathaniel Wright, O. B. Baldwin, James Chute, Nicholas Longworth and Elijah Slack. Another imposing list of names is that of the officers of the Miami Exporting Company, whose capital is given as $500,000. Of this the president was Oliver M. Spencer; cashier, William Oliver; directors, David Kilgour, Francis Carr, Griffin Yeatman, Samuel Perry, William Barr, David E. Wade, Isaac G. Burnet, William Ruffin, William Ramsey and Jesse Hunt.

William Irwin was president and Samuel W. Davies, cashier, of the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, whose capital was also given as a half million dollars. Some of the other directors were Thomas D. Carneal, Stephen McFarland, Nicholas Longworth, Cave Johnson, Jacob Baymiller and William Woodward.

Of the Bank of Cincinnati with a capital of $600,000, incorporated in 1816, Ethan Stone was president and Lot Pugh, cashier. Among its directors were James Glenn, Nathaniel Reeder, John S. Wallace, Joshua Reynolds, Hezekiah Saunders, Oliver Martin, Levi James, Thomas Graham, Joshua Gibson, Jr., and Elijah Pearson.

Jacob Burnet was president, and Gorham A. Worth, cashier, of the United States Branch Bank, which commenced operations in 1817. Other directors were Martin Baum, James Findlay, John H. Piatt, Hugh Glenn, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, Jr., William M. Worthington, Andrew Mack, William Piatt, Joseph Perry, Daniel Drake and William H. Harrison.

Richard Dement was cashier of John H. Piatt & Company's bank, which commenced operations in 1817. A curious item is that which gives the discount days of the several banks. Each bank had but one discount day a week and all notes for discount had to be dated and deposited in the banks the day previous before one o'clock except those for the Branch Bank which had to be dated on Tuesday. Banking hours were from ten o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon.

The only insurance company given is the Cincinnati Insurance Company incorporated in 1819 with a capital of $500,000. Its president was William Barr and secretary, John Jolley. Among its directors were Francis Carr, James Keys, Isaac G. Burnet, O. M. Spencer, Levi James, Elijah Pearson, Thomas Graham, John H. Piatt, M. T. Williams, James Glenn, David Kilgour and John Buffum. This insurance company like a bank had its special office hours from ten to twelve in the morning and from two to four in the afternoon.

Under the head of manufactures were included two foundries, the woolen factory, glass works, steam mill, sugar refinery, oil mill and other institutions. The principal one mentioned was the Cincinnati Bell, Brass and Iron Foundry, owned by the partnership of William Green & Company of which William H. Harrison, Jacob Burnet, James Findlay and John H. Piatt were members. There was also the Phoenix Foundry, 21 blacksmiths, six tin-shops, four copper manufactories, three nail factories, nine silversmiths, three whitesmiths, two gunsmiths, a fire engine maker, a patent coffee-mill maker, a copperplate engraver, a gilder, a maker of sieves and lattice work from wire, 15 cabinet workshops, 16 cooper shops, nine coach and wagon shops, four chair makers; 80 to 100 house carpenters and joiners, several ship carpenters and boat builders, an ivory and wood clock factory, 26 shoe shops, 23 tailor shops, 11 saddlery shops, six tan-yards, six tobacco shops, 15 bakeries, one or two horse flour mills in addition to the steam mill, five hat shops, seven soap boilers and tallow chandlers, nine distilleries, three ropewalks, two breweries, three potteries, two stone cutters, 25 brick-yards, a saddletree maker, a plow maker, a pump and block maker, spinning wheel factory and window sash factory, two turners of fancy woodwork, one fanning-mill maker, five bookbinders, five painters and glaziers, two brush makers, one comb maker, two upholsterers, one bellows maker, two last makers, one whip maker, 100 bricklayers, thirty plasterers, 15 stone masons, 18 milliners, one dyer, 10 barbers and hair-dressers, 10 street pavers, one rackoon burr mill stone factory. The total annual value of the different manufactures, not considering the foundries, woolen factory, glass works, steam and oil mills and sugar refinery, was given as $1,059,459. The hands employed were 1,238.

There is also a discussion of the commerce of the city which had increased wonderfully since the introduction of steamboats about seven years

before. The importations of 1815 amounted to $534,680 and of the year following, $691,075. This jumped to $1,442,266 in 1817 and in 1818 to $1,619,030. The cause of this in the opinion of the writer was the great influx of goods from foreign countries after the war, the consequent depression in prices and the establishment of the United States Branch Bank which was quite liberal in the matter of loans. During the year 1819 he estimated that the limit of importations would not exceed a half million as the merchants were more prudent and anxious in the imports and were trying to pay their debts in the East by exportation. "Nothing can relieve the Western States from their present embarrassments, but to dispense with as many of the luxuries imported as they conveniently can, to rely more upon their own resources, and to promote, as far as practicable, the exportation of the productions of our fertile soil." The events of the two following years vindicated this judgment.

The exports from October, 1818, to March, 1819, were estimated at $1,334,080. Of this, $650,000 was made up of flour at $5 a barrel and $150,000, of pork at $15 a barrel. Other items were bacon and hams pickled at eight cents per pound, $22,080; lard at 11 cents per pound, $46,000; tobacco at 11 cents per pound, $66,000; whiskey, 50 cents per gallon, $40,000.

Under the head of steamboats were given the names of 63 vessels from 25 to 700 tons burden, which had plied the waters between Pittsburg, New Orleans and St. Louis. Ten or 15 boats whose names were not ascertainable were not mentioned. One-fourth of the boats then on the Western waters had been built in the vicinity of Cincinnati within less than two years. Among the boats mentioned was the "General Pike," built at Cincinnati in 1818, the first steamboat built on the Western waters exclusively for passengers. She measured 100 feet keel, 25 feet beam and drew but three feet three inches of water. Her cabin was 40 feet long and 25 broad. There were 14 state rooms and a large hall 40 by 18 feet, affording accommodation for 100 passengers. The largest vessel given was the "United States," of 700 tons, built at Jeffersonville in 1819. Another vessel mentioned was the "Rumsey" of 200 tons, which operated without wheels according to a plan which it is claimed was invented as early as 1782. The system is described at length in the directory.

The canal at Louisville as well as the proposed ones in the Miami country are discussed at some length and a description is also given of the Cincinnati and Hamilton Turnpike Company, which had been incorporated in January, 1817, for the purpose of making a turnpike road from the north end of Main street to McHenry's ford on Mill creek and thence to the town of Hamilton. Another company was the Cincinnati and Dayton Turnpike Company, incorporated the same year to build a turnpike road through Franklin to Dayton. This was to begin at a bridge east of Hunt's tan-yard.

The names of the principal city officers at that time are given elsewhere. To those already mentioned may be added Samuel R. Miller, marshal; William Ruffin, clerk, and Nathaniel G. Pendleton, prosecuting attorney. The president judge of the Court of Common Pleas at that time and for many years was George P. Torrence. His associates were Othniel Looker, James Silvers and John C. Short. The prosecuting attorney of the county was David Wade; clerk, Daniel Gano; sheriff, Richard Ayres; coroner, William Butler; and jailer, Samuel Cunningham. The commissioners were Ezekiel Hall, Clayton Webb and Adam Moore; clerk, Micajah T. Williams; treasurer, David Wade; recorder, Thomas Clark; notary public, Griffin Yeatman; and justices of the peace, Ethan Stone and John Mahard.

The names of 25 attorneys and 22 physicians are given. These appear in the account of those professions given elsewhere in this work.

At the conclusion of an article concerning the Land Office of the land district of Cincinnati, which included the territory bounded on the east by the Virginia Military Reservation, on the north by Cass and McArthur's purchase, west by the Jeffersonville and White River districts and south by the Ohio River, we are informed that Peyton S. Symmes was the register, near the corner of Lawrence and Congress streets, and James Findlay, receiver, at No. 30 East Front street, near the hotel.

A most interesting organization "The Cincinnati Society for the promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and Domestic Economy," is described in this directory. Among its officers were William H. Harrison, president; Andrew Mack, first vice-president; Ethan Stone, second vice-president; Zaccheus Biggs, third vice-president; Stephen Wood, fourth vice-president; Jesse Embree, secretary; James Findlay, treasurer; James Taylor, Ephraim Brown, Daniel Drake, Jacob Burnet, William Corry, Gorham A. Worth, Isaac H. Jackson, James C. Morris and Jacob Broadwell, standing committee. Its

general purpose seems to have been the improvement of agriculture and domestic productions for a remedy against the unhappy effects of foreign merchandise. The society was to hold stated meetings, collect a library and give prizes for the best productions in agriculture or domestic manufactures and for essays on the subjects. Its most interesting feature was the declaration of the members as follows:

"Being convinced that a retrenchment in the expense of living will be an important mean in alleviating the difficulties and pecuniary embarrassments which exist in every section of the country we concur in adopting and recommending to our fellow citizens the following declaration, viz.:

"1st. We will not purchase, or suffer to be used in our families, any imported liquors, fruits, nuts or preserves of any kind, unless they shall be required in cases of sickness.

"2d. Being convinced, that the practice which generally prevails of wearing suits of black as testimonials of respect for the memory of deceased friends, is altogether useless, if not improper, while it is attended with a heavy expense, we will not sanction it hereafter in our families, or encourage it in others.

"3d. We will not purchase, for ourselves or our families, such articles of dress as are expensive, and are generally considered as ornamental rather than useful.

"4th. We will abstain from the use of imported goods of every description as far as may be practicable, and we will give a preference to articles that are of the growth and manufacture of our own country, when the latter can be procured.

"5th. We will not purchase any articles, either of food or dress, at prices that are considered extravagant, or that the citizens generally cannot afford to pay; but will rather abstain from the use of such articles until they can be obtained at reasonable prices.

"6th. We will observe a rigid economy in every branch of our expenditures, and will, in all our purchases, be influenced by necessity rather than convenience, and by utility rather than ornament.

"7th. We believe that the prosperity of the country depends in a great degree on a general and faithful observance of the foregoing declaration—we therefore promise that we will adhere to it ourselves, and that we will recommend it to others."

In the appendix (every directory seems to have an appendix of information arriving too late for insertion in its regular order) are several items of interest. The officers of the Cincinnati Library Society, of which Daniel Drake was president and David Cathcart, librarian, are given. The officiating clergyman of Christ Church is given as Rev. Samuel Johnston. Three newspapers are mentioned: *Western Spy and Cincinnati General Advertiser*, and *Inquisitor and Cincinnati Advertiser*, both weekly papers, and *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, a semi-weekly. Comment is made upon the fact that although the corporation owned two fire engines neither of them is kept in proper repair and the city is almost destitute of ladders, fire-hooks, buckets and even water. The sale of salt is given as $180,000 annually while that of lumber is but $150,000. The fact is noted that there are 30 four-wheel pleasure carriages, 40 two-wheel and 40 wagons within the corporation as well as 80 carts and 60 drays.

Attention is also called to the Cincinnati Reading Room founded about a year before and amply furnished with the most respectable news and literary journals in the country as well as maps, European gazettes, etc. This was located in the rear of the Post Office and conducted by E. P. Langdon, assistant postmaster. The Post Office at this time was located at No. 157 Main street and was in charge of William Burke.

The Cincinnati Museum recently commenced by Messrs. Letton and Willet occupied the upper story of the building on the corner of Main and Upper Market streets. The officers of the Cincinnati Royal Arch Chapter instituted in 1817 included the names of Davis Embree, William Burke and Griffin Yeatman.

Another item of interest is to the effect that a frame building of considerable size situated at the northeast part of the city was nearly ready to be opened for public worship by the people of color.

A reference to a contemplated theatre is given elsewhere.

Another paragraph of interest in the light of subsequent events concerns the bridge across the Ohio:

"Some considerable discussion has at various times agitated the public, touching the practicability of bridging the Ohio opposite Cincinnati. Many have ridiculed it as an hypothesis, at once absurd and visionary, whilst others have viewed it in a more serious light. It is now satisfactorily ascertained that a bridge may be per-

manently constructed, and at an expense vastly inferior to what has generally been supposed. The current of the Ohio here is never more rapid than that of the Susquehanna, Monongahela, and Allegheny sometimes are, where the experiment has been successfully proven. There is little doubt, if we can be allowed to form an opinion from the public enterprise which now distinguishes our inhabitants, that very few years will elapse before a splendid bridge will unite Cincinnati with Newport and Covington."

In the list of roads leading from the city are enumerated those to Detroit, 277 miles; Vincennes, 201 miles; New Orleans, 862 miles; Greenville by Dayton, 92 miles; Louisville, 103 miles; Chillicothe by Lebanon, 100 miles, and by Williamsburg, 95 miles; and Pittsburg, 305 miles.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the directory proper which contains roughly estimated about eighteen hundred names. An examination of its pages shows many names familiar in the city's history and gives an idea of the location of the residences in those days. It must be remembered that the numbers ran east and west from Main street instead of Vine as at present and were continuous. Ethan Allen Brown, Governor of Ohio, lived at No. 4 Broadway. William Barr, president of the Cincinnati Insurance Company, lived in the house on Mound street between Sixth and Seventh which has already been referred to. William Betts is mentioned as a farmer living near the corner of Western row and Chestnut street. Moses Brooks kept tavern at No. 111 East Front street. Francis Blake had his law office on Fourth between Walnut and Vine and lived at No. 120 Sycamore street. Jacob Brumwell (Bromwell Manufacturing Company) wire weaver, was at No. 30 West Fifth. Isaac G. Burnet the mayor had his office of course at the City Hall and his house was at No. 49 Water street. Martin Baum's house on the corner of Pike and Congress street and Jacob Burnet's on Vine and Third have already been referred to. The business place of the former was at No. 120 Main street. William Burke, the postmaster, lived on Sixth between Main and Sycamore. Louis Baker, a merchant tailor, did business at No. 19 West Fourth street and lived at the corner of Walnut and Fourth upon the site of the Baker Building, now being replaced by the First National Bank Building. Francis Carr, merchant, lived at No. 24 Lower Market and did business next door. George Charters, piano-forte maker, also kept a circulating library on Fifth between Main and Sycamore. J. G. Cooper, the Episcopal clergyman, lived on Walnut between Fourth and Fifth. The Methodist minister, Alexander Cummins, lived on Broadway between Fourth and Fifth streets. David Cathcart, teacher in the Lancaster Seminary and librarian, resided on Seventh between Walnut and Vine. Thomas Clark, the attorney-at-law, also acted as commission land agent at No. 155 Main street. Another prominent attorney, William Corry, was at No. 217 Main. Joseph Cotertill, cooper, lived on Sixth between Smith and Mound. James Chute, a prominent merchant, kept a shoe store at No. 115 Main and lived on Fourth between Vine and Race. Longworth & Benham, attorneys-at-law, had their office at No. 22 East Front street. The head of the firm, Nicholas Longworth, lived at No. 118 East Front street and Joseph S. Benham at No. 83 East Sycamore. James W. Gazlay and Nathan Guilford, attorneys-at-law under the firm name of Gazlay & Guilford, had their office at No. 245 Main, where also was Gazlay's residence; Guilford lived at No. 276 Main. Benjamin M. Piatt, the attorney-at-law, lived at No. 238 Main. His brother lawyer, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, was at No. 11 West Front street. Este & Storer had offices at No. 11 East Front street. Here too was Griffin Yeatman's office as a notary public. David Wade had his office at No. 105 Sycamore and lived next door. David Shepherd combined with his law business a lottery and exchange office at No. 190 Main street, living at No. 167 Main. Stephen Sedgwick, the attorney, also lived on Main street near the Court House and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., lived on the same street in the familiar St. Clair residence, at No. 267. Daniel Roe lived on Sixth between Main and Walnut. The well known attorney, William M. Worthington, the first of a distinguished family of lawyers, lived at No. 18 Lower Market while near him over No. 22 Chauncy Whittelsey had his office. Another well known name among lawyers is that of Nathaniel Wright who had his office at No. 4 West Second street. Samuel Q. Richardson had an office at No. 229 Main and lived on Sixth between Main and Walnut. Richard S. Wheatley also had his office at No. 229 Main and lived at No. 36 East Front street. John Lee Williams dispensed law near the corner of Fifth and Walnut and lived on Fifth between Plum and Western row. Elisha Hotchkiss also had his office at the corner of Fifth and Walnut and lived near the corner of Fifth and Plum. Samuel Todd held forth at

No. 162 Main. Thomas P. Eskridge practiced law in the City Hall and lived at the corner of Main and Front. Hugh McDugall had his office at No. 80 Water street. The most distinguished physician at that time, Dr. Drake, had an office at No. 91 Main and lived at the corner of Third and Ludlow. The drug store of I. and B. Drake was at No. 93 Main street. Isaac Drake lived on Congress between Broadway and Ludlow.

The doctors seem to have been located along Main, Front and Fifth streets. At No. 24 East Front street was the office of Drs. John Selman and Thomas Morehead, next door to Dr. Selman's residence. At No. 14 West Front street was Dr. Samuel Ramsay and at No. 35 Dr. Oliver B. Baldwin. Passing up Main street, the first doctor's office was that of Dr. John Cramner, No. 39. Crossing Second street on the west side No. 51 was the office of Dr. Isaac Hough, whose house was two doors farther north. A little beyond on the west side of the street below Fourth, No. 133 was Dr. Vincent C. Marshall. On the east side of Main just two doors above Fourth at No. 157 was the office of Dr. William Barnes whose house was just around the corner at No. 7 West Fourth street. Dr. John Woolley had his office on the east side of Main at No. 170. A little farther up at No. 194 was the office of Dr. Daniel Slayback, whose residence was on Fifth between Sycamore and Broadway. Dr. Douglass had his office at No. 228 which was on the east side of Main between Fifth and Sixth and Dr. Charles V. Barbour was next door at No. 230. On Walnut street at the corner of Fourth was Dr. Coleman Rogers and between Fourth and Fifth Dr. Daniel Dyer. The only physician apparently on Sycamore street was Dr. Ebenezer H. Pierson who had his office at No. 87 and lived at No. 85 on the west side of the street just above Third. At No. 6 Lower Market was the store of Messrs. Hallam and Clark, chemists and druggists, at the head of which was Dr. John A. Hallam. On Fifth and Race was Dr. Edward Y. Kemper and a little farther west between Race and Elm Dr. Jonathan Easton. In the outskirts of the town at Sixth and Smith practiced Dr. Ithiel Smead.

Other prominent citizens can be located as well. The city marshal, Samuel R. Miller, lived at No. 110 Main which was on the east side of the street between Third and Fourth, while the clerk, William Ruffin, had his residence at No. 95 East Front street just a square from his office in the City Hall. The prosecuting attorney, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, is given as at No. 11 West Front street. Jesse Hunt, merchant and president of the City Council, had his place of business at No. 3 East Front street and resided across the street at No. 4. The recorder, William Oliver, who was also cashier of the Miami Exporting Company, lived at No. 57 West Front street, which was between Walnut and Vine. Jacob Wheeler, merchant, who was the treasurer, had his house on the Hill at the northeastern part of the city. Richard L. Coleman, the clerk of the Council, who in private life was a house carpenter, was on Third between Race and Elm. John Armstrong resided at No. 26 Broadway. Peter A. Sprigman lived at the corner of Water and Walnut streets. Samuel Davies, member of the Council from the First Ward and cashier of the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, lived on Fourth between Broadway and Sycamore. Oliver Lovell, councilman from the Second Ward, was a painter and glazier who resided on Sixth between John and Smith, while John Tuttle his fellow member was a measurer of carpenter work who lived on London street between Western row and John. Judge Torrence, the president judge of the Court of Common Pleas, lived on Broadway between Third and Fourth. Daniel Gano, clerk of the court, resided at No. 237 Main, while Richard Ayres, the sheriff, lived at No. 280 Main just below Seventh. Micajah T. Williams is given as a land agent with house on Fourth street between Walnut and Vine. Ethan Stone, the justice of the peace, was located on Fourth between Walnut and Vine while his associate John Mahard was at the corner of Walnut and Water streets.

Passing from those prominent in official life to the merchants and business men, among the first of prominence was Oliver M. Spencer, president of the Miami Exporting Company, who lived on Sixth street between Broadway and Sycamore. Samuel Perry lived at No. 17 Sycamore street. The president of the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, William Irwin, resided at No. 34 Main. Lot Pugh, the cashier of the Bank of Cincinnati, lived at No. 120 Main. Nathaniel Reeder did business next door, at No. 122, and resided at No. 124. John S. Wallace did business at No. 164 Main. James Findlay, receiver of public moneys, had his office at No. 30 East Front street and lived at No. 38. John H. Piatt's office was at the corner of Second and Broadway. The cashier of the bank, Richard Dement, lived a couple doors east at No. 77 East Second street. Joshua L. Wilson, the minister, had his resi-

suffer for medical attention as a list of 27 doctors, licentiates and dentists is given.

This directory contains a list of the ministers of the Gospel in Cincinnati who were at that time as follows: Baptist,—John Boyd, ——— Henderson, Henry Muggeridge, Alexander Dennison; Episcopalian,—Samuel Johnston; German Lutheran,—Louis H. Myer; Methodist,—Daniel Ashton, Truman Bishop, John Daulton, ——— Demint, John P. Derben, Jesse B. Dorman, David English, Abbot Goddard, John Haughton, William Lynes, Sacher Nelson, John Price, William H. Raper, Robert Richardson, Martin Ruter, Oliver M. Spencer, Samuel West and William Young; Wesleyan Methodist,—William Burke, Robert Punshon and John Sefton; New Jerusalem,—Adam Hurdus, Oliver Lovell and Daniel Roe; Presbyterian,—David Root, Elijah Slack and Joshua L. Wilson; Scotch Presbyterian,—William Arthurs and Charles B. McKee; Universalist,—George Redding. The Catholics were represented by the distinguished Bishop Edwin Fenwick, John A. Hill (vicar general), Frederick Rice (German minister) and ——— Ganill.

We are informed in the statistical review of the city that "the greatest harmony exists between the people of different nations and tongues (resident in the city), all viewing each other as brothers drawn together by the natural consequence of emigration" and that "such is the security and safety of the citizens that a night watch is thought unnecessary by the City Council." Fortunate city indeed!

The editor of this directory begins the campaign waged for so many years in behalf of Cincinanti as a summer resort with a statement of the healthfulness and pleasantness of the city which were such as to induce strangers from many parts to make it their residence during the warmer season. Articles of importation were nearly as cheap as in the East. The number of arrivals and departures of steamboats for five months beginning April 1, 1824, was 480. During the previous year eight steamboats had been built in the place and the manufactures were fast improving; some of them had doubled and trebled within the preceding five years. The type foundry, the only one west of the Alleghany Mountains, which furnished type for the principal part of the Western States, was especially mentioned. Ninety-nine houses, of which 68 were of brick, had been erected during the preceding year and the new wharf was instanced as an evidence of the enterprise of the Council. Upwards of fifty mechanical trades were carried on, many promising a surplus for exportation.

The hydraulic water works are mentioned at some length. They were erected in the upper part of the city in a building below the bank of the river on a rock foundation whose walls commenced about 10 feet above low water mark and were eight feet thick at the bottom, lessening to five at the top, 35 feet above the rock. On this was erected a brick building three stories high, making the whole height of the building from the rock to the top 90 feet. The upper apartment was occupied by a shot factory where shot were made when the river was low enough to permit of a sufficient fall. A well was cut into the rock so as to contain water running in through the canal from the main channel at the lowest stages of the river and the water from this well was pumped by two pumps into a cistern above high water mark. From this the water was forced through the rising main pipe to the reservoir on the Hill, about 158 feet above low water mark and not less than 30 feet above the highest part of the city, the hills excepted. The pipes to the reservoir were about one-half iron and one-half wood. The water was then conveyed from the reservoir to the compact part of the city by two lines of wooden pipes except where a few hundred feet of iron pipe were used in crossing Deer creek. One line entered Fifth street and the other crossed Deer creek lower down and entered Third street. Between five and six hundred families and several important manufacturing establishments were supplied from 20,000 feet of pipe laid through the city. This plant it will be remembered was operated under the ordinance of May 31, 1817, granting to Samuel W. Davies and others the exclusive privilege of supplying water to the citizens of Cincinnati, which had been acquired by Davies himself.

The steam mill at this time was a pile of ruins, the result of the fire of November 3, 1823.

The number of inhabitants (November, 1824) given according to sex and color by wards includes 2,119 families with 12,016 members. The Second Ward is the largest, containing 4,531 residents. This is followed by the First Ward with 3,157, the Fourth Ward with 2,540 and the Third Ward with 1,788. The total number of colored people was 246 males and 282 females, of which about one-half were in the First Ward, the smallest number being in the Second Ward. The total of white males was 5,940 as against 5,546 females. The only ward in which the

divine worshippers where greater harmony exists on account of religious principles than in Cincinnati."

In the appendix to the volume is the chronological table of the important events of the Western States since their discovery by the Europeans. But few of the events mentioned bear directly on Cincinnati. These include the establishment of the city in 1789, of the first court in 1790, of the first school in 1792, the arrival of General Wayne in 1793 and the burning of the steam mill at Cincinnati on November 3, 1823.

The volume concludes with four advertisements,—those of David Evans, tailor on Second street two doors east of Main; J. Oliphant, boot and shoe store on Front street one door east of the old Miami Bank; William North, tailor and ladies' habit maker at No. 20 Main street and John Coombs, hatter at No. 171 Main street. Mr. Evans, the tailor, who received the latest fashions from Philadelphia, guaranteed that his work should not be inferior to any in the city and offers coats at from $3.50 to $5.00, frock coats from $4.00 to $5.50, great coats at the same price, plaid coats at $3.50, pantaloons and vests at $1.00 each. An important industry of the country is indicated by the hatter's request for prime furs, for which he offers cash.

CINCINNATI IN 1826.

Another of the standard works concerning the history of Cincinnati was "Cincinnati in 1826," printed in February, 1827, by Morgan, Lodge and Fisher for B. Drake and E. D. Mansfield, the authors.

Benjamin Drake, the brother of Dr. Daniel Drake, came to Cincinnati in 1814 to join his brother in the drug and general merchandise business. He had studied law and was admitted to the bar some years later. He gave much of his time however to literature and journalism. Not only was he associated with Mr. Mansfield in the publication of this well known book but he subsequently aided in the establishment of the *Cincinnati Chronicle*, of which he acted as editor until 1834 and again at a later time. He died in 1841 at the age of 46 years. He was author of a number of quasi historical books such as the "Tales of the Queen City" and "Lives of Black Hawk, Tecumseh and Others."

E. D. Mansfield, the son of Col. Jared Mansfield, was for many years one of the most conspicuous among the prominent men of Cincinnati and his writings on the subject of the early history are invaluable. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, August 17, 1781, and moved with his father to the West at the time of the latter's appointment as surveyor general and lived with him at Ludlow's Station. He subsequently returned with his father to West Point and graduated at the United States Military Academy in June, 1819, at the age of 18 as lieutenant of engineers. He resigned from the army to take up literary work and graduated with high honors at Princeton in September, 1823. He subsequently studied law in the well known school of Judge Gould at Litchfield, Connecticut, for two years and returned to Cincinnati in 1825. He entered a partnership with Ormsby M. Mitchel, subsequently so well known as an astronomer. The charms of the law were not sufficient to engage the attention of these two young men and Mansfield soon took up other work. Not only did he in association with Drake prepare this description of the city but afterwards wrote many books, both critical and historical. His most interesting works to Cincinnatians were his "Memoir of Daniel Drake" published in 1855 and his "Personal Memories" published in 1879. He also wrote the lives of Gen. Winfield Scott and General Grant, the history of the Mexican War and a number of controversial works. He was editor of the *Cincinnati Chronicle* from 1836 to 1848 and of the *Chronicle and Atlas* from 1849 to 1852, of the *Cincinnati Gazette* during the year 1857 and of the *Railroad Record* from 1853 to 1871. He was a strong Whig in politics and when that party was succeeded by the Republican party he joined the latter. He held but one office during his life, that of State commissioner of statistics from 1857 to 1867. He received honorary degrees from many institutions of learning and was beloved and esteemed by the public generally. He died in October, 1880, and was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery.

The work of Drake and Mansfield was to a certain extent an official publication. The Council appropriated from the city funds the sum of $75 for its preparation. It was subsequently included in its entirety in the Englishman Bullock's work on his travels in this country. The pamphlet, for such it was, was made up of 100 pages descriptive of the city and embellished by two illustrations, one the frontispiece representing the Medical College of Ohio and another the Branch Bank of the United States. The book is very thoroughly and accurately compiled

and a comparative view of the size of the city can be obtained from the statement that the authors assure the public that they spent two months in diligent inquiries and researches for this work. The introductory chapter related to the State generally. The only part of this that has special application to Cincinnati is the paragraph relating to canals. The subject of canals which had been discussed by Dr. Drake in 1815 was first officially noticed by Governor Brown in 1819. It was not until January, 1822, that any special action was taken upon the subject. At this time Micajah T. Williams presented an exhaustive report in favor of the establishment of a canal system. This resulted in the passing of a bill for expenses of survey. In 1825 the construction of two canals was authorized,—the Ohio Canal and the Miami Canal. The Miami Canal commenced at Dayton near the mouth of Mad River, descended the valley of the Miami, passing the villages of Miamisburg, Franklin, Middletown and Hamilton. At this point it left the Miami and took the course of Mill creek to the upper level of Cincinnati. It was intended to connect this level with the Ohio River by proper locks and other works. The length of the canal as then located was 67 miles. Work began in July, 1825, and at the time of the account the line was under contract from a point above Middletown to Main street in Cincinnati. It was expected to be opened for navigation in July, 1827.

The total number of buildings in the city is given as 2,495, of which over two-thirds were two-story houses and about two-thirds were of frame. Seventeen houses were four stories in height, all of brick. During 1826, 128 brick houses and 52 frame houses were erected. The public buildings are mentioned at length. Of the Court House comment is made that "it represents neither in its internal economy nor external architecture, a model of convenience or elegance. Its remoteness from the center of the city is justly a cause of complaint." Despite the immense growth of Cincinnati the last sentence quoted is as true to-day as it was when written.

The banking house of the United States Bank which stood on the east side of Main between Third and Fourth is described as being built of freestone 40 feet wide exclusive of the wings which were of the same materials and 10 feet each in width. It was two stories in height and ornamented with a cornice. "The front of the building presents one of the chastest specimens of architecture within the city."

Another important building, not so chaste however, was that of the Medical College of Ohio, 54 by 36 feet and two stories high on the south side of Sixth between Vine and Race at the site which the college occupied for almost three quarters of a century.

The jail, market houses, Commercial Hospital and the Cincinnati College edifice are also described in much the language employed in the previous descriptions of these structures.

The Cincinnati Theatre which was situated on the south side of Columbia (now Second street) between Main and Sycamore, erected in 1819 by a company of 30 or 40 persons on leased ground, was sold in 1825 at public sale. "Since our citizens have recovered from their various embarrassments the theatre has been more liberally attended; and the managers will doubtless soon be able to count upon sufficient patronage to justify them in frequently alluring to the West the most distinguished actors of the seaboard."

The lot was 50 by 100 feet in size bounded by an alley over which a west wing was to be added for a saloon. The central portion was 40 by 100 feet with a 10-foot projecting wing in the rear and an Ionic portico 12 by 40 feet in front. The interior which was tastefully finished was equally divided between the performers and the audience. It included a pit, two tiers of boxes and a gallery with commodious lobbies, punch room, etc., and was capable of accommodating 800 persons. (This theatre was burned to the ground April 4, 1834.)

The history of the Cincinnati Water Works up to that time is given a little more completely than in the preceding publications. The ordinance of 1817 granted to the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company the exclusive privilege of supplying the city with water for a term of 99 years for the annual payment of $100 and the furnishing of water for fires which was to be accomplished by the placing of a fire plug on each block and filling the cisterns and reservoirs owned by the corporation free of expense. The company transferred its right to Samuel W. Davies in 1820 and shortly afterwards water was introduced into the city. The undertaking was not profitable and Davies offered the whole of the establishment to the Council below cost. The proposition was submitted to the voters of the city who decided against accepting it and in 1826 an act incorporating the Cincinnati Water Company was obtained and that company was then in charge of the works. For protection against fires five cisterns had been erected, each

containing 5,000 gallons of water and the fire department was maintained as described heretofore.

Wood we learn was still the chief article of fuel and coal was not used, except in manufacturing establishments.

Another chapter describes the various religious edifices. The principal change of this character was in the building occupied by the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Society had been organized in 1818 and in 1823 Edward Fenwick was appointed the first Bishop of Cincinnati. A frame structure was then erected on Sycamore above Sixth to which was added in 1826 a building of brick. A theological seminary and college was to be added within a short time. "Several intelligent ladies belonging to the religious order of the Poor Clares" had recently arrived from Europe and connected themselves with this congregation to open a school with a class of 60 pupils. "The Cathedral belonging to this congregation has a neat specimen of Gothic architecture, the plan of which with some slight alterations was furnished by Mr. Michael Scott of this city. The building is one hundred and ten feet in length; fifty in breadth; thirty from the base to the cornice and has five handsome windows on each side fifteen feet in height. There are eighty-eight pews on the first floor. The gallery is large and has the orchestra in the center, which is shortly to receive a splendid organ. The Altar is arranged in good taste and ornamented with a large and beautiful painting by Verschoot representing the investiture of a *religious*. There are several other valuable paintings hung around the walls. The interior of the church is handsomely finished, and presents a spacious and elegant room, capable of seating about eight hundred persons. The edifice for the Literary College is to correspond in its exterior with the Cathedral, and be connected with it in the rear by the frame church originally occupied by the Society; the whole will then form three sides of a square and when properly ornamented with a steeple will present a magnificent appearance."

A new society was the Colonization Society, whose funds were to be appropriated for forwarding to Africa the free blacks of Cincinnati who might be found willing to be sent to that country.

The new lodge is noted, Lafayette No. 81, formed in 1825 in anticipation of the visit of General Lafayette who was admitted to its membership on May 11, 1825, and signed its by-laws on May 19th of the same year.

Another new educational institution was "The Woodward Free Grammar School" of which the following account is given: "Mr. William Woodward of this city, with a liberality which entitles to him the gratitude of his fellow citizens, has recently conveyed in trust for the support of a free grammar school, for the education of the poor children of the city, a valuable tract of land, containing six acres, lying a little north of the line of the canal, between Broadway and Main street. So soon as the canal is completed, it is the intention of the trustees to divide this tract into suitable building lots and to lease them subject to a revaluation every fifteen years. It is computed that the rents in 1828 will be sufficient to authorize the opening of a school with at least sixty pupils. The deed of trust is made to Samuel Lewis and Ozmond Cogswell and provides for the annual election by the voters of the city of a third trustee. On decease or resignation of the trustees named in the will, their successors are to be appointed by the mayor and aldermen and in case the City Court should be abolished, the same power is given perpetually to the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County. Mr. Woodward owns in common with the county of Hamilton another tract of land adjoining the one already described worth about nine thousand dollars. He proposes in case the commissioners of the county will do so likewise, to make a similar conveyance of this tract for the education of the poor children of the whole county. This liberal and praiseworthy proposition, should certainly be met by the commissioners in a corresponding spirit. In that case permanent provision for extending the rudiments of an English education to the poor children of the city and county will be secured for an unlimited period to an extent calculated to confer the most substantial benefits upon that most interesting class of our population. A charter incorporating the trustees of this public charity by the name of 'The Woodward Free Grammar School of Cincinnati' has just been passed by the Legislature as well as a law authorizing the commissioners of the county to convey the tract above referred to according to the proposition of Mr. Woodward."

The list of literary and scientific institutions was increasing. It included the Medical College of Ohio, the Cincinnati College, the Cincinnati Female Academy, all of which have already been mentioned. There is also added the Female

Boarding School kept by Misses Bailey on Broadway between Market and Columbia streets, the oldest one in the city. F. Eckstein assisted the principals in the work of instruction in this school.

Another school was the Cincinnati Female School under the superintendence of Mrs. Albert and John W. Picket late of New York, long and advantageously known as instructors and authors of certain elementary school books. They occupied a suite of rooms in the south wing of the Cincinnati College edifice. Rev. M. C. McKee's Classical Academy was on Third street near the Post Office and Rev. Mr. Slack's school occupied the north wing of the college edifice. There were in all about 50 schools in the city. Others specially mentioned were those of Mr. Cathcart, Mr. Williams, Mr. Kinmont, Mr. Talbert, Mr. Winwright, Mr. Chute, Mr. Wing and Mr. Morecraft. Mr. Langdon's Reading Room was still an institution of the city as was the Western Museum projected in the summer of 1818 by William Steele with the assistance of Dr. Drake and others. For some years after its opening, June 10, 1820, its curator was Dr. Robert Best who was succeeded in 1823 by Joseph Dorfeuillé.

There had been deposited in the Museum: Dr. Drake's cabinet of minerals, organic remains, fossil bones and Western antiquities; remains of the mammoth and Arctic elements, found at Big Bone Lick in Kentucky; the collections of James Griffith, John J. Audubon and Dr. Best of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles and fishes of the West; several hundred specimens of natural history collected by Consul General Condy Raguet from Rio de Janeiro; Mr. Dorfeuille's own collection of Egyptian antiquities, foreign and domestic birds and Western amphibians and the collections of the late John D. Clifford of Lexington, Kentucky, including many specimens of antiquities, fossils and minerals. This collection was in an extensive suite of rooms on the corner of Second and Main streets where lectures were delivered to the public on matters pertaining to the various articles in the Museum.

Letton's Museum owned by Ralph Letton was kept in two spacious halls in the second and third stories of the brick building at Fourth and Main streets. In the upper hall were principally wax figures. The museum contained about 200 birds, 40 animals, 2,000 minerals, 50 mammoth bones, 23 wax figures, besides Indian antiquities, shells, etc. The early subscribers numbered about 300, to whom and to the public lectures on ancient and modern history were delivered.

The two libraries mentioned were the Cincinnati Library kept in one of the lower rooms of the Cincinnati College edifice by the "Circulating Library Society of Cincinnati" and the Apprentices' Library.

Nine newspapers were then published in the city: *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, National Republican and Ohio Political Register, Cincinnati Advertiser, National Crisis and Cincinnati Emporium*, semi-weekly; *Parthenon, Western Tiller* and *Saturday Evening Chronicle*, weekly; *Cincinnati Commercial Register*, daily; and a German paper, *Ohio Chronicle*, weekly. The *Ohio Medical Repository*, semi-monthly, was edited by Dr. Guy W. Wright, and Rev. Timothy Flint had already projected his monthly journal, the *Western Magazine and Review*.

The pioneer of Cincinnati art, F. Eckstein, had already commenced his formation of an Academy of Fine Arts to which a number of busts and other specimens of art made by himself were to form the nucleus. The plan included the delivery of lectures on art subjects.

The courts at that time included the Supreme Court of Ohio, the Court of Common Pleas, the City Court, the mayor's court and three justices of the peace. The Supreme and County courts held their sessions at the Court House while the City Court, which was composed of the mayor and aldermen, and the mayor's court held their sessions in the brick building on the north side of Third street between Main and Sycamore.

A city watch had just been established in addition to the marshal and his deputies to act as police officers. This watch consisted of two captains and 18 men at an expense of about $3,000 per annum. The condition of the city at that time is indicated by the authors' comment as follows: "A watch in a city of the magnitude of Cincinnati is obviously of great importance; but it may be seriously doubted, whether the erection of a few lamps should not have preceded its establishment; for in proportion to the increase of light, the facilities for the commission of crimes are lessened, and, of consequence, the means of detection rendered more numerous. A couple of lamps at each intersection of the streets in those parts of the city thickly populated, would add greatly to the comfort of the citizens, and the safety of their property."

Complaint too was made that proper attention was not given to the cleanliness of the streets, as on Upper and Lower Market streets

the filth collected on market days was suffered to remain for one or two days before it was removed. The practice too of suffering the upper parts of the quay to be occupied as a stand for horses and wagons was objected to. "Whenever this public work so useful as well as ornamental, to the city, shall cease to be used as a wagon yard, and shall have been adorned with one or two rows of shade trees, running parallel to Front street, it will become a promenade not less pleasant than beautiful."

According to the writers there were 23 convictions for crime within the county of Hamilton during the year 1826, including one each for murder in the first degree, rape, perjury, assault with the intent to commit murder, stabbing with intent to kill; two each for assault with intent to commit mayhem and burglary; three each for uttering counterfeit money and horse stealing; and four each for grand larceny and petit larceny.

For purposes of taxation, the valuation of city property was $3,157,392, on which the levy for 1826 was nine and one-half mills or $29,995.22. Of this tax levy, three mills were appropriated to the use of the corporation, two mills to the State tax, three for the county, one for the township and a half mill for schools. Other sources of revenue for corporation were licenses to taverns, porter houses and coffee houses, $4,445; wharfage, $2,200; rent of market stalls, $1,400; tax on animals, $975; licenses for plays, exhibitions, etc., $500; and fines and miscellaneous items, $800. These sums with the amount from the grand levy together with $3,000 borrowed from the Ohio Insurance Company and a slight balance of the previous year made up the city revenue, which amounted to $23,742.81½. The largest expenditure of the city funds during the previous years had been for the construction of quays and wharfs and the paving of streets. Forty-eight hundred feet of street had been paved at an expense to the city of $5,800. One thousand dollars had been expended for the fire department and the construction of five public cisterns. In the health department, $1,200 were expended in vaccinating at the public expense 2,300 persons (in consequence of a smallpox scare). The officers of the city government received salaries of about $4,500 and the watch cost $3,000 per annum. The city debt at this time was $13,000, which seems to have excited some criticism on the part of many who objected to a public debt.

The population of the town in December, 1826, was given as 16,230, of whom 7,990 were males and 7,550 females, in addition to 690 blacks. Of the white males, there were 4,133 over 21 years of age, and of white females 3,945 over 18 years of age. The Second Ward still continued the most populous with 6,449 inhabitants while the other wards numbered: First, 4,084; Fourth, 3,142; Third, 2,505. This made an average of six and one-half persons to a building, although the actual density was greater by reason of the large buildings being occupied by stores and warehouses. The city contained 28 clergymen, 34 attorneys and 35 physicians. Eight hundred persons were engaged in trading and mercantile pursuits, five hundred in navigation and three thousand in manufactures. The authors gave figures showing that no city in the United States of similar rank had for the preceding 16 years increased in a ratio corresponding to that of Cincinnati.

An extended chapter is given to manufacturers, the most prosperous class of the citizens. The principal building mentioned is of course the Cincinnati Steam Mill on Front street between Ludlow and Broadway which was again in operation. The steam mill for sawing stone owned by Alvin Washburn in the western part of the city between Front and Columbia is also mentioned. In this same building were also a cooperage plant and one for the manufacture of shoe trees. Other important institutions mentioned were the Phoenix Foundry west of Walnut between Third and Fourth, the Franklin Foundry at Fifth and Broadway, the Eagle Foundry on the south side of Fourth between Main and Walnut, Tift's steam engine and finishing establishment on Columbia east of Broadway, R. C. Green's steam engine establishment on Front below Deer creek bridge, Goodloe & Harkness' copper foundry, cotton spinning and steam engine factory at Broadway and Congress street, the Aetna Foundry on Front below Deer creek bridge, Kirk's steam engine and finishing establishment on Columbia east of Broadway, Shield's engine finishing establishment on Sycamore between Front and Columbia, Allen & Company's chemical laboratory just above Deer creek bridge, the powder mill below the mouth of Mill creek, the Phoenix Paper Mill on the river bank to the west of the city, the Cincinnati Steam Paper Mill in the same neighborhood, the woolen factory of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company on the river bank above the mouth of Deer creek, the sugar refinery north of Third between Ludlow and Broadway, the white lead factory at the east end of

Fifth street and the Wells Type Foundry on Walnut between Third and Fourth. There were also three permanent boat yards for the construction of steamboats. Other important industries were those of making hats, cabinet furniture and chairs. The city contained nine printing establishments, printing about 72 newspapers per month and much other matter. The only thing it seemed to have lacked in the opinion of the editors was an umbrella factory, of whose success they thought there could be no doubt. The total value of the manufactures of the preceding year is estimated at $1,858,000.

An important chapter is that devoted to commerce which is not unnatural as the city at that time exceeded all other places in the West in the number of boats. It was claimed for it that no other place in the world had built more. The introduction of steam navigation and boat building had "wrought a change in the appearance and nature of commercial transactions which the most active fancy could a few years since have scarcely conceived."

A list of the steamboats built in Cincinnati is given which gives a total of 60 boats of 11,225 tons. Twenty-one boats with a tonnage of 4,117 tons arrived at and departed from the port of Cincinnati in the week of the 5th to the 12th of February, 1827.

The imports for the year 1826 were valued at $2,528,590, while the exports were $1,063,560, the principal part of which were carried to the West Indies and South America. The highest item of value in the exports was flour, $165,000, followed by whiskey and pork, over $100,000 each.

In a chapter concerning public office statistics, mention is made of the Post Office, United States Land Office, United States Branch Bank, two insurance companies (the Ohio Insurance Company and the Cincinnati Equitable Insurance Company) and four fire insurance companies who had offices in the city at that time. Mention is made of the intelligence office established by N. Holley, "which may be rendered very useful by making known the various wants of individuals." Ten licensed auctioneers were also engaged in business in the city.

During the year 1826, 20 mails per week were sent out and received at the Post Office, carrying 3,750 free letters and paid letters to the amount of $8,162. Ten of these mails were carried on horseback and the other 10 on stages on the Chillicothe, Lebanon, Dayton and Georgetown, Kentucky, routes.

Real estate was said to be advancing in value by reason of the constant tide of immigration which created a greater demand for houses. Capital invested in real estate was said to produce 10 or 12 percent. The scarcity of capital had been produced by the destruction of the local banks, which resulted in the withdrawal of paper currency from circulation and the use of much of the metallic currency in the payment of debts due the United States Bank and the Eastern merchants. Money was in great demand and high prices were paid for its use. For small sums 36 percent per annum was frequently given and for large ones 10 to 20 percent. The market value of money was estimated at from 10 to 15 percent which seemed to be the usual return, as there were at that time no penalties in Ohio for usury. The following are a few of the market prices: Flour, $3 per barrel; whiskey, 25 cents a gallon; beef, $2 to $3 a hundred weight; pork, $2 a hundred weight; butter, 10 to 12½ cents a pound; cheese, 6 to 7 cents a pound; lard, 4 to 6 cents a pound; turkeys, 25 to 37 cents each; geese, 18 to 25 cents each; ducks, 8 to 12 cents each; chickens, 6¼ cents each; soap, 4½ cents a pound; candles, 10 cents a pound; corn, 12 cents a bushel; oats, 12 to 18 cents a bushel; Irish potatoes, 25 to 50 cents a bushel; sweet potatoes, 37 to 62 cents a bushel; eggs, 6 cents a dozen; bacon, 3 to 5 cents a pound; ham, 4 to 6 cents a pound; veal, 3 to 4 cents a pound; mutton, 2 to 4 cents a pound; honey, 12 cents a pound; apples, 25 to 37 cents a bushel; peaches the same; and dried fruits, 75 cents a bushel.

Cincinnati as a summer residence seemed in the olden days to present unusual attractions. Each year a number of Southerners came to the Queen City for the summer season and the writers of the early times consequently referred to this city as a place of summer resort. The authors of this book in a chapter on the subject prophesy that "it may be supposed, that the period is not remote when many of the wealthy planters and professional gentlemen of the South will have their summer villas within the environs of Cincinnati, and those who may feel unwilling to be deprived of the services of their slaves, can still have the advantages of a city life, by locating themselves on the Kentucky shore in the villages of Newport and Covington, both of which are healthy and delightfully situated opposite to Cincinnati."

Under the head of fine arts one portrait painter, A. H. Corwine, a native of Kentucky, is mentioned as a young artist who has but a

single rival in the Western country while in landscape painting more than one of considerable promise was claimed. The admired busts of Lafayette, Clinton, Clay, Jackson and Gaines are pointed to as sufficiently demonstrating the plastic skill of another of the citizens in modeling likenesses.

A curious chapter in all the earlier publications is that on the state of society. The writers of this little book regarded Cincinnati as the most favorable place in the United States for observing the influence of republican institutions upon society at large. The emigrants came from all quarters of the Union and different parts of Europe and yet no portion was so numerous as to cause a general adherence to the peculiar prejudices and manners in which they had been educated. "We have neither St. Andrews, St. Georges, St. Patricks nor New England Societies, to foster those prejudices in favor of distant lands, which are so unfriendly to the happiness of those who have come to spend their lives in another clime."

In morals the city defied the strictest scrutiny. Drunkenness particularly was rarer than in other parts of the Union, because of the unfavorable quality of the climate to the longevity of drunkards. The vice of gaming did not flourish to any great extent and lottery gambling was not one of the evils of that time.

There were few or none of men of leisure and fortune, so the encroachments of luxury were not to be feared. The fashionable portion indulged in the pleasures of society with refinement but without useless etiquette. In the winter season there were public balls, assemblies and cotillion parties and many private parties where cards, music, dancing and conversation constituted the sources of amusement. There was also an increasing fondness for the stage, and the museums were becoming fashionable resorts for the evening parties. Lectures were delivered once or twice a week during the winter which were generally well attended. In the summer season there were excursions to Big Bone and Yellow Springs. In the dwellings of the middling or poorer classes there was in general that appearance of comfort and ease which denotes a fertile country and a benignant government.

Another interesting suggestion concerns the purchase of a public square upon which at a subsequent time could be erected the City Hall and a public promenade for pleasure, ornament and recreation. "There is but one block of ground eligibly situated for this object that can now be procured at a fair price and unless this be speedily secured the increasing value of property will soon place even that beyond the resources of the corporation. The block referred to is the one on which Judge Burnet resides between Vine and Race and Third and Fourth streets. Perhaps the city plat does not contain one better suited for the purpose of a Public Square than this owing to the central and elevated position. The terms upon which it is offered, make its purchase a matter of speculation, even should it not be ultimately used by the city for public purposes. It can now be obtained for about twenty-five thousand dollars and no one who has studied the prospects of our city will doubt but that in ten years it may be sold for double that sum. A row of lots fronting on Third street the buildings upon which would not materially injure the beauty of the square could it is believed at this time be leased for a sum that would nearly meet the accruing interest of the money required for the purchase of it. Another row fronting on Race street may also be leased to advantage and the proceeds applied to the reduction of the principal. The block is already covered with shade trees, flowering shrubs and evergreens; and several liberal donations have been promised, towards ornamenting and improving the grounds still further if the city become the purchaser. It has been stated that the Cincinnati Water Company would in that case supply gratuitously the necessary water for ornamenting it with a fountain. The building now upon it has two spacious rooms, one of which would conveniently accommodate the City Council and the other the City Court. There are others which would answer as offices of the city treasurer, recorder, clerk, etc. This building indeed will be amply sufficient for the accommodation of the municipal authorities of the city until the state of its treasury will justify the erection of a City Hall corresponding in size and magnificence to the future destinies of Cincinnati."

It seems inconceivable in the light of subsequent events or even in the light that common foresight should have given to the people at that time that this plat of ground which could be purchased for such a trifling sum (by reason of Judge Burnet's embarrassments) was allowed to slip from the public. The tract was subsequently sold to William Shires who converted the house into a restaurant and hotel and used the place as a place of entertainment known as

"Shires' Garden." At the western part of the lot afterwards was built the theatre which during the early "forties" was one of the centers of amusement in the city.

Another suggestion that seems to prove the wonderful foresight of the young authors of this book was the purchase by the city of all the ground lying south of Front street between Broadway and the mouth of Deer creek for quays and warehouses. In these days when all the river frontage is being appropriated for railroad purposes to the necessary detriment of the real source of Cincinnati's prosperity in the future, the river, the merit of this suggestion is apparent.

The bridge over the Ohio is another improvement forecasted by the authors. The location which seemed to suggest itself was from the foot of Broadway to a point about 200 feet from the Kentucky shore where the bridge was expected to branch, one part going to Newport and the other to Covington which would succeed not only in connecting both villages with Cincinnati but with each other.

In conclusion the writers of the pamphlet point with confidence to the future importance of Cincinnati because of its location in the midst of rivers, grazing countries, forests, mines and agricultural lands and because of the extent, beauty and salubrity of its location. To these was added the cheapness of living. These reasons justify the authors in the statement that "the period is not a remote one when Cincinnati will hold the same rank among the cities of the Union that the great State of which she is the ornament now possesses in the American Confederacy."

The only advertisements contained in the work are those of the authors, both fledglings of the law.

This work republished in England and also in Germany (in a translation) was probably, in view of its influence in encouraging emigration, the most important account of the city ever published.

DIRECTORY OF 1829.

The Directory of 1829, the third in the history of the city, was published by Robinson & Fairbank (Whetstone & Buckstone, printers). It gives the divisions into wards of which there were five as follows: The First Ward was east of Main street bounded by a line drawn eastwardly from Main street along the center of Third to Ludlow street thence along the center of Symmes to High street (which was a continuation of Symmes now Third street) "thence along the center of High street to a point on said street bearing north sixteen degrees east from the center of the cupola of D. Kilgour's dwelling house near the reservoir, thence by said line sixteen degrees east to the northern boundary line of the city." The Second Ward was west of Main street from Third to Sixth streets and the Third east of Main street south of the First. The Fourth Ward was west of Main street and south of Third street. The Fifth Ward was north of Sixth street and west of Main street.

This directory contains the names of streets and alleys as named by the City Council in 1829. Those streets whose names have been changed are as follows: Broad (now occupied by the Grand Central Depot); Catherine (now Court west of Central avenue); Center (now Longworth from Vine to Elm); Cherry (now Commerce from Race to Elm); Fulton (now Mound north of Eighth); Green (Pearl between Race and Elm); Grove (now North); Harrison (recently changed to Pioneer); High (now East Third street, east of Butler); Kemble (Ninth from Central avenue to Mound); London (now Eighth west of Central avenue); Lower Market (now Pearl from Main to Broadway); Northern row (now Seventh, then the north corporation line); Symmes (now East Third from Lawrence to Butler); Upper Market (now Fountain and Government squares); Wayne (now Ninth from Elm to Broadway); West Market (now McFarland from Elm to Plum); and Western row (now Central avenue).

In addition to the usual list of names, there are lists of public buildings and public officials and a statistical account of the city. The president judge of the Court of Common Pleas was George P. Torrence and associate judges, Patrick Smith, Enos Woodruff and Peter Bell. Daniel Gano was clerk, David Wade, prosecuting attorney, John C. Avery, sheriff, John S. Wallace, auditor, Richard Fosdick, treasurer and collector, Griffin Yeatman, recorder and notary public, Samuel Hunt, master in chancery, Alexander Botkin and Charles Mills, deputy sheriffs (the latter officiating as jailer), Charles Satterly, commissioner of insolvents, Jonathan Pancoast, assessor and Ely Elder, surveyor. The magistrates of the township were James Foster, Elisha Hotchkiss and Richard Mulford. An interesting list of names is that of the trustees and visitors of common schools,—O. M. Spencer, N. Guilford, J. Buckley, D. Root and Calvin Fletcher. The city officers included of course

Isaac G. Burnet, mayor. The aldermen were William Greene, Samuel F. Hunt and Morgan Neville while the marshal was William Doughty. Dan Stone was president of the City Council. John T. Jones was city clerk and Richard L. Coleman, treasurer.

The officers of the United States residing in Cincinnati were: Hon. John McLean (spelled McClean) United States judge; Maj. David Gwynne, paymaster of the United States Army who was also a member of the Council from the First Ward; Col. Joseph P. Taylor, commissary; Capt. Nathan Clark, captain of the United States Army; Gen. William Lytle, surveyor general; Peyton S. Symmes, register of the Land Office; and Moses Dawson, receiver of public moneys.

The population of the city was estimated as 24,148 showing an increase of 100 percent in five years. This brings forth a comment that "many a wiseacre in political economy has displayed his tact at guessing by iterating and reiterating from year to year that the city was growing too fast and must soon retrograde." Of the white inhabitants, 11,855 were males and 10,035 females; the remaining 2,258 were blacks and mulattoes.

The taxable property of the city for the year 1828 was valued at $3,697,733, on which there were assessed for State purposes three mills, county purposes, three mills, corporation purposes, two mills, township purposes, one mill, and school purposes, one-half mill. There was also a road tax of a dollar per poll, which was supposed to produce about $4,000. In addition to the grand levy, the revenues of the city accrued from licenses to taverns, coffee and porter houses, $5,241.42; wharfages, $4,611.25; rents of market stalls, $2,393; plays, shows and exhibitions, $619; fines, $551.46; which with miscellaneous items $349.91 produced a sum of $25,720.70. In addition to this there was a balance from the former assessment, special paving assessment, cash received from owners of property on the New Market space and arrears of taxes aggregating to $20,398.91 which with the amount of sundry loans ($30,000) produced a total of $76,112.68. From this there were deducted the treasurer's commissions which left the available means for the year $74,840.95. The debts of the city at that time aggregated $55,062.86. There had been expended by the corporation during the year for public improvements $46,156, of which over $22,000 was expended for street paving. The ordinary expenses of the city including salaries of all kinds and interest account were $19,273.17, which together with the amount expended for public improvements made the expenditures $65,429.21.

William Burke still appears as postmaster and Elam P. Langdon as assistant postmaster and it appears that the Post Office had been moved to West Third street between Main and Walnut streets where it occupied a room in the Masonic Building. The receipts of the postage for the year were $12,151, showing an increase of almost $4,000 over those of the year 1826. The only banking institution was the United States Branch Bank on Main street between Third and Fourth streets with its capital stock of $1,200,000. James Reynolds still continued as president and Peter Benson as cashier and among its board of directors were Bellamy Storer, M. P. Cassilly, William Neff, John H. Groesbeck, William Phillips, Henry Emerson, J. W. Mason, C. W. Gazzam, Joseph Gest, William Greene, Luman Watson and Benjamin Urner.

Announcement is made that a charter had been obtained during the last session of the Legislature for another banking institution but that the stock was not entirely subscribed for. This undoubtedly refers to the Commercial Bank which shortly afterwards began business at No. 45 Main street with Robert Buchanan as president. Besides branch offices of two Hartford insurance companies, there were three local institutions, including the Ohio Insurance Company organized in 1826, with its office on Front street between Main and Walnut; the Cincinnati Equitable Insurance Company, organized in 1827 with its office at the corner of Main street and Hopple alley; and the newly established Cincinnati Insurance Company with its office at No. 22 Main street. Of these T. S. Goodman, Stephen Burrows and William Neff were the respective presidents and Morgan Neville, John Jolley and William Oliver, the respective secretaries. W. Greene was counsellor for the Ohio Insurance Company and S. R. Miller, solicitor for the Cincinnati Insurance Company. Ezekiel Hall was the treasurer of the Cincinnati Equitable Insurance Company. Of the foreign companies, the Aetna and Protection companies, William Goodman and E. Robins were the respective agents.

The fire department showed an increased interest in this important matter. We are told that "a dependence upon such casual and promiscuous crowds as usually rally at the alarm of fire has always been precarious. Although

the citizens may assemble with alacrity and act with vigor at every call of distress, it is still important that a tumultuous crowd, impelled by sympathy without union of design or combination of effort should not be as efficient as regularly organized companies in which every man knows his place and performs his duty." As a result of this self evident truth there had been organized nine companies under the control of the City Council with Z. Byington as chief engineer and Moses Coffin as assistant. These included a fire warden company with 20 members, four fire engine companies, one hook and ladder company and a hose company with 35 members each and a protection society for the protection of exposed property during an alarm of fire composed principally of substantial respectable householders (a reflection on the others) and a fire bucket company of 20 members. The "substantial" members of the Protection Society numbered 50 and had for their president Joseph Gest and among the officers were William Mills, David Churchill and Stephen Burrows. Seven substantial brick cisterns had been erected, each with a capacity of containing upwards of 5,000 gallons of water.

Another item of information is to the effect that during the years from 1811 to 1829 out of the whole number of 314 steamboats built on the Western waters, 81 had been built at Cincinnati of which 50 were still running or unfinished. During the four months of March to June the number of steamboat arrivals was 497, carrying 8,318 cabin passengers and 14,160 deck passengers. It is pleasing to note the "gratifying fact that the Pork and Bacon and Beef of Ohio have undergone a very considerable improvement since the introduction and liberal use of the Rock salt. There is now no substantial reason why these staple articles should not be as well cured in Cincinnati, as in any part of the world: or why the Hams of Ohio should not be in as high repute, as those of Boston or Westphalia, saving the very savoury difference between an exotic, and a domestic production."

The completion of the Miami Canal in the previous November is noted. The first boat passed from Cincinnati to Dayton in the month of March 1829. Its length is given as 67 miles, 75 chains and 96 links, including the Hamilton cut and the Miami and Mad river feeders, in which were 22 locks overcoming 188 feet of lockage. The cost of the canal was $746,852.75, an average cost per mile of about $11,000. The canal at that time terminated on Main street on the upper plane of the city and it was expected to continue to the Ohio River by means of a series of descending locks. The descent to be overcome was 50 feet to high water mark and 108 feet to low water mark. During the months of April, May and June, the tolls received were $3,515.01 and the freight transported was 6,101 tons. The number of passengers carried during the same time was 2,302.

Among the recent manufactories mentioned were the Cincinnati Cotton Factory owned by Miller & Company at the corner of Seventh and Smith streets. This occupied a spacious three-story, brick building 95 by 33 feet and was capable of running 2,000 spindles. The Covington Cotton Factory built by Macallester & Company of Cincinnati was also properly esteemed a Cincinnati concern. The Hamilton Foundry and Steam Engine Factory of Pierce, Harkness & Voorheis at Front and Lawrence streets, Goodloe & Borden's steam engine factory on Congress street near Broadway, West & Stone's steam engine factory on East Front street and Fox's steam flour mill on Deer Creek at the termination of Fifth street are also mentioned.

The history of the Cincinnati Water Works, at that time owned by the Cincinnati Water Company, which purchased it from Colonel Davies in 1826, is also given. Water was conveyed to the reservoir in 12-inch iron pipes and from it to Broadway in eight-inch iron pipes from which it was distributed throughout the city in wooden pipes of which 50,000 feet had been laid. The company had encouraged a plumber, Mr. Walter, to establish himself for the purpose of introducing for more general use leaden pipes and good hydrants and the manufacture of pipes had been commenced at the water works building.

The newly established Bazaar is described at length. Among the scientific and literary institutions are mentioned the Medical College of Ohio, the Lane Seminary, the Mechanics' Institute, the Circulating Library, the Athenæum and Reading Room, the Cincinnati Reading Room of E. P. Langdon, the Apprentices' Library, the Sun Circulating Library, the Cincinnati Circulating Library, the Western Museum, Letton's Museum and the Gallery of Paintings at Main and Upper Market streets.

The newspapers mentioned included the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* and the *Commercial Daily Advertiser*, of which tri-weekly editions were issued; the *National Republican*, and the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, semi-weeklies and the following

weeklies: *Cincinnati Pandect, Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette, Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Western Tiller* and *Cincinnati Sentinel.* There was also a semi-monthly, the *Ladies' Museum and Repository of Belles Lettres* and a monthly, the *Western Monthly Review* and a quarterly, the *Western Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences.*

The schools mentioned are the Cincinnati English and Classical Academy of Charles B. McKee on Third street next to the Post Office, A. Kinmont's Academy, Sixth and Main, J. F. Finley's Classical School, M. G. Williams' school on Third between Main and Sycamore, T. Hammond's school on Fifth between Sycamore and Broadway and Messrs. Talbert's school on Fifth between Vine and Race. For young ladies there were the Cincinnati Female Academy of Dr. John Locke on Walnut between Third and Fourth, the Cincinnati Female Institution of A. and J. W. Picket in the Cincinnati College edifice and A. Truesdell's Female Academy on Walnut street, as well as a respectable female school kept by Mrs. Wood on Pike between Symmes and Fifth streets. A monitorial school was kept by Mr. Dickinson in the Cincinnati College edifice. The directory states that there were 47 ordinary schools in the city, in which 983 boys and 725 girls were receiving the rudiments of education. This directory contains also the first mention of the common schools which had just been established by law. The officers elected for the first year were N. Guilford, D. Root, C. Fletcher, O. M. Spencer and J. Buckley and the examiners appointed were Timothy Flint, Henry Starr, Bellamy Storer, Jesse Kimball, Enos Woodruff and Lewis Howell.

Twenty-three churches are enumerated, of which four were Baptists, three Presbyterian, three Methodist Episcopal and two Episcopal in denomination. There were also Methodist Episcopal African, Methodist Associate and Methodist Society (of which Rev. William Burke was pastor), Reformed Presbyterian, Lutheran Reformed, Swedenborgian, Unitarian and Universalist churches, Friends' Meeting House, Roman Catholic Cathedral and Jewish Synagogue.

The buildings erected during the preceding year (1828) were 496, of which 217 were of brick and 279 of frame. A great majority of both classes were two storied. The new public edifices mentioned are 12 in number. The Upper Market house on Fifth street had been extended westward, making it 525 feet long, the whole supported by brick pillars. The canal market was nearly completed. It was 300 feet by 42 feet and was supported by brick pillars. The auditor's and recorder's office was a neat fireproof building standing on Court House square fronting Main street and the clerk's office similar in construction was adjacent to it on the southeast corner of the Court House square. The Bethel Baptist Church, Ninth and Elm, Christ Church on Sixth between Walnut and Vine, the Methodist Associate Church also on Sixth between Walnut and Vine, the new Baptist Church on Sycamore between Fifth and Sixth, the Second Presbyterian Church on Fourth between Vine and Race, the Reformed Presbyterian Church on George, the Third Presbyterian Church on Second and Vine and St. Paul's Church had all been recently completed or were in process of erection. Some 29 religious and benevolent societies with full lists of officers are given.

The Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum of Ohio contained at the time 55 paupers and 13 lunatics and had received during the past year 268 persons, of whom 35 died and were interred at the expense of the institution. The First District Medical Society of Ohio had Dr. Drake as president. Other institutions were the Western Eye and Ear Infirmary, the Cincinnati Eye Infirmary and the Cincinnati Infirmary, the last of which was a private institution of Dr. L. M. Johnson.

Six Masonic lodges are enumerated, of which the only new ones were the Cincinnati Council of Royal and Select Masters No. 1 and the Van Rensselaer Chapter.

The number of deaths for the year ending July 1, 1829, is given as 647, an average of one to 37 1/3 of the whole population.

Not the least interesting feature of this as of many of the old directories are the advertisements.

The Cincinnati Book Store of Messrs. Morgan and Sanxy at No. 133 Main street offers a number of books for sale by the dozen, gross or single. Among the books specially mentioned are Webster's, Picket's and Ruter's "Spelling Books," Picket's "Juvenile Mentor," Murray's "Grammar," "English Reader" and "Introduction," Ruter's "Arithmetic," Kirkam's "Grammar," Watts', Miller's and Goddard's "Hymns," "Testaments," "Primers," "Almanacs" and the "Missouri and Juvenile Harmonies" as published by the house.

Another bookseller was E. H. Flint of No. 160 Main street, nearly opposite the First Presbyterian Church. He was agent for a number of

Eastern journals and published the *Western Monthly Review*, "on the first day of every month at 3 dollars in advance, or 4 dollars at the end of the year each number containing fifty-six octavo pages."

The Cincinnati Infirmary of Dr. L. M. Johnson seemed to make a specialty of galvanism as a remedy and was equipped with the "Medical Galvanic Battery where patients can receive this gentle and agreeable stimulus at all times." It was also provided with "a powerful Electro-Galvanic resuscitating Battery which will be free for the Humane Society and the Faculty for restoring suspended animation." Dr. Johnson also had discovered that medicines applied externally were "much more beneficial and more likely to subdue certain forms of disease than those administered internally which most generally irritate and do much mischief to the stomach and bowels before any specific action can be produced, and the manner of applying those medicines externally in the form of gas is certainly a discovery the most valuable in medicine." His institution therefore was provided with suitable apparatus for applying to the whole body fumigation of sulphur, chlorine, iodine, muriatic acid, alcohol and balsamic medicines which the patient could avail himself of without inconvenience in either a sitting or reclining or horizontal posture.

Another remarkable improvement is that of Simon Willard, whose newly made washing machine effected "the washing entirely by compression of the soaped clothes immersed by small parcels in about three gallons of hot water, forced in small currents between thin wash reeds evenly through all parts of the clothes, which alternately revolve and change their position at every compressive effort of the washer; thereby completely cleansing them in a few seconds with perfect tenderness and safety, somewhat similar in principle to that of ladies washing ribbons or other delicate articles, by squeezing them between the fingers and palm of the hand." The machine was so "simple in operation that almost all persons can readily become expert wash hands, thereby obviating in the many cases of sickness or inability of wives and daughters, the necessity of hiring strangers to half wash and waste soap and clothes. By one or two persons the washing part of four or five dozen pieces can be dispensed with by this machine in a few minutes yet by slow operation the performance is sufficiently easy for a child fourteen years old to excel the mother drudging at the rubbing mode of washing." This machine dispensed with the "two or three wash tubs, washboards, wash barrels, maul, beetle and bench ordinarily used." Mr. Willard inveighs heavily against prejudice against new inventions and against the lack of consideration by legislatures and parliaments of the waste involved in old methods.

Fancy stores seem important for both John Martin of No. 30 Main street and T. Winter of No. 193 Main street have long advertisements offering among other things, "Ladies' Curls, Ladies' Braides, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Wigs, Otto of Roses, Milk of Roses, Kalydor for the Complexion, Macassar Oil" and in fact a half dozen varieties of oils, three times as many fancy soaps, scented waters, hair powders, rouge, lip salves and toilet articles of all kinds.

J. D. Murphy & Company announce the establishment of a glass cutting manufactory where they manufacture and sell cut glass decanters, tumblers, wines, jelly bowls, fruit dishes, salts, floating island basins, vases, cream pitchers and syllabubs.

Joseph D. Hatfield on Third between Walnut and Main kept a large assortment of "Ladies' Curls and Puffs" dressed in the neatest style and agreed to repair "Ladies' Curls" in the best manner and make them equal to new.

A familiar name is that of William S. Merrell at the Western Market Drug Store at the corner of Sixth street and Western row who offered drugs, paints and dye stuffs of the best quality. This name still used in connection with the corporation which is the legitimate descendant of this drug store is certainly one of the oldest if not the oldest in continuous use in the business annals of the city.

DIRECTORIES OF 1831, 1834 AND 1836.

The directories for the years 1831, 1834 and 1836 carry out in a general way the principles on which was based the Directory of 1829. That of 1831 was also published by Robinson and Fairbank (southeast corner Main and Fifth streets). The Directory of 1834 was published by E. Deming at No. 5 Johnston Row, which as to-day was the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut and that of 1836 by J. H. Woodruff. The last one was printed by A. Pugh & Company at No. 106 Main street. Naturally these last directories repeat much of the information contained in the earlier volumes and therefore so exhaustive a consideration of them is not desirable.

All three directories venture at population statistics. The first gives the population up to August 1, 1830, as 26,515 and in 1831 up to

March 1,—28,014. Of these 1,194 were blacks and mulattoes and 1,937 resided in the so-called "Liberties." In 1834 the directory gives the population as taken in December, 1833, but will not vouch for its accuracy and conjectures that the number given is below the actual population. It shows a decrease from the figures of 1831. The total is 27,645; the largest number are in the Fifth Ward, a little over 7,000; the Second Ward has a little over 6,000, the First about 5,000, the Third about 4,000 and the Fourth about 3,000. The Liberties contained about 2,000 inhabitants. There were 738 blacks, none strangely enough in the Third Ward. In 1836 the directory gives the population as 29,000.

In 1831 three banks are mentioned: The United States Branch Bank, the Commercial Bank and the Savings Institution. In 1834 the last named institution had disappeared and there had been added the Lafayette Bank, the Franklin Company and the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company. In 1836 appeared in addition the Miami Exporting Company, the Exchange Bank & Savings Institution and the Cincinnati Savings Institution. We are informed that in 1831 that money was in great demand and that the banks discounted notes at six per cent although the market price of money was much greater, usually 10 percent on mortgage security and one to three percent a month on personal security.

The insurance companies with their lists of officers and other details are also exploited at length in all these directories.

A new entry in 1831 is that of the Woodward Free Grammar School whose building on Franklin between Sycamore and Broadway was in process of erection. The building was to consist of a central building 70 feet square and three stories high with two wings, two stories high 60 by 40 feet each, and it was expected that they would be completed by the following fall so as to open the school. The school in fact opened on October 24, 1831. In 1834 the number of pupils in this institution whose name had been changed to Woodward High School was 120. In 1836 it was changed to Woodward College of Cincinnati and the advantages for boys designing to study for the bar, the medical profession or the "Sacred Desk" are set forth in an extended notice. The Medical College of Ohio, Lane Seminary, Mechanics' Institute are noticed at length. In 1831 appears the notice of the Miami University Medical Department, with Dr. Drake as dean and the Academy of Medicine which was to furnish a summer course of lectures. All these directories contain long lists of private schools, many of which are commented on elsewhere, and discussions about the common schools which were in process of organization. In addition to the usual financial, business and educational institutions there are of course the churches with their ministers, the religious and benevolent societies and also lists of the professional men of the city. Other institutions mentioned in the different directories are the Cincinnati Lyceum, the Western Academic Institute and Board of Education, the Athenæum and Collegiate Institute established on Sycamore street by the Roman Catholic Church, the Inquisition, the Cincinnati Literary Society, the Teachers' Association, the Western Academy of Natural Science, the Hibernian Society, St. Peter's Benevolent Society, the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, Western Education Society, Hamilton County Agricultural Society, the Scots' Society and quite a number of temperance, missionary, Masonic and Odd Fellows organizations.

An entry of special interest in the Directory of 1836 is that of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association which had obtained its charter on January 5th of that year and had rooms on the north side of Fourth street between Main and Sycamore. Its president was Moses Ramsay and librarian, B. F. Doolittle, and it had at that time 300 members, over 1,000 volumes and in the reading room the principal foreign and American reviews and periodicals and papers from most of the cities of the Union.

Five breweries,—those of Perry & Riley, Dr. Price, Metcalf & Attee, Lofthouse and C. and J. Schultz,—a button factory (Butler), a chemical laboratory, eight foundries, nine factories and seven steam mills are also enumerated in the Directory of 1831. The important rows and buildings at this time are also given. The Commercial Row was at the southwest corner of Main and Water. Not far from it at the northeast corner of Main and Front was Noble's Row. On Front street between Main and Walnut was Greene's Row. The southeast corner of Broadway and Front was Cassilly's Row; going up Main street the northwest corner of Fourth and Main was Moore's Row while the southwest corner of the same streets was Jones's Row. The northeast corner of Fifth and Main was then as now Thom's Row. The northeast corner of Third and Vine was Foote's Row, a little row of one-story offices in front of the handsome residence of John P. Foote. At the corner of Third street and Masonic alley was the Masonic

Building while Carr's Building where were the city offices for so many years was on Third street between Main and Sycamore. Johnston's Row occupied the site of the present Johnston Building at the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut. Three years later appear several more rows,—on south Canal street Jessop's Row between Main street and St. Clair alley, Perry's Row between the same alley and Walnut street and Smith's Row between Main and Sycamore. Neff's Row was at the southwest corner of Second and Main and White's Row at the northeast corner. Produce Row was on Main between Ninth and Court. In 1836 was added Wiggins & Garness' Row at the southeast corner of Walnut and Water.

The hotels in 1831 were the Cincinnati, Broadway, City, White Hall, Commercial, Dennison's, Graham's, McHenry's and Fox's. In 1834 the hotels included the Cincinnati, Broadway and Dennison already mentioned and the Pearl Street House (Commercial) kept by David Griffin at the northeast corner of Pearl and Walnut; the Washington House kept by Hezekiah Fox on Front between Main and Walnut and Ebenezer Hulse's House (Fox's) on Main between Court and Canal; the Exchange on Front between Main and Sycamore kept by Guibert and Hughes; and Henrie's Hotel at the southwest corner of Sixth and Main. The Cincinnati Hotel at Front and Broadway was kept by Joseph Cromwell; the Broadway Hotel at Second and Broadway, by John D. Harris and the Dennison on Main by William Dennison.

In 1836 the Broadway was kept by Augustus Isham and the Exchange by J. W. Garrison. Henrie's Hotel had been changed to City Hall and was kept by Robert B. Wilson. Other hotels mentioned were the Main Street Hotel on Main near Canal, Congress Hall on the south side of Front between Main and Walnut, Marine Hotel at the southwest corner of Lower Market and Broadway, Greene's Hotel on Front between Broadway and Pike, Washington Hall on Water between Main and Walnut, Lafayette Hall on Lower Market between Sycamore and Broadway, Pennsylvania Inn at the southeast corner of Sixth and Elm, City Hotel on Sycamore between Second and Lower Market and the Walnut Street House at the southwest corner of Sixth and Walnut. The names of these hostelries seem to have changed frequently. Five taverns are also given in the directory of that year.

In the directory of 1831 appears the following announcement:

"During the past year a new street was opened, extending Lower Market street from Main to Walnut; and both sides of it are now, or soon will be, wholly built up with brick warehouses and other buildings, all of which are beautiful and substantial. The hotel on the corner, where the new street enters Walnut, will be one of the most splendid edifices in the Western country. It is five stories high above the basement, and is to be covered with marble columns. The new street has received the name of 'Pearl street,' and promises to be to Cincinnati what its celebrated namesake is to New York.

"Among the best buildings erected in 1830 we would mention, in addition to the above, Greene's splendid row on Front street; Cassilly's & Carter's on the corner of Broadway and Front; and Moore's on the southeast corner of Main and Fourth streets. Much more taste has been displayed in the models of private dwellings than heretofore, especially in those erected on Fourth street. Of the public buildings finished during the past year, we would mention the Catholic Athenæum, the Unitarian and the Second Presbyterian churches. The latter is considered by good judges one of the best models of the Doric in the United States. It is of brick, but its front, pillars, and sides are covered with cement, in imitation of marble. The cost of this church was more than twenty thousand dollars. On its cupola has been placed a public clock, which belongs to the city."

The Directory of 1829 had announced the completion to Main street of the Miami Canal and its successful opening for navigation during the year preceding. In 1831 we are told that in the year previous the excavation had been commenced to continue this canal to the river and it was extended from the head of Main street across Deer creek over which it passed by a large culvert. Here it was proposed that it should stop for a time and the water power was leased along the borders of the line. In 1834 the length of the canal is given as 67 miles. It contained 32 locks from the bottom of the canal at Main street to low water mark on the Ohio. The fall was 106.27 feet which with the 3.73 feet depth of water in the lower lock made the entire lockage at Cincinnati 110 feet running through a distance of 73 chains and 18 links. To overcome this there were then building 10 locks of 11 feet lift which were to be finished in the following July. The total cost of the canal was given as $881,477, and the tolls collected for the year 1833, $52,017.03, an increase of 37 percent over the previous year.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—III.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

SOME NOTED VISITORS—BULLOCK—MRS. TROLLOPE AND THE BAZAAR—ATWATER—THOMAS—HAMILTON—VIGNE—HOFFMAN — CHEVALIER — ELLIS — HARRIET MARTINEAU — MURRAY — CAPTAIN MARRYAT—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD MAN"—CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE CITY.

The chapter on the directories gives from a statistical side the development of the city from the year 1819 at which time it first became a city until the end of the first half century of the life of the settlement. A different point of view is that, of course, of the various distinguished people who visited the city during this time. Cincinnati was already one of the leading points of interest to foreigners who came to America to visit and many of them have left entertaining comments upon their experiences here.

SOME NOTED VISITORS.

In May, 1826, came his highness, Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. The prevalence of the smallpox at Louisville, from which town his party came, caused an examination by health officers before they were permitted to land. The Duke stopped at "Mack's, a good hotel, near the shore." The town consisted "mostly of brick houses" and the streets were wide, well paved and had sidewalks. At the top of a hill there was a view resembling a panorama. Here they were building a large Catholic Cathedral. The Duke visited some book stores and the Western Museum. Two wooden bridges crossed Deer creek, across which was the highest hill in the vicinity, the view from which "even in Europe would be considered as very handsome." Callers included Morgan Neville and Peyton S. Symmes, who drew his likeness. He was conducted to see the remains of Indian antiquities "which are yet existing, and which could scarcely be recognized. We ascended an Indian mound which is about thirty feet high, situated in a garden. One part of it had been cut off, but nothing being found in it, they began to plant it with trees." (Travels Through North America, Vol. II, p. 138.)

BULLOCK.

Among the most noteworthy of the visitors was an Englishman, W. Bullock, who had made a considerable sum of money as the owner of a museum in London. In 1815 he had given an exhibition at Egyptian Hall in that city. There he exhibited among other curiosities the carriage of Napoleon, which had been occupied by the Emperor at Waterloo. Bullock is said to have paid over twelve thousand dollars for it, but within two years he cleared considerably over a hundred thousand dollars by exhibiting it throughout England. Almost a million people paid for the privilege of seeing this vehicle and many not unlike their descendants of the present day were willing to pay a still larger fee for the opportunity of sitting in a seat that had held so great a personage. In 1827 Bullock and his wife traveled on the Western Continent. They first made a tour of Mexico and came by way of New Orleans to Cincinnati. They traveled on the "beautiful steamboat George Washington, built at Cincinnati and certainly the finest fresh water vessel I had seen."

Upon his return to England, Bullock published in London a sketch of his journey, in which he included the well known "Cincinnati in 1826" by Drake and Mansfield. His purpose in doing this was to interest his people in the city and particularly in a settlement which he proposed to establish opposite Cincinnati just below Mill creek, where the town of Ludlow now stands; this was to be called Hygeia. A very elaborate plat of the proposed city is prefixed to his volume. This plat was made by J. B. Papworth, architect to the King of "Wurtemburg."

Mr. Bullock was much impressed with the city, which he first saw on Easter Sunday, 1827. He specially mentions the elegant house and extensive estate called "Elmwood," the residence of Thomas D. Carneal, Esq., which was pointed out to him as one of the finest residences in this part of America. He passed the powder works and the bridge over Mill creek and observed the glass houses, paper mills, foundries and other demonstrations of a flourishing and rising commercial and manufacturing city. As it was Easter Sunday "the landing was crowded with respectable well dressed people." Upon their landing they were introduced to Col. Andrew Mack, the proprietor of the principal hotel (Cincinnati Hotel), which struck Bullock as an establishment of order, regularity and comfort that would do credit to any city of Europe. "The number and respectability of its guests proved at once the estimation in which it was held in the country. The dinner-bell summoned us at two o'clock, and we found an assemblage of about seventy ladies and gentlemen; the former at the head of the table, with Mrs. Mack, while the Colonel was on his feet, attending to the wants of his guests, and seeing that the waiters were attending to their duty. The dinner was such, that an epicure, from whatever part of the world he might have arrived, would have had little cause to complain, as in no part of my travels have I seen a table spread with more profusion, or better served; the only occasion of complaint with an Englishman would arise from the want of warm plates, and a little more time to have enjoyed the repast, twenty minutes only being allowed by the industrious habits of this part of America, for their principal meal. Little wine is used at the dinner-table; the guests, being principally merchants, who prefer this mode of living to housekeeping, return immediately to their stores, or counting-houses, with a better relish for business than is usually found after the enjoyment of the bottle. I should have stated that, before dinner, we underwent the undeviating ceremony of introduction to the principal guests, who were assembled in the drawing-room. In no part of the old Continent that I have visited are strangers treated with more attention, politeness and respect, than in Cincinnati."

Mr. Bullock was so impressed with the fact that he was treated with this attention regardless of his being without letters of introduction that he concluded to remain a few days and "ultimately, probably to end our lives with them."

The next morning he took a stroll to the market at an early hour, where he observed a novel and interesting sight. "Several hundred wagons, tilted, with white canvas and each drawn with three or four horses with a pole were backed against the pavement, or footway, of the market place, and the tailboard or flap of the wagon turned down so as to form a kind of counter and convert the body of the carriage into a portable shop, in which were seated the owners in the midst of the displayed produce of their farms." This was the first time that he had seen an American market and naturally the strange sight, which can be seen any day in Cincinnati at the present time, struck him as quite peculiar. The superior quality of the articles of sale as well as their low price impressed him. For a hind quarter of mutton the price was thirteen pence, a turkey "that would have borne a comparison with the best Christmas bird from Norfolk," was the same price. Fowls were worth from three to four pence each and a fine roasting pig ready for the spit a shilling and three pence, beef three half pence per pound, pork one penny per pound, while butter, cheese, corn and flour were in the same proportion. The fish market was particularly good and asparagus superior in goodness and size to that at Covent Garden, and about one-fourth as expensive.

In the afternoon the party descended the Ohio in a small wherry and viewed the city from one of the Kentucky hills. "The extended prospect reminded us strongly of the view from Richmond Hill: the same delightful variety of hill and dale, enriched by the windings of the tranquil Ohio, with its various vessels for pleasure and commerce. Its gently swelling hills, however, are covered with wood and forests, which have no equal in Europe; even the charms of art and refinement are not wanting to complete the scene, as the elegant white villas of many of the more opulent inhabitants, already make

their appearance in the most romantic situations in the vicinity."

Mr. Bullock was convinced that for the industrious person with a small income no situation he had seen embraced so many advantages for a place of residence as this rising and prosperous little city with its extremely healthy site, salubrious climate, rich soil, cheapness of supplies, industrious and kind inhabitants, its excellent public institutions and enjoyable society. The interest derived from capital was treble what it was in Europe while the expense of living was not one-third as much. As a result he purchased shortly afterwards the estate of Mr. Carneal, which included some thousand acres. The residence of brick and stone with three handsome fronts was considered the completest residence in the country and was not surpassed by any even in the Atlantic cities. In the woods were many varieties of birds, mocking birds, redbirds, nightingales, orioles, as well as wild ducks and quail, while through the parks were tamed deer and a pair of elk as well as some American buffalo. Beautiful indeed must have been the place as described by this enthusiastic traveler.

The following is a part of his description of this residence:

"It is scarcely possible to find a more beautiful, healthful or fertile spot. A ride around its boundaries embraces every variety of landscape. Its general feature is level, gently rising from the river into undulatory hill and valley, resembling the finest part of the County of Devon, excepting that the portion farthest from the river is clothed with woods, to which, from the size of the trees, their beauty and variety, nothing in Europe can compare. The prospect from the hill and over this part of the Valley of Ohio, the noble river winding through it, enlivened by the passing steamboats, with colors waving and signal guns echoing from the surrounding hills, its floating arks laden with stores for the settlers on the shores, besides the sailing and fishing boats, on one side of the river the beautiful, rising city, with domes, pinnacles, public buildings and manufactories, and on the other bank the villages of Newport and Covington, together form a view such as would require a much abler pen than mine to do justice to.

"I have not, since I left England, seen a house so completely furnished with all the elegancies and refinements of society, nor a more hospitable and abundant board, which is wholly supplied from his own grounds. Better beef and mutton could not be desired. Game is so plentiful that it is easily and abundantly procured within half a mile of the house. Fish of the finest kinds, in great variety, are taken in the Ohio, within a still shorter distance, and kept alive in pens at the banks; and a well stored kitchen-garden, orchard and vineyard of 25 acres, planted with all the best vegetables and fruit of the United States contribute to the general stock; in short, every necessary and luxury of life, excepting tea and coffee, is produced on the estate. The house is situated on a gentle acclivity, about 150 yards from the river, with beautiful pleasure grounds in front, laid out with taste and decorated with varieties of magnificent plants and flowers to which we are yet strangers. It commands a full view of the river and all that passes on it."

The plat of the proposed town of Hygeia shows a most beautiful arrangement. On the river front were parks known as Horticultural Garden and Agricultural Garden and the streets running back were wide and received imposing names. Places for landing, inns, town hall, library, churches, theatre, baths, public buildings, shops, fountain, school, chapel, cemetery, and even a brewery are indicated. (Bullock's Journey Through the Western States.)

He brought with him on his return from Europe a number of beautiful pictures and "Elmwood Hall" became for a few years the show place of the neighborhood. He did not meet with proper encouragement and he finally sold the building and some 700 acres of land to Israel L. Ludlow, the son of the pioneer. He himself retired to another part of the estate, where he lived for five years, when he sold the rest of the property to the same purchaser.

The writer of "The Americans As They Are," referring to the condition of affairs in Cincinnati in 1827, says: "Most of the houses in the city are elegant, many are truly beautiful; but they belong to the bank of the United States, which possesses at least 200 of the finest houses in Cincinnati. The building mania obtained such strong hold of the inhabitants, that most of them forgot their actual means; and accordingly, having drawn money from the bank which they were unable to refund, they had at last to give up lots and buildings to the United States' bank."

The same writer found the prevailing matters of society to be those "peculiar to larger cities, without the formalities and mannerism of the Eastern seaports. Freedom of thought prevails

in a high degree, and toleration is exercised without limitation. The women are considered very handsome; their deportment is free from pride; but simple and unassuming as they appear, they evince a high taste for literary and mental accomplishments."

MRS. TROLLOPE AND THE BAZAAR.

Mrs. Frances Trollope, whose remarks on Cincinnati and its institutions have been so freely quoted, was an Englishwoman of a distinguished family and of great ability. She was known as the most voluminous English authoress of her time and also as a mother of two sons,—Thomas Adolphus Trollope, a most voluminous writer on travel, history and Italian life and manners, and Anthony Trollope, probably the most prolific of English novelists.

Mrs. Trollope came to Cincinnati with her son and two daughters in 1828 and was joined the following year by her husband and other son. She took a little house on Hamilton road at Mohawk and determined to establish her son in business here. The Bazaar was the result of that determination. In spite of the hopeful tone of the author of the directory in the account quoted, the building was sold before completion to pay the liens of mechanics who had worked upon it and subsequently underwent many alterations and many vicissitudes. It was purchased by the newly established Ohio Mechanics' Institute for $10,000 and furnished two large halls for the use of this institution together with rooms for a library, for the Academy of Natural Science, and accommodations for the family of Dr. Craig, the president of the Institute, and afterwards for Dr. Locke, who succeeded him. To raise the $3,000 to make the first payment, the Institute gave a public ball, which was intended to be a mass meeting for the lovers of amusement, where "various classes of society could mingle with that kindliness of feeling which it is one of the objects of innocent amusement to excite and under circumstances in which nothing but pleasing excitement without any evil passions could prevail. To obtain a floor sufficiently extensive the theatre was taken and the pit floored over and connected with the stage; the boxes were appropriated to those who desired only to enjoy the sight of a splendid pageant, with a great assemblage of happy and beautiful faces and forms." (Foote's Schools of Cincinnati, p. 84.)

Afterwards the Ohio Mechanics' Institute was obliged to leave the building, because of its failure to pay the balance of the purchase money. The building is thus described:

"THE BAZAAR.—This exotic title carries the imagination directly to Constantinople, so celebrated for Mosques, Minarets, Caravanseras and Bazaars. In sober English, Bazaar signifies a fair or market place. The building which is the subject of the present notice, and which is now in rapid progress towards completion, is called the Bazaar, although but a small portion of its ample area is to be appropriated to its legitimate uses as a constant mart. The name, albeit, is in good keeping with the style of the edifice, the freestone front of which exhibits a rich and beautiful specimen of arabesque architecture, combining the airy lightness of the Grecian with the sombrous gravity of the Gothic taste. The basement story, which is entered by three several flights of stone steps, contains divers neat and commodious apartments. Those fronting the street are designed for an Exchange Coffee House, one of them to be fitted up and furnished as a Bar Room, the other to be appropriated, as the name imports, to the transaction of general Commercial Business. Over the basement is a splendid compartment, 60 feet by 28, and ornamented by two rows of Columns passing through it. This room gives title, if not character, to the building. Here is to be held The Bazaar, where, it is presumable, every useful and useless article in dress, in stationary, in light and ornamental household furniture, chinas and more pellucid porcelains, with every gewgaw that can contribute to the splendor and attractiveness of the exhibition, from the sparkling necklace of 'Lady fair' to the Exquisite's safety-chain, will be displayed and vended.

"In the rear of the Bazaar is an elegant Saloon, where Ices and other refreshments will lend their allurements to the fascinations of architectural novelty. This Saloon opens to a spacious Balcony, which in its turn conducts to an Exhibition Gallery, that is at present occupied by Mr. Hervieu's superb picture of Lafayette's landing at Cincinnati. Above the Bazaar is a magnificent Ball Room, the front of which, looking upon the street, will receive the rays of the Sun, or emit the rival splendors of its gas-illumined walls, by three ample, arabesque windows, which give an unrivalled lightness and grace to the festive hall. The walls and the arched and lofty ceiling of this delectable apartment are to be decorated by the powerful pencil of Mr. Hervieu. The rear of the room is occupied by an orchestral gallery, whence dulcet music will guide 'the light

fantastic toe' thro' the mazes of the giddy dance.

"Behind the Ball Room is another superb Saloon, issuing also to a Balcony. This division is assigned to the accommodation of gentlemen's private parties, where the beau monde may regale themselves when and how they list. Over this is a circular structure of exceedingly light and beautiful proportions, which is intended for Panoramic Exhibitions; and around it is constructed, in concentric circles, an airy Corridor, from whence the eye, that has been already delighted to satiety by the exhibitions of art, may recreate itself amid the varied beauties and blandishments of nature.

"The rear of this unique and multifidous edifice presents a noble Facade of Egyptian Columns, which will vie, in magnificence and novelty, with the Arabian windows that decorate its front. The apartments are all to be lighted by Gas, furnished by Mr. Delany. The whole arrangement and architectural device of this superb building reflects great credit upon the taste and skill of Mr. Palmer, the architect. The interior dimensions of the building are:

"Length	104	feet
"Width	80	"
"Height to the top of the Spire, which is to surmount a cupola	80	"
"Height from the base to cornice	33	"

"The Bazaar stands on Third street, East of Broadway." (Directory of 1819, p. 175.)

The picture of Hervieu is described in connection with the reception to Lafayette. The walls and ceiling which had been so elaborately decorated were afterwards, when the building had passed into other hands, covered with successive coats of whitewash, and finally of wall paper, which Mr. Foote well calls as striking an exhibition of vandalism as their original painting was of folly as, although not works of very high art, they possessed too much merit to be defaced. (Schools of Cincinnati, p. 206.)

Mrs. Trollope's residence in the Gano place at Mohawk while in Cincinnati is described by her son, Thomas Adolphus Trollope, in his book published over a half century later. He did not find the country about Cincinnati especially interesting or beautiful and was much disappointed by the Ohio.—*La Belle Riviere*. He tells us that the house was roomy and bright looking, built of wood and all white with the exception of the green Venetian blinds. It stood in its own grounds but these grounds consisted of a large field, uncultivated save for a few potatoes in one corner of it, and the whole appearance of the place was made unkempt looking—not squalid because everything was too new and clean looking for that—by uncompleted essays toward a making of a road from the entrance gate to the house, and by fragments of boarding and timber which it had apparently been worthy no one's while to collect after the building of the house was completed. "With all this there was an air of roominess and brightness which seemed to me very pleasant. The house was some five or ten minutes' walk from what might be considered the commencement of the town but it is no doubt by this time, if it stands at all, more nearly in the center of it."

The subsequent history of the building is mentioned by Anthony Trollope upon his visit to the city in 1861 and 1862. He found that the house, which at the time of its erection was considered the great building of the town, had become sadly eclipsed and by no means reared its head proudly among the great blocks around it. "It had become a Physicomedical institute when I was there, and was under the dominion of a quack doctor on one side and of a college of rights-of-women female medical professors on the other. 'I believe, sir, no man or woman ever made a dollar in that building; and as for rent, I don't even expect it.' Such was the account given of the unfortunate Bazaar by the present proprietor." The building was subsequently torn down in March, 1881, to make way for the Lorraine Building, which stands on its site, the site of the southwest blockhouse of Fort Washington.

Unfortunately, as stated, Mrs. Trollope's business venture did not succeed, and after a residence of a little more than two years she left the city. The impressions made upon her must have been very unpleasant, for in her subsequent book, "Domestic Manners of the Americans," she gives a most contemptuous, if amusing, account of the city. Her observation, however, was keen and if allowances are made for her natural disappointment and rather petulant desire to make ridiculous the scene of her failure her work is well worth quoting as a contemporary account of the town:

"We reached Cincinnati on the tenth of February. It is finely situated on the south side of a hill that rises gently from the water's edge, yet it is by no means a city of striking appearance: it wants domes, towers, and steeples; but its landing place is noble, extending for more

than a quarter of a mile; it is well paved and surrounded by neat though not handsome buildings. I have seen fifteen steamboats lying there at once, and still half the wharf was unoccupied.

"The sight of bricks and mortar was really refreshing, and a house of three stories looked splendid. Of this splendor we saw repeated specimens, and moreover a brick church which, from its two little peaked spires, was called the two-horned church. * * * Certainly it was not a little town, about the size of Salisbury, without even an attempt at beauty in any of its edifices, and with only just enough of the air of a city to make it noisy and bustling. The population is greater than the appearance of the town would lead one to expect. This is partly owing to the number of free negroes who herd together in an obscure part of the city, called Little Africa, and partly to the density of the population around the paper mills and other manufactories. I believe the number of inhabitants exceeds twenty thousand.

"At that time I think Main street, which is the principal avenue, and runs through the whole town, answering to the High street of our old cities, was the only one entirely paved. The trottoir (sidewalk) is of brick, tolerably well laid, but it is inundated by every shower, as Cincinnati has no drains whatever. * * * Were it furnished with drains of the simplest arrangement, the heavy showers of the climate would keep them constantly clean; as it is, these showers wash the higher streets, only to deposit their filth in the first level spot; and this happens to be in the street second in importance to Main street, running at right angles to it, and containing most of the large warehouses of the town. This deposit is a dreadful nuisance, and must be productive of miasma during the hot weather.

"To the north, Cincinnati is bounded by a range of forest-covered hills, sufficiently steep and rugged to prevent their being built upon or easily cultivated, but not sufficiently high to command from their summits a view of any considerable extent. Deep and narrow watercourses, dry in summer, but bringing down heavy streams in winter, divide these hills into many separate heights, and this furnishes the only variety the landscape offers for many miles around the town. The lovely Ohio is a beautiful feature wherever it is visible, but the only part of the city that has the advantage of its beauty is the street nearest to its bank.

"Though I do not quite sympathize with those who consider Cincinnati as one of the wonders of the earth, I certainly think it a city of extraordinary size and importance, when it is remembered that thirty years ago the aboriginal forest occupied the ground where it stands, and every month appears to extend its limits and its wealth. * * * During nearly two years that I resided in Cincinnati or its neighborhood, I neither saw a beggar nor a man of sufficient fortune to permit his ceasing his efforts to increase it. Thus every bee in the hive is actively employed in search of that honey of Hybla, vulgarly called money; neither art, science, learning, nor pleasure can seduce them from its pursuit.

"Notwithstanding fourteen hundred new dwellings had been erected the preceding year, the demand for houses greatly exceeded the supply.

"Perhaps the most advantageous feature in Cincinnati is its market, which, for excellence, abundance, and cheapness, can hardly, I should think, be surpassed in any part of the world, if I except the luxury of fruits, which are very inferior to any I have seen in Europe. There are no butchers, fishmongers, or indeed any shop for eatables, except bakeries, as they are called, in the town: everything must be purchased at market. * * * The beef is excellent, and the highest price when we were there, four cents (about twopence) the pound, the mutton was inferior, and so was the veal, to the eye, but it ate well, though not very fat; the price was about the same. The poultry was excellent; fowls or full-sized chickens, ready for the table, twelve cents, but much less if bought alive and not quite fat; turkeys about fifty cents, and geese the same. The Ohio furnishes several sorts of fish, some of them very good, and always to be found cheap and abundant in the market. Eggs, butter, nearly all kinds of vegetables, excellent, and at moderate prices. From June till December tomatoes (the great luxury of the American table in the opinion of most Europeans) may be found in the highest perfection in the market for about sixpence the peck. They have a great variety of beans, unknown in England, particularly the Lima bean, the seed of which is dressed like the French harrico; it furnishes a very abundant crop, and is a most delicious vegetable.

"The watermelons, which in that warm climate furnish a most delightful refreshment, were abundant and cheap; but all other melons very

inferior to those of France, or even of England, when ripened in a common hotbed. * * * It is the custom for the gentlemen to go to market at Cincinnati; the smartest men in the place, and those of the 'highest standing,' do not scruple to leave their beds with the sun, six days in the week, and, prepared with a mighty basket, to sally forth in search of meat, butter, eggs and vegetables. I have continually seen them returning, with their weighty baskets on one arm and an enormous ham depending on the other.

"Cincinnati has not many lions to boast, but among them are two museums of natural history; both of these contain many respectable specimens, particularly that of Mr. Dorfeuille, who has, moreover, some interesting antiquities. * * * The people have a most extravagant passion for wax figures, and the two museums vie with each other in displaying specimens of this barbarous branch of art.

"There is also a picture gallery at Cincinnati, and this was a circumstance of much interest to us. * * * It would be invidious to describe the picture gallery; I have no doubt that some years hence it will present a very different appearance. * * *

"It seems hardly fair to quarrel with a place because its staple commodity is not pretty; but I am sure I should have liked Cincinnati much better if the people had not dealt so very largely in hogs. The immense quantity of business done in this line would hardly be believed by those who had not witnessed it. I never saw a newspaper without remarking such advertisements as the following:

"'Wanted, immediately, four thousand fat hogs.'

"'For sale, two thousand barrels of prime pork.'

"But the annoyance came nearer than this. If I determined upon a walk up Main street, the chances were five hundred to one against my reaching the shady side without brushing by a snout fresh dripping from the kennel. When we had screwed our courage to the enterprise of mounting a certain noble-looking sugarloaf hill that promised pure air and a fine view, we found the brook we had to cross at its foot red with the stream from a pig slaughterhouse; while our noses, instead of meeting 'the thyme that loves the green hill's breast,' were greeted by odors that I will not describe, and which I heartily hope my readers can not imagine; our feet, that on leaving the city had expected to press the flowery sod, literally got entangled in pigs' tails and jaw bones; and thus the prettiest walk in the neighborhood was interdicted forever."

ATWATER.

The distinguished historian of Ohio, Caleb Atwater, of Circleville, Ohio, on his way to the Northwest passed through the city in May, 1829. In a subsequent work he gives a description of the city which is certainly most complimentary:

"In this city are one hundred, at least, mercantile stores, and about twenty churches. Some of the stores do business in a wholesale way, though quite too many of them are occupied by retailers on a small scale. There are a great many taverns and boarding houses. Among the churches, the First and Second Presbyterian, one belonging to the Unitarians, and the Roman Catholics, and perhaps two or three belonging either to the Episcopalians or the Methodists, are the best. There are two museums, in either of which more knowledge of the natural history of the Western States can be obtained in a day than can be obtained in any other place in a year. These collections are very well arranged, and kept by persons of taste, science, and politeness. No traveler of learning should ever pass through the city without calling to see them both, and, having once seen them, he will never neglect to see them as often as he visits the place.

"There are nine book stores, and a greater number still of printing establishments, that issue newspapers. The two principal publishers of newspapers issue each a daily paper.

"The mechanics of this city are numerous and very excellent in their several trades. Manufactures of iron, of wood, of stone, of all the metals indeed, are carried on with zeal, industry and talent. The builders of houses are unrivaled in the rapidity with which they do their work, and they exhibit genius, skill, and taste.

"There are nearly sixty lawyers, who, for learning, zeal, fidelity, industry, morality, honor, honesty, and every other good qualification of heart and head are equal to a like number of the same honorable and highly useful profession, in any city in the United States.

"The number of physicians and surgeons in the city must be, I presume, nearly eighty, who are skillful, learned, and highly respectable in their profession.

"There are probably about forty clergymen in the city; and from the morality of the place I

give them credit for a considerable degree of usefulness.

"It will with great ease increase to a population of about fifty thousand inhabitants. Its increase beyond that number depends on so many causes, not yet developed, that human foresight cannot now scan them. It will, however, continue to be the largest town in the State, unless Zanesville or Cleveland should exceed it.

"There is but one evil hanging over this city—the price of land is extravagantly high, and so are house and ground rents. Every material used in building is cheap, mechanical labor is low in price, and so is every article of food and raiment.

"Main street, for a mile in length from north to south, presents a scene as busy, as bustling, as crowded, and if possible more noisy, especially about the intersection of Fourth street with Main street, and also anywhere near the Ohio River, as can be found in New York. If the ear is not quite so much afflicted with strange cries as in Philadelphia or Baltimore, yet for drumming and organ-grinding I should suppose some few spots in Main street, Cincinnati, would exceed anything of the sort in the world—at least I should most heartily and charitably hope so."

THOMAS.

Mr. Thomas, in his reminiscences, gives us a view of the city in November, 1829, in which he speaks particularly of the private dwellings and the appearance of the city generally. Conspicuous among the new buildings of that year he tells us was Mr. Foote's elegant mansion on Third street, which with its lofty and splendid portico presented itself to the view of the passenger in all the lower part of the city. This building, shown in one of the illustrations of this work, stood on the northeast corner of Third and Vine. The beautiful pillars of a single piece of stone each, which supported the front of Mr. Raguet's house on Main street, were also objects of general admiration.

HAMILTON.

Capt. Thomas Hamilton, the English author, visited the city in 1832 and afterwards in his "Men and Manners in America," a book which although highly commended in England was severely condemned in this country for its spirit of unjust depreciation, gives no unpleasant mention of our city:

"In two days we reached Cincinnati, a town of nearly thirty thousand inhabitants, finely situated on a slope ascending from the river. The streets and buildings are handsome, and certainly far superior to what might be expected in a situation six hundred miles from the sea and standing on ground which, till lately, was considered the extreme limit of civilization. It is, apparently, a place of considerable trade. The quay was covered with articles of traffic; and there are a thousand indications of activity and business which strike the senses of a traveller, but which he would find it difficult to describe. Having nothing better to do, I took a stroll about the town, and its first favorable impression was not diminished by closer inspection. Many of the streets would have been considered handsome in New York or Philadelphia; and, in the private dwellings, considerable attention had been paid to external decoration.

"The most remarkable object in Cincinnati, however, is a large Gracco-Moresco-Gothic-Chinese-looking building, an architectural compilation of prettiness of all sorts, the effect of which is eminently grotesque. Our attention was immediately arrested by this extraordinary apparition, which could scarcely have been more out of place had it been tossed on the earth by some volcano in the moon. While we stood there, complimenting the gorgeousness of its effect and speculating 'what aspect bore the man' to whom the inhabitants of these central regions could have been indebted for so brilliant and fantastic an outrage on all acknowledged principles of taste, a very pretty and pleasant-looking girl came out and invited us to enter. We accordingly did so, and found everything in the interior of the building had been finished on a scale quite in harmony with its external magnificence."

VIGNE.

A visitor of the following year, Godfrey T. Vigne, in his book, "Six Months in America," is also complimentary, particularly with relation to the painting of the houses. He also comments on the sad financial experience through which the town had just passed.

"In appearance it differs from most of the larger towns in the United States, on account of the great improvement that has taken place in the color of the houses, which instead of being of the usual bright staring red, are frequently of a white gray or a yellowish tint, and display a great deal of taste and just ornament. The public buildings are not large, but very neat and classical; I admired the Second Presbyterian

Church, which is a very pretty specimen of the Doric. The streets are handsome and the shops have a very fashionable air.

"The principal trade of Cincinnati is in provisions. Immense quantities of corn and grain are sent down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. Part of it is consumed by the sugar planters, who are supposed to grow no corn, and part is sent coastwise to Mobile, or exported to Havana and the West Indies generally.

"Cincinnati has displayed more wisdom than her opposite neighbor in Kentucky. A speculative system of banking was carried on about the same time, and was attended with the same results as those I have before noticed when speaking of that State. Credit was not to be obtained, commerce was at an end, and grass was growing in the streets of Cincinnati. But the judicature, with equal justice and determination, immediately enforced by its decisions the resumption of cash payments. Many of the leading families in the place were, of course, ruined, and at present there are not above five or six persons in Cincinnati who have been able to regain their former eminence as men of business. But it was a sacrifice of individuals for the good of the community, and fortune only deserted the speculators in order to attend upon the capitalists, who quickly made their appearance from the Eastern States, and have raised the city to its present pitch of prosperity."

HOFFMAN.

A visitor of the following year was the celebrated Charles Fenno Hoffman, who was taking a horseback trip through the West in the hopes of recovering his health. His accounts of Western scenes originally printed in the *New York American* were subsequently published under the title of "A Winter in the West." In this he refers to the city on the banks of the Ohio as follows:

"The population of the place is about thirty thousand. Among them you may see very few but what look comfortable and contented, though the town does not wear the brisk and busy air observable at Louisville. Transportation is so easy along the great Western waters, that you see no lounging poor people about the large town, as when business languishes in one place and it is difficult to find occupation, they are off at once to another, and shift their quarters whither the readiest means of living invite them. What would most strike you in the streets of Cincinnati would be the number of pretty faces and stylish figures one meets in the morning. A walk through Broadway here rewards one hardly less than to promenade its New York namesake. I have had more than one opportunity of seeing these Western beauties by candle-light; and the evening display brought no disappointment to the morning promise. Nothing can be more agreeable than the society which one meets with in the gay and elegantly furnished drawing-rooms of Cincinnati. The materials being from every State in the Union, there is a total want of caste, a complete absence of *settishness* (if I may use the word). If there be any characteristic that might jar upon your taste and habits, it is, perhaps, a want of that harmonious blending of light and shade, that repose both of character and manner, which, distinguishing the best circles in our Atlantic cities, so often sinks into insipidity or runs into a ridiculous imitation of the impertinent nonchalance which the pseudo-pictures of English 'high life' in the novels of the day impose upon our simple republicans as the height of elegance and refinement."

CHEVALIER.

About the same time the celebrated French political economist, Michel Chevalier, who had just been pardoned from an imprisonment to which he had been condemned for an article on marriage, was sent by Thiers to investigate the railroads and canals of the United States. He afterwards published his letters with reference to his travels in this country. He found the architectural appearance of Cincinnati very nearly the same as that of the new quarters of the English towns. The houses were generally of brick, most commonly three stories high and, what naturally attracted the attention of the Frenchman, each calculated for a single family. At times the prevailing uniformity was interrupted by some more imposing edifice and some houses of hewn stone he thought in good taste, real palaces in miniatures, with neat porticoes, where lived the aristocratic portion of Mrs. Trollope's hog merchants. Several of the mansions were surrounded with gardens and terraces. Here and there were school houses where girls and boys were taught together and churches, small and plain without sculpture or painting, without colored glass or Gothic arches, but snug and well carpeted and well warmed by stoves. There were a great number of churches that impressed him. He specially notes an incident at

the hotel. He observed at a table a man of medium height, stout and muscular, of about the age of 50, yet with an active step and lively air of youth, and was struck with his open and cheerful expression and a certain air of command which appeared through his plain dress. "'That,' said my friend, 'is General Harrison, clerk of the Cincinnati Court of Common Pleas.' What! General Harrison of the Tippecanoe and the Thames? 'The same; the ex-Governor; the conqueror of Tecumseh and Proctor; the avenger of our disasters of the Raisin and at Detroit; the ex-Governor of the Territory of Indiana, the ex-Senator in Congress, the ex-Minister of the United States to one of the South American republics. He has grown old in the service of his country, he has passed twenty years of his life in those fierce wars with the Indians, in which there was less glory to be won, but more dangers to be encountered, than at Rivoli and Austerlitz. He is now poor, with a numerous family, neglected by the Federal Government, although yet vigorous, because he has the independence to think for himself. As the opposition is in the majority here, his friends have bethought themselves of coming to his relief by removing the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, who was a Jackson man, and giving him the place, which is a lucrative one, as a sort of retiring pension. His friends in the East talk of making him President of the United States. Meanwhile we have made him clerk of an inferior court.' After a pause my informant added, 'At this wretched table you may see another candidate for the presidency, who seems to have a better chance than General Harrison; it is Mr. McLean, now one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.'"

Chevalier called Cincinnati "the daughter of its own works," in that it had progressed by reason of the exertions of its own inhabitants, rather than by the enterprise of other cities. He was particularly impressed with the type foundry and the various printing establishments and the general atmosphere of work as distinguished from one of leisure. "The moral aspect of Cincinnati is delightful in the eyes of him who prefers work to everything else, and with whom work can take the place of everything else. But whoever has a taste for pleasure and display, whoever needs occasional relaxation from business, in gaiety and amusement, would find this beautiful city, with its picturesque environs, an insupportable residence. It would be still more so for a man of leisure, desirous of devoting a large part of his time to the cultivation of the fine arts and the rest to pleasure. For such a man indeed it would not be possible to live here. * * * There is, therefore, no such thing in Cincinnati as a class of men of leisure." (United States, pp. 190-206.)

Two other visitors were members of the British Congregational Union, Revs. James Matheson and Andrew Reed. They found a great spirit of enterprise in the town with an ardent pursuit of business, a desire for domestic comfort and a thirst for scientific improvement not usual in such circumstances. The former mentioned the libraries, the reading societies and lectures, as well as the scientific quarterly, monthly magazines and newspapers and was particularly struck with the atmosphere with regard to matters of education. (A Narration of the Visit to the American Churches.)

ELLIS.

Another account of this period is contained in a letter written almost a half century afterwards by John W. Ellis to John M. Newton, the librarian of the Mercantile Library. This is quoted in Ford's "History of Cincinnati":

"It must be borne in mind that Cincinnati at that period, in 1835, compared with the present Cincinnati, was a very insignificant place in respect to wealth, population, business, and everything which constituted a modern city. The population then was less than forty thousand. Its wholesale business was done entirely by the Ohio River, and by the canal as far north as Dayton; but for the interior trade almost entirely by wagons. For the size of the place, it had a respectable wholesale business, extending in a small way to the Upper and Lower Mississippi, along the Ohio from its mouth as far east as what is now West Virginia; but a large proportion of the business with the interior in dry goods, groceries, and the other numerous wants of an interior community was supplied by wagons, which brought in their products and carried out merchandise. There were no railroads whatever at that period in the West. The grocery trade was supplied entirely by steamboat from New Orleans. Lighter goods were wagoned by the National road, over the Alleghany Mountains, to Wheeling or Pittsburgh, and thence by steamboat down the river. When the water in the Upper Ohio was low, these goods were brought from New York by the Hudson River and Erie Canal to Buffalo, thence by lake and Ohio Canal to Portsmouth, and thence down the river. All

these means of conveyance will seem now to the active young men of Cincinnati as very primitive.

"Nearly all the retail business of the city was done on Main street, from Third street to Sixth street; the wholesale business almost entirely on the lower end of Main street and on Front street facing the river. Pearl street had just been opened, but extended no further west than Walnut street, and a few wholesale stores had begun on that square. Fourth, Walnut, Vine, and other streets, now filled with an active business, were then the seat of residences, nearly all built with detached houses, surrounded with shrubbery, and the streets lined with trees. Central avenue, then Western row, and the Miami Canal on the north, were the boundaries of population."

A contemporary view is contained in an article published in the *Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* over the initials "B. D.," which Mr. Ford conjectures to represent Benjamin Drake. It speaks especially of the Southern railway agitation, the various new turnpikes, new residences, warehouses, schools and St. Paul's Church, as well as two new banking houses on Third street.

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

One of the most celebrated of the visitors to Cincinnati was the English authoress, Harriet Martineau, who traveled throughout the United States in the years 1834 to 1836, and subsequently published in her works, "Society in America" and "Retrospect of Western Travel," an account of her personal experiences. She was in Cincinnati in the year 1835. Miss Martineau was a trained observer and her account of the city, already the Queen City of the West, is interesting as being that of a great traveler who had seen much of the world. It is to be noted that she suggests this city as the capital of the United States and prefers it as a residence to any other large city in the country.

"There is ample room on the platform for a city as large as Philadelphia, without encroaching at all on the hillsides. The inhabitants are already consulting as to where the capitol shall stand whenever the nation shall decree the removal of the general government beyond the mountains. If it were not for the noble building at Washington, this removal would probably take place soon, perhaps after the removal of the great southern railroad. It seems rather absurd to call Senators and Representatives to Washington from Missouri and Louisiana, while there is a place on the great rivers which would save them half the journey, and suit almost everybody else just as well, and many much better. The peril to health at Washington in the winter season is great, and the mild and equable temperature of Cincinnati is an important circumstance in the case.

"From this, the Montgomery road, there is a view of the city and surrounding country which defies description. It is of that melting beauty which dims the eyes and fills the heart—that magical combination of all elements—of hill, wood, lawn, river, with a picturesque city steeped in evening sunshine, the impression of which can never be lost nor communicated. We ran up a knoll and stood under a clump of bushes to gaze; and went down, and returned again and again, with the feeling that if we lived upon the spot we could nevermore see it look so beautiful.

"We soon entered a somewhat different scene, passing the slaughter-houses on Deer creek, the place where more thousands of hogs in a year than I dare to specify are destined to breathe their last. Deer creek, pretty as its name is, is little more than the channel through which their blood runs away. The division of labor is brought to as much perfection in these slaughter-houses as in the pin manufactories of Birmingham. So I was told. Of course I did not verify the statement by attending the process.

"A volume might presently be filled with descriptions of our drives about the environs of Cincinnati. There are innumerable points of view whence the city, with its masses of buildings and its spires, may be seen shining through the limpid atmosphere, like a cloud-city in the evening sky. There are many spots where it is a relief to lose the river from the view, and to be shut in among the brilliant green hills, which are more than can be numbered. But there is one drive which I almost wonder the inhabitants do not take every summer day, to the Little Miami bottoms. We continued eastward along the bank of the river for seven miles, the whole scenery of which is beautiful; but the unforgotten spot was the level about the mouth of the Little Miami River, the richest of plains or level valleys, studded with farm houses, enlivened with clearings, and kept primitive in appearance by the masses of dark forest which filled up all the unoccupied spaces. Upon this scene we looked down from a great height, a Niphates of the New World. On entering a little pass between two grassy hills, crested with wood, we

were desired to alight. I ran up the ascent to the right, and was startled at finding myself on the top of a precipice. Far beneath me ran the Little Miami, with a narrow, white, pebble strand, arrow-like trees springing over from the brink of the precipice, and the long evening shadows making the current as black as night, while the green, up to the very lips of the ravine, was of the sunniest, in the last flood of western light. For more reasons than one I should prefer Cincinnati as a residence to any other large city of the United States. Of these reasons, not the least would be that the 'Queen of the West' is enthroned in a region of wonderful and inexhaustible beauty."

Naturally musical entertainments cut a large figure in the social life, particularly those at which amateurs and professionals appeared together. The subject of music is reserved for a special chapter but it will not be amiss to quote Miss Martineau's account of a concert which she attended, which singularly enough she thought was the first musical entertainment in the city. The performers at this entertainment were probably all local performers. One cannot avoid the suspicion that the violinist was Tosso himself.

"Before eight o'clock in the evening the Cincinnati public was pouring into Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar, to the first concert ever offered to them. This Bazaar is the great deformity of the city. Happily, it is not very conspicuous, being squatted down among houses nearly as lofty as the summit of its dome. From my windows at the boarding house, however, it was only too distinctly visible. It is built of brick, and has Gothic windows, Grecian pillars, and a Turkish dome; and it was originally ornamented with Egyptian devices, which have, however, disappeared under the brush of the whitewasher.

"The concert was held in a large, plain room, where a quiet, well-mannered audience was collected. There was something extremely interesting in the spectacle of the first public introduction of music into this rising city. One of the best performers was an elderly man, clothed from head to foot in gray homespun. He was absorbed in his employment, so intent on his violin that one might watch the changes of his pleased countenance the whole performance through, without fear of disconcerting him. There was a young girl in a plain, white frock, with a splendid voice, a good ear, and a love of warbling which carried her through very well indeed, though her own taste had obviously been her only teacher. If I remember right there were about five-and-twenty instrumental performers and six or seven vocalists, besides a long row for the closing chorus. It was a most promising beginning. The thought came across me how far we were from the musical regions of the old world, and how lately this place had been a canebrake, echoing with the bellow and growl of wild beast; and here was the spirit of Mozart swaying and inspiring a silent crowd, as if they were assembled in the chapel at Salzburg!"

MURRAY.

Another English visitor of this year was Charles Augustus Murray, who arrived in the city on the last day of spring. He denominates it as "that precocious daughter of the West that seems to have sprung like the fabled goddess of war and wisdom into existence in the full panoply of manufacturing and commercial armor." He insists that the history of the world did not produce a parallel to Cincinnati in rapid growth in wealth and population and that of all the cities founded by mighty sovereigns or nations with an express view of their becoming capitals of empires not one in such a short space of time could show such a mass of manufacture, enterprise, population, wealth and social comfort.

Prof. Frederick Hall, president of Mount Hope College near Baltimore, visited the city in 1837. In his "Letters from the East and from the West," published in Baltimore in 1840, he speaks with enthusiasm of the physical environment. After a rapturous description of Genoa, the superb, he compares that city with Cincinnati, which he thought bore no slight resemblance to the native city of Columbus. The highlands though less lofty, less rocky and with fewer human habitations were far richer with vastly more variegated and more beautiful forms and he prophesies for Cincinnati a future, not that of New York or of Glasgow, but of London itself.

CAPTAIN MARRYAT.

Another most distinguished visitor who came in 1837 was the great novelist, Captain Marryat, who in his "Diary in America" refers at some length to his visit:

"Arrived at Cincinnati. How rapid has been the advance of the Western country! In 1803 deer skins, at the value of forty cents per pound, were a legal tender; and, if offered instead of money, could not be refused—even by a lawyer. Not fifty years ago the woods which towered

where Cincinnati is now built, resounded only to the cry of the wild animals of the forest or the rifle of the Shawnee Indian; now Cincinnati contains a population of forty thousand inhabitants. It is a beautiful, well-built, clean town, reminding you more of Philadelphia than any other city in the Union. Situated on a hill on the banks of the Ohio, it is surrounded by a circular phalanx of other hills; so that, look up and down the streets whichever way you will, your eye reposes upon verdure and forest trees in the distance. The streets have a row of trees on each side, near the curb-stone, and most of the houses have a small frontage, filled with luxuriant flowering shrubs, of which the *althea frutex* is the most abundant. It is, properly speaking, a Yankee city, the majority of its inhabitants coming from the East; but they have intermarried and blended with the Kentuckians of the opposite shore—a circumstance which is advantageous to the character of both.

"There are, however, a large number of Dutch and German settlers here; they say ten thousand. They are not much liked by the Americans; but have great influence, as may be conceived when it is stated that, when a motion was brought forward in the municipal court for the city regulations to be printed in German as well as English, it was lost by one vote only."

Captain Marryat mentions, as an evidence of the rapid advance in the price of land, a story that 56 years before the major part of the land upon which was the city, then worth many millions, was "swapped away by the owner of it for a pony." The unfortunate hero of this alleged bargain he said was then alive and living near the city. Cincinnati he called the pork shop of the Union and the way in which they killed pigs "to use a Yankee phrase, quite a caution." Some establishments he said killed as many as fifteen hundred a day. He too as well as Miss Martineau likens the division of labor in the slaughter house business to the manufacture of pins and thereupon he gives an account of the slaughtering of the hogs very much like those which appeared from time to time in the current accounts of similar proceedings in the Chicago stock yards. He gives his stamp of approval to the combination of pork and molasses, which he says eats uncommonly well. He could not see any reason why if English people ate currant jelly with venison the American pork, which was far superior to any other, should not be eaten in combination with molasses.

Captain Marryat also discusses Mrs, Trollope and her Bazaar; the latter he thought preposterous in architecture. "They call it Trollope's Folly; and it is remarkable how a shrewd woman like Mrs. Trollope should have committed such an error. A bazaar like an English bazaar is only to be supported in a city which has arrived at the acme of luxury; where there are hundreds of people willing to be employed for a trifle; hundreds who will work at trifles, for want of better employment; and thousands who will spend money on trifles, merely to pass away their time. Now, in America, in the first place, there is no one who makes trifles; no one who will devote their time, as sellers of the articles, unless well compensated; and no one who will be induced, either by fashion or idleness, to give a halfpenny more for a thing than it is worth. In consequence, nothing was sent to Mrs. Trollope's bazaar. She had to furnish it from the shops, and had to pay very high salaries to the young women who attended; and the people of Cincinnati, aware that the same articles were to be purchased at the stores for less money, preferred going to the stores. No wonder, then, that it was a failure; it is now used as a dancing academy, and occasionally as an assembly-room." (Diary in America, p. 150.)

As to the society of Cincinnati Captain Marryat said that it was as good as any in the Union and infinitely more agreeable than in some other cities, as in it there was a mixture of the Southern frankness of character. A Cincinnati lady told the Captain that the people of Cincinnati were not angry with Mrs. Trollope for the description of the society which she saw but for the assertion that it was the best society. Mrs. Trollope had come to the city quite unknown, except that she was a married woman traveling without her husband. She took a cottage on the Hill and used to come down to the city to market and attend to the erection of her Bazaar. As this was all that was known of her, she did not receive social attentions, which was perhaps the cause of her indignation.

Captain Marryat was surprised at the refusal of a tailor, to whom he had sent to take his measure for a coat, to come to him, as such proceedings were not republican; he was obliged to go to the tailor.

The heat at the time of his visit was most intense, the thermometer standing above 100°. The Captain was astounded by a remarkable death from the drinking of ice water, a common American habit. A young man drank a glass of water at the bar of the hotel and im-

mediately fell down dead. He tells us of another scalawag, whose thirst not for water but for more fiery liquid was unquenchable. The remedy for illness from drinking cold water he said was brandy. This fellow would go to a pump and pretend to drink large quantities of water. He then would fall down by the pump as if seriously ill; "out would run people from every house, with brandy, and pour it down his throat till even he had had enough; he would then pretend gradually to recover, thank them for their kindness and walk away. When he required another dose, he would perform the same farce at another pump." This spectacle of young men falling down by pumps with citizens rushing from every house with bottles of brandy is certainly a phase of Cincinnati life well worth recording.

Captain Marryat's stay in the city was enlivened by a dinner at Sportsman's Hall properly known as Corbin's at which about 75 gentlemen presided over by Jacob Strader and Robert Punshon were present. Captain Marryat responded to a toast naming him as the wizard of the sea and took occasion to discuss the charges of unfairness which had been made against some of his remarks about the country. Another toast was responded to by Capt. Joseph Pierce who had commanded a vessel which had been captured some 24 years before by an English frigate on which Marryat had been a junior officer. Other toasts were responded to by General Lytle, D. T. Disney, Peyton S. Symmes and others. Their character indicated clearly the feeling that had been aroused in the discussions concerning the relation of England and America.

Another episode of Captain Marryat's visit was a trip to a Methodist camp meeting about seven miles from the city. Here he had a sight of one of those enormous temporary gatherings where hundreds of people lived for weeks at a time in open tents. He became acquainted with the "Anxious Seat" and was astounded at the extraordinary performances of the religious enthusiast.

REMINISCENCES OF "OLD MAN."

The "Old Man's" gossipy reminiscences already referred to are full of information more or less authentic. A well known store in the early days was that of D. I. Johnson, an auctioneer and grocer, who at first was at No. 175 Main street and subsequently in 1821 occupied a very large store at No. 86 Main street. He was a grocer and auctioneer. The first book auctions opened in the city were in charge of Johnson and were held about once a month. In front of the store was kept a bulletin board and here other advertisers were apt to display their notices. In August, 1821, during the controversy about the Medical College of Ohio, at first confined to the doctors but afterwards involving all the citizens, David G. Burnet, a brother of the mayor, who led one faction, posted on Johnson's bill-board the following notice:

"TO THE PUBLIC."

"It is known to every gentleman in Cincinnati that Dr. Jesse Smith has acquired an infamous celebrity by the scurrilous effusions of his pen, the favorite weapon of the poltroon, in a newspaper controversy with my brother, Mayor of this city. I have heretofore considered the Doctor's stupid calumnies as worthy only the lash of satire; but his infamous attack in the 'Inquisitor' of this morning demands a more serious notice. There are reasons that would be deemed sufficient to restrain an honorable and manly mind from selecting my brother as an object on whom to exhibit a display of spirit; but the restraints natural to an honorable mind appear to act as incentives with the gallant Doctor. I therefore pronounce Dr. Jesse Smith to be an *unprincipled scoundrel, a liar, a poltroon and a coward.*

"DAVID G. BURNET."

"CIN'TI, August 28, 1821."

Naturally this *mild* expression of opinion aroused some feeling and for a time pistols and duels were talked of. This tempest in the teapot was finally quieted and the following notice was published on the bulletin board and in the public press:

"TO THE PUBLIC."

"The undersigned have the pleasure to inform the public that the controversy between Isaac G. Burnet, Esq., and Dr. Jesse Smith has, under their mediation, been happily adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned. The proposition for this mode of settling it was first made by the friends of Dr. Smith to Mr. Burnet, who, upon being assured that it was made with the knowledge and approbation of Mr. Smith, promptly acceded to it.

"WM. H. HARRISON,
"MARTIN RUTER,
"OLIVER M. SPENCER,
"SAMUEL W. DAVIES,
"NATHAN GUILFORD,
"WILLIAM OLIVER."

"September 3."

For many years the store of Platt Evens was one of the show places of the town and the fame of its owner extended abroad. Lafayette ordered a suit of clothes from him and so did President Zachary Taylor. Evens was very proud of the appearance of his place and particularly of a handsome black walnut counter which ornamented it. At one time Gen. James Taylor, the famous land owner of Newport who was in the store, seated himself on the counter and began whittling its edge with his penknife. The indignation of Evens can be more easily imagined than described but without making any comment he slipped behind the doughty Kentuckian and with a pair of shears clipped off the tails of the General's coat. The feuds of modern times disappear into utter insignificance as compared with the explosion of wrath that thereupon ensued, the explosion which agitated the frames of two mighty men, the merchant tailor and the warrior Taylor. The latter demanded pay for his ruined coat, whereupon the former boiling with rage replied in his stuttering fashion: "Wh-wh-wh-when y-y-you p-p-pay me for my c-c-c-counter I'll p-p-pay you f-f-f-for your c-c-coat." After some interchange of compliments, the matter was settled by the General ordering a new suit for which he paid a price which allowed a sufficient margin to pay for repairing the counter.

It is said that the famous old story of the market so popular with many of our older generation originated with Evens. He was very fond of geese but was equally fearful of tough specimens of the bird. Once while at market he saw a countryman with a number of geese for sale. Calling the peddler aside, he said: "Y-y-y-you s-s-see my f-f-f-friend I k-k-keep a b-b-b-boarding house and I w-w-want the t-t-t-toughest g-g-g-geese you have." The countryman carefully selected his most antique specimens which he was prepared to warrant as being tough enough for any boarding house. Thereupon Evens whispered: "S-s-s-seeing it's you, I g-g-g-guess I'll t-t-take the others."

Evens accumulated a fortune and finally built a beautiful home just west of the city between Spring Grove and the present Chester Park. The stories of his business life and his subsequent tribulations about his pond would fill a volume.

Another prominent merchant of early Main street was S. S. Smith, whose store in the late "thirties" and early "forties" was at the corner of Ninth and Main. He was a brother of the well known Sol Smith the comedian. He is credited with having surpassed the feat of St. Patrick in clearing the snakes from Ireland for he is said to have cleared the rats from Main street. These pestiferous animals had become a great pest and destroyed much property of the merchants. Finally Smith succeeded in capturing an enormous rat to whose neck after much labor and considerable excitement a small bell was attached by a chain. This was turning the tables on the rats who had once thought of belling the cat. The rest of the rats did not receive their old comer when he was let loose with favor and as he approached, fearing perhaps that some one had succeeded in belling the cat, they retired precipitately. After a short time no rats were seen or heard. Once in a while with a gentle tinkling of the bell the public were admonished that one at least was left. Finally this sound ceased and one day some workmen found the skeleton of the unfortunate rat with the bell still about its neck lying behind some barrels. It was suggested that it had died of grief from lack of companionship. The story is told that not a rat has been seen on Main street since, although the writer does not vouch for the truth of this tale.

Not far from Smith's store was the store of Absalom Death, afterwards superintendent of the old Commercial Hospital. The story told of the alteration of his sign to read "Pure Whiskeys—Absolute Death" is a familiar one in the annals of the city.

Another quaint character was the notorious Mrs. Haighilaigh, whose house stood on the west side of Main street just where Pearl street now enters it. In this house many people are said to have entered who never left it alive and many were the stories told of the murders committed therein and the bodies carried out the back way down the cow-path where Pearl street now runs and thence to the river.

A tragic episode connected itself with the life of a merchant named Morselle who kept a store in the "thirties" on lower Main street. Morselle was a Frenchman by birth, a man of education and refinement who came to this country while quite young and finally settled in Cincinnati. Here his polished manners procured him an entrance into the houses of the best families and finally he married the daughter of the pioneer storekeeper, Capt. James Ferguson, at that time one of the wealthiest men in the city. Morselle was not successful in business and the thought that he might become dependent upon others

preyed upon his mind until his reason was unbalanced. He lived on the west side of Vine street between Sixth and Seventh in a house used for years by the Wesleyan Female College as a dormitory and afterwards as the editorial rooms of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. One evening after dinner he went to his room as was his usual habit to smoke a cigar. Shortly afterwards a shot was heard and the body of Morselle was found with the top of his head blown completely off. His widow afterwards married a prominent lawyer of the city, Henry Starr.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE CITY.

Some contemporary views of the first order are the pictures reproduced in this volume representing some of the principal streets in the "thirties." These include two views of Fourth street, one looking east and the other west from Vine; a view of the northeast and southwest corners of Fourth and Walnut; a view of the two northern corners of Third and Vine and one of the Public Landing. The originals of these hang in the rooms of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society. There are also two views of the city from the Kentucky side. These pictures have been reproduced by photography and have been exhibited on one or two occasions as views of the city in 1835-1836-1837. The exact date of course it is impossible to determine. The buildings as shown in the main remained unchanged throughout the decade from 1830 to 1840 and for a few years later. The first five mentioned pictures, hung in the society rooms already referred to, came from the house of W. M. Yeatman, a son of Griffin Yeatman. For many years the name of the artist was unknown. Mrs. Lord, the librarian of the society, has succeeded in deciphering the name of John C. Wild. This is the name of an artist who appears in the Directory of 1836. The other two views of the city from Kentucky are supposed to be by the same artist. On the photographs of these pictures which are preserved by the society have been entered by various older residents the names of the people who are supposed to have lived in the houses about the years 1834 to 1836, the probable date of the pictures. Many of these conjectures are not borne out by examination of the directories and other sources of information, although it is probable that the parties named all at one time or another lived in the places designated.

A view of the two corners of Fourth and Walnut shows most conspicuously in the foreground the old College Building or Lancaster School which was on the site subsequently occupied by the Cincinnati College Building and the Young Men's Mercantile Library. The southeast corner of Fourth and Walnut does not come within the limits of the picture. This, however, was probably a vacant lot attached to the residence of John Baker, the first house visible at the extreme right of the picture who is known to have lived here for a number of years prior to 1834. The property remained in his family until very recent years. The next structure is that of St. Paul's Church in the basement of which at various times were schools. Just east is the residence of Morgan Neville. In this picture very little is shown of the north side of the street. There were a number of business houses and residences on both sides of the street, faint glimpses of which can be seen in the view looking eastward from Vine. We know that on the west corners of Main were two business blocks known as Jones's Row and Moore's Row, in which were a number of offices of lawyers, doctors and other professional and business men. Those whose names are given in the Directory of 1834 as residing in this block from Main to Walnut, including the corners of Main, include in addition to John Baker and Morgan Neville a number of well known citizens. Among them were Nixon's Logierean Musical Academy, Thomas B. Hawkes' Musical Academy, Miss Tallant's Boarding School, Ralph Letton's Museum, the law offices of W. R. Morris and Benjamin Drake, William H. Stickney and James Foster, the tobacco shop of Philip Young, the boarding house of Andrew S. Apple and the dry goods store of M. S. and J. S. Wade at the corner of Main. Other names given are those of James H. Morehead, James E. Tyler, William Walker, Benjamin Harrimen (portrait painter), George Luckey, Joseph R. Mason (portrait painter), Frances McCracken, John P. Bannister, Joseph Draper (silversmith), George Emerson, Dr. M. Flagg and John Hare. Many of these of course must be accredited to the office buildings already mentioned and strangely enough very few of them appear in the directory two years later.

A view of Fourth street looking east from Vine extends in a shadowy way about to Main street. On the south side of the street the first house shown—a little two-story building—was in 1834 that of James Lodge of Lodge & L'Hommedieu, the publishers of the *Gazette*. Two years later it was the residence of his

THIRD AND VINE IN THE "THIRTIES."

widow and in 1840 she kept a boarding house here. In the temple-like structure just east resided in 1834 and 1836 Davis B. Lawler. A little later this was the residence of Samuel Wiggins. The house east was that of David Gwynne, the father of the wife of Cornelius Vanderbilt. Afterwards this house was the residence of John H. Groesbeck. In the two houses forming the structure to the east there lived in the "thirties" Henry Rockey of Ruffin & Rockey and Joseph Gest, both well known citizens. The house that occupies the lot beyond is not visible as it stands back in the yard. It was the residence of John D. Jones. Just beyond in the house of the two tall chimneys resided for many years Griffin Yeatman. At the southwest corner of Fourth and Walnut there stood in 1840 the house of George Carlisle. This does not show in the picture. Across Walnut street in this picture can be seen the house of John Baker, the church and the residence of Morgan Neville as well as buildings beyond. On the north side of the street at the northeast corner of Fourth and Vine was the well known residence of George W. Jones, which stood back in the yard some distance. The first house that is visible is that of Dr. William S. Ridgely and just east of that, about where Lodge alley was afterwards located, was the residence of Joseph Graham in 1840. Other residences and offices on the north side of the street in the "thirties" were those of Dr. William Wood, David A. Sanders, Samuel Trevor and Timothy Walker. The names of the residents on Fourth street between Walnut and Vine given in the Directory of 1834, in addition to those already mentioned, include Mr. Slaughter (the hatter), Jabez C. Tunis, Sylvanus Wright, Henry Clark (the druggist), Nelson Morris and Dr. Wolcott Richards. The name of Davis B. Laughlin probably should be Lawler.

Looking west from Vine the house on the southwest corner is one of the numerous residences occupied at different times by John P. Foote and at other times by Dr. Shotwell and Samuel B. Williams. Just west was the residence in 1834 of Nathan Guilford and beyond that was that of William Conclin the bookseller. The large double house was occupied by Jonathan Bates on the east side and Caleb Bates on the west. The west house was afterwards the residence of Reuben R. Springer; just beyond was the stately building of the Second Presbyterian Church. The lot at the corner of Fourth and Race was vacant. Across the street can be seen the Unitarian Church and just beyond in a vague distance the residences of John Rogers and Rev. E. Peabody. On the north side at the corner of Vine was the residence of Gen. Edward King the father of Rufus King and beyond was that of William McLaughlin who two years before lived in a house on the north side of Fourth west of Race which he sold to Thompson Neave. Other residents of the north side of the street given in the notes on the photographs in the society rooms are Benjamin Urner, John C. Wright, Alexander Ewing, Dr. Landon Rives and Caroline Lee Hentz. In the Directory of 1834 there are also given the names of the following living between Vine and Race, Alonzo Anderson, Timothy Kirby, Thomas G. Lea, Jacob Lontner, James M. Lyons, William Manser, William Nelson, Abraham Palmer, A. W. Sweeney, Henry Walter and James W. Yost. The same directory gives the residents of Fourth between Elm and Race in addition to those named: James Phares, Ephraim Morgan, Mrs. Sarah Reno, S. S. Smith, Samuel Doyle, Samuel Halley, Ezekiel Fosdick, Eleazer Harris, Nathan Hastings, Jacob Merrill and Richard Miller.

The view of the northern corners of Third and Vine is one of the best known of the city. Almost in the center of the picture stands the steeple of the Second Presbyterian Church and the house to the south of it at the northwest corner of Third and Vine was the old residence of Judge Jacob Burnet, afterwards used in connection with "Shires' Garden." The imposing structure at the northeast corner of Third and Vine was known as the Foote residence and was for some time the residence of John P. Foote and the home of the Semi-Colon Club. At other times it was occupied by Samuel E. Foote, his brother. The house to the west on Vine street, for it is a separate structure although approached by the same entrance, was the residence of William Greene while to the east was that of Charles Stetson. This large house has also been called the Miller residence and here formerly lived our present fellow citizen, Griffin T. Miller. Other residents of this palatial structure at different times were Thomas Lea and Charles Springer. In the offices on the street, in what was known as Foote's Row, could be found at different times E. P. Cranch, James H. Perkins, Dr. At Lee, James H. Beard (the artist), and Cleveland (the drawing teacher).

The buildings shown in the view of the Public Landing are quite distinct and easy of iden-

tification by any one familiar with the time. A building at the northeast corner of Front and Main was that occupied after 1836 by the Firemen's Insurance Company; it was called Noble's Row and just around the corner of Main street was the shoe store of A. P. and R. A. Holden. Here for a brief time was the Intelligencer Printing Office and on the ground floor in 1834 was the store of Thomas Pierce, the iron merchant. These names, that of the Intelligencer and of Pierce and the absence of the Firemen's Insurance Company, fix the date of this picture almost exactly at 1834 or 1835. A little later the store occupied by Pierce became the clothing store of Isaac Davey. Just east was the office of the Cincinnati Insurance Company. Across the alley was the store of William Manser the iron merchant and over him John Frazer for a time kept his law office. Just east was the building afterwards occupied by the Manhattan Insurance Company and beyond it the subsequent home of the Fire Department Insurance Company. Other insurance companies which had their offices for a long time in this block were the Protection Insurance Company of Hartford, Connecticut and the Ohio Insurance Company. The building with the numerous balconies in front was the well known Exchange Hotel, at that time (1834) kept by Guibert and Hughes. The Cincinnati Hotel at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway can be seen in the distance. The building just beyond Sycamore street with the balconies was that afterwards occupied by Franks' Museum. In the distance at the southeast corner of Front and Broadway is seen Cassilly's Row. Commercial Row another important building is not shown in the picture; it was to the west of the landing on the southwest corner of Main and Water.

The picture prefixed to the Directory of 1840 which also shows the Public Landing as well as that of the same site in Cist's "Cincinnati in 1841" make it clear that during these years there was very little change in the structures on Front street between Main and Broadway. The same buildings are also shown on a much smaller scale in the views of the city taken from Kentucky. That taken from Newport shows the Public Landing from almost immediately in front. The churches which of course were the largest structures in the city at that time loom up clearly above their surroundings and it is easy to identify the First and Second Presbyterian churches and the Methodist Church on Fifth street as well as the College Building by the projecting spires. It is plain that the thickly settled portion of the city did not extend much west of Elm except along the lines of Fourth, Fifth and Sixth and the hills were almost entirely free from buildings of any sort.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—IV.

IMPORTANT INCIDENTS FROM 1819 TO 1831.

FINANCIAL DEPRESSION—THE CITY'S FIRST YEARS—EARLY POLITICS—THE VISIT OF LAFAYETTE—THE MIAMI CANAL.

FINANCIAL DEPRESSION.

Cincinnati entered upon its life as a city in the midst of the heaviest financial gloom. The Bank of the United States had been reestablished in 1816 with a charter for 20 years. As has already been stated, it established branches throughout the country, two of which were in Ohio,—one in Cincinnati and one in Chillicothe. It immediately began collecting bullion and by December, 1818, had brought together about seven and a half millions. The Government Treasury in 1817 had decided to receive no notes except such as were payable to the banks in hard money but despite this the banks of the country deferred an attempt to resume specie payments until July 1, 1817.

An immense speculation in the meantime was being carried on in the stock of the bank in the shape of loans secured by the stock at a valuation in excess of par. This gave a speculative price to the stock which in September, 1817, went above 150 where it continued until December, 1818, when it fell to 110. The money world was becoming conscious of the excessive issues and the consequent danger. At the Cincinnati Branch, Judge Burnet tells us that the amount of paper discounted was supposed to be less than at any other office and place of the same population and business and that the board was not conscious that a single bad debt had been made. The parent board, however, made an arrangement with the Treasury Department to receive as cash their land office deposits in the Western banks probably at a large discount as the deposits consisted chiefly of depreciated paper not worth more than 60 or 70 cents on the dollar. About $900,000 of this paper was sent to the Cincinnati Branch with instructions to collect it from the banks that had issued it. None of these banks were making specie payments and some had failed entirely. The principal business men of the city were largely indebted to the local banks and their resources were in the main made up of lands estimated at very high values. Many bills and notes discounted by the Branch Bank were simply transfers of indebtedness to the local banks. Most of the borrowers would have been able to sustain their credit so long as land values could be kept up and no unusual pressure was brought to bear. Unfortunately Cincinnati credit did not stand high and a sudden effort on the part of the United States Bank to make such large collections resulted disastrously. The directors of the Branch Bank, foreseeing the inevitable result of an effort to push the banks which could only bring disaster upon all concerned, suggested to the parent institution the impossibility of the banks redeeming their paper at that time. Their plan was to loan it out at par on the best security that could be obtained. This plan was followed by them on the theory that their suggestion had been approved by the parent bank. The whole amount was disposed of on what was thought to be good security. In fact three-fourths of it was afterwards collected in full. Unfortunately the failure to collect the notes promptly and the timidity of the home bank on account of the closing of some of the local institutions brought about the sudden

discontinuance of the office with the order to put in suit without delay all debts due the institution. It is easy to see the terribly disastrous results of such a course at such a time. A very large part of the loans was secured by the homes of the borrowers. Money was absolutely unattainable. What money there was was of the most worthless character. "The country was flooded with the notes of irresponsible private banks. Traders and others issued their small notes of twenty-five cents and upward, called 'shinplasters,' redeemable in dry goods, groceries, or in something to drink. The little silver in circulation was converted into what was termed 'cut money.' A Spanish pistareen, worth seventeen or eighteen cents, was cut into six pieces, representing double the value in silver of the pistareen; and so with quarters and half-dollars. A meal at a tavern was to be had for twenty-five cents in this cut money, and for one dollar or more in paper. It was during this period that the credit of our merchants with the East sank lower than ever before or since. Cincinnati's want of credit was proverbial throughout the Eastern States and cities." (L'Hommedieu's Pioneer Address, Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 13.)

As a result the business of the city and its vicinity was completely prostrated. Many of our most intelligent business men were ruined and Cincinnati did not recover from the shock for years. In 1821 and 1822, when this radical remedy was undertaken, the whole country was embarrassed and creditors found it everywhere necessary to indulge their debtors. Otherwise the whole West must have assuredly become a community of bankrupts. The home directors of the bank, however, were impressed with the belief that they had been imposed upon by their local representatives. Their cashier, Mr. Wilson, gave as a reason the belief that the managers in the office had loaned the funds with a profusion that proved them unworthy of confidence. He and his principals regarded Cincinnati as a city without credit and without honor and seemed of the impression that there was no disposition on the part of the citizens to maintain their solvency. (Burnet's Notes, p. 410.)

The Cincinnati Branch Bank was withdrawn and the business closed up. Timothy Kirby says that some of the heaviest claims being discounts of a wild character were lost, while the good claims were collected for the most part in real estate. The titles of the property held by the bank were perfected as far as practicable and after two years the property was put on the market and sold in small parcels in installments favorable to the growth of the city and in a careful manner to protect the interest of the bank. It may be safely stated that this one settlement made notorious by exaggeration in its subsequent effects cost the people of Cincinnati millions of dollars in the unjust disparagement or depreciation of its lands and consequent losses in after settlements. (Cincinnati Past and Present.)

This statement, however, according to Judge Burnet, is quite unfair. In carrying out the order he says every debtor to the institution, however wealthy, was prosecuted to judgment and execution. A few gave mortgages to gain time but all in the end were obliged to settle in full. "It is a fact highly honorable to the persecuted debtors of that institution that the statute of usury was not plead in a single instance; though it was a fact easy of proof that in at least one-half of the cases the defendants did not receive from the bank more than sixty or at most seventy percent of the amount for which they gave their notes." Furthermore, although the agent gave out the impression that the bank would sustain a loss by the operations of the office in Cincinnati, the president of the Branch, Judge Burnet, states that the fact was the reverse and that they received their own with triple usury. Every dollar of the capital which had been furnished to the bank, including the Land Office paper called by Burnet "trash," which had been charged as par funds, was repaid to the bank, besides which there was a very large profit on real estate taken from their debtors at values frequently not more than one-half of the intrinsic worth. (Burnet's Notes, p. 411.)

Another well known citizen, Col. James Taylor, corroborates Judge Burnet. He is quoted by Ford as follows:

"This bank was a large-sized shark, as it ate up all the small banks in the city—to wit: The Miami Exporting Company, the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, and the Bank of Cincinnati, together with other banks in Ohio. Many citizens of Cincinnati were injured by the bank—among them Gen. William Lytle (it broke him up), Judge Burnet, Mr. Carr, St. Clair, Morris, William Barr, and others. Lytle had to give up his homestead, now owned by Dr. Foster and others, and some tracts of land in Hamilton and Clermont counties. Burnet gave up his homestead, where the Burnet House stands.

"I know the bank made large sums of money out of its debtors. I, as well as my father, bought considerable property of the agent, taken for debts. The money was mostly made from vacant ground, taken and subdivided, and the rise of property.

"The bank wound up and established an agency, which existed over fifty years. George Jones was the first agent, in 1823; Herman Cope, the second; and Timothy Kirby, deceased, the third. Property was low in 1823-24, and their debtors were forced to give up property, to a large amount. The bank, by the rise and subdivision of property, made millions of dollars, and only wound up by Kirby a few years ago.

"This United States Bank, instead of being a benefit to Cincinnati, was an injury, as it forced into bankruptcy the other banks in the city, and involved many of its most influential citizens." (Ford's Cincinnati, p. 358.)

The effect of the financial distress has been described in glowing language by George Warren. After the United States Bank began to call in its accounts, which made it necessary for others to do the same, the citizens involved in the speculations so rife at the time began, to quote his language, "to scatter like rats from a submerged flour barrel. Sheriff Heckewelder complained that his friends had taken a sudden notion to travel, at the very time he most wanted them. Some fled east, some west, some to Kentucky, and some to Lord knows where. It soon became impossible to get money anywhere. Building was entirely stopped. The spring of 1820 was a gloomy time. All business was brought to a sudden stand. No more brick wagons, stone wagons, or new cellars were to be seen in the streets. The mechanics lately so blithe and cheerful had gone in different directions in search of work, at any price, to keep themselves and families from starving. Almost any mechanic could be hired for fifty cents a day, working, as was then the custom, from sunrise to sunset; few could get employment at that. They were willing to work at anything they could do, and at any price. One of our boss carpenters bought a wood-saw and buck, and went about sawing wood. Our leading bricklayer procured a small patch of ground near the Brighton House, and raised watermelons, which he sold himself, in the market. The only professed sashmaker in the place, the late John Baker, Esq., who died not long ago a millionaire on Walnut Hills, procured a piece of woodland in the country, and chopped the wood, brought it to market, sitting on his load, and sold it for a dollar and a half a cord. Other good mechanics went chopping wood in the country for thirty-seven and a half cents a cord. One of these was the late A. H. Ernst, Esq. The writer would have done the same, but no chance offered. There was no money, and people even going to market resorted to barter. A cabinet-maker, for instance, would want two pounds of butter, amounting to twenty-five or thirty cents. Without a penny in his pocket, he would take his basket, go to the market, find a farmer that had some, take two pounds, and give him a table, bedstead, or even a bureau, agreeing to take the rest out in truck, as he would call it, when he should want it. This could not be done by carpenters and masons. They would go into the country and build ovens or spring-houses, and repair buildings, taking their pay when the work was done. Our merchants being unable or unwilling to bring on fresh supplies of dry goods and groceries, these ran up to enormous prices; coffee was seventy-five cents, and common coarse brown sugar thirty-seven and one-half cents a pound. Rye coffee, sweetened with molasses, was found a poor substitute; and we suffered considerably for want of our customary breakfast.

"Public meetings were held to consider what was to be done. At one of these Mr. Blake, an attorney, had expressed a fear that our wives and children would starve. Mr. Gazlay, the next speaker, also an attorney, said: 'Brother Blake is afraid our families will starve. I have but one child, and don't fear it will starve; Brother Blake has none, and I am sure it won't starve.' Country produce of all kinds was never so low before nor since; but the difficulty lay in getting money to pay even these low prices. Flour was three dollars a barrel, corn twelve and one-half cents a bushel, beef six and one-fourth cents a pound, pork in quarters from the wagons three cents a pound, eggs five cents a dozen, and chickens four cents apiece. A prominent and truthful citizen now living relates that, being then a young man and living in the country, he brought to the Lower Market two dozen chickens. After standing there most of the forenoon a man offered him fifty cents a dozen if he would carry them to the Mill creek bridge. He accepted the offer and actually carried them the whole distance on his back. If any imagine that the people need not have feared starving when provisions were so cheap, they are like the Queen of France during the Revolution, who said, when

the people of Paris were actually starving, that she did not see why there need be such a clamor about bread when 'a good-sized loaf may be got at the baker's for five sous.'

"Finally it was found that money of some kind must be had. This induced some individuals to issue tickets, or little due-bills, on their own credit. They were sometimes as low as six and one-fourth cents. Of these bankers, John H. Piatt and Mr. Leathers, of Covington, were the chief. This currency had different values, according to people's estimate of the solvency of the individuals. The corporation had issued tickets before this. In making contracts it had to be agreed what kind of money was to be received; so much in 'Corporation,' or so much in 'Piatt,' or so much in 'Leathers.' Sometimes contracts would call for 'bankable money.' By this was meant the notes of those few banks that had not already broken. If any specie was seen it was generally 'cut money,' or half-dollars cut into five triangular pieces, each passing for twelve and one-half cents.

"Such was the scarcity of money that many who had purchased property and paid large amounts on it were willing to give up the money already paid to be released from paying the remainder. Real estate had indeed fallen; a prominent citizen now among us had purchased a lot of ground, near our present gas works, for sixteen thousand dollars, paying half down in cash. He offered to give up all the money paid if the owner would release him; but he would not. Houses and stores, with bills on them offering them 'for rent,' were everywhere seen, and rents were low." (Cincinnati Past and Present.)

Many others besides those mentioned by Mr. Warren were affected by this crash. Judge Burnet had taken a very active part in both manufacturing and financial institutions of the city. He was one of the original stockholders of the Miami Exporting Company and held a large amount of the stock. He was one of the proprietors of the iron foundry, of the sugar refinery and of the woolen factory. All these concerns went to the wall. His losses as a result of these misfortunes swept away the accumulations of his life's work at the bar, more than $80,000. All that was left to him were several lots of land in the town and the outskirts, of no great value at the time which however subsequently revived and increased his fortune. His residence at Third and Vine streets was finally swallowed up. It was this property which the writers of "Cincinnati in 1826" suggested as a proper tract to be taken by the city for public buildings. The whole square was offered to the city for $25,000 and very many of the most prominent citizens, including both Judge Burnet and Dr. Drake, favored its purchase for that purpose. Well may Mansfield say "the total want of sagacity as well as economy manifested by city corporations was in this instance most strikingly exhibited." The Judge finally turned over to the Bank of the United States this most beautiful piece of property in payment of his debt.

Another citizen who suffered at the same time was Martin Baum, one of the most prominent of the German citizens. Baum had been born at Haguenau, July 15, 1761, and had arrived in Cincinnati at a very early date. He was one of the founders and in fact the principal figure in the Miami Exporting Company and also the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, the sugar refinery, the iron foundry and the steam flour mill. He had been mayor of the city in 1807 and 1812 and had been most active in the founding of the Lancaster School and subsequently the Cincinnati College, the first Public Library, the Western Museum, the Literary Society, the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in the West and of the Apollonian Society. He was at this time supposed to be the wealthiest and most respected citizen in the town and occupied the position of president of the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Bank. He built a fine house on Pike street which he subsequently was obliged to give up to the United States Bank to pay his debt. Here he had laid out the beautiful ornamental garden and vineyard which afterwards, when the property came into the hands of Nicholas Longworth, who purchased it from the bank, were among the sights of the city. Baum died at Cincinnati December 14, 1831, having according to Mansfield saved from the despised and weed-covered Deer creek valley enough for a handsome estate. What Judge Burnet was to the legal profession and Dr. Drake to that of medicine, Martin Baum may be said to have been to the business community in the early days.

Other sufferers in the general collapse were Dr. Drake, General Harrison, General Findlay and Oliver M. Spencer.

Drake, as a result of his unfortunate connection with the bank, suffered serious loss. In the spirit of economy he had taken up his residence at the foot of the hills at a place he called

"Mount Poverty." This was a log cabin 16 feet square lined with pine boards and winged with a kitchen and bed-room, all one story high and covered with plank. It was on the slope of the Hill, between what is now Sycamore and Broadway continued just above Liberty street. This hill was then covered with woods and separated from the town by nearly a mile of open space. The cabin was on the top of a ridge enveloped by green trees and rank weeds and, although 15 minutes' ride from his office in town, could not for the exuberant foliage be seen from any point in the plain below. (Mansfield's Drake, p. 136; Memories, p. 172.)

A controversy with the United States Bank was inaugurated by an act of the Legislature, which provided that the branches should pay a levy of $50,000 each if they should still be in business after September 15, 1819. The authorities who were about to collect the tax were enjoined by the United States Circuit Court from proceeding with the collection and a copy of the petition for injunction was served by the Cincinnati agent upon the State auditor. No copy of the writ of injunction was served with the papers. The State officials concluded that there had been no technical service of the injunction and the writ for collection was turned over to John L. Harper and by him, in company with Messrs. J. McCollister and T. Orr, served upon the officials of the bank. His instructions were if the payment were refused that he was to take the amount from the vaults if he could do so without force, but if opposed he was to present the facts to a magistrate. He entered the bank September 17th, made the demand, which was refused, and thereupon took from the moneys of the bank $98,000. This resulted in a proceeding for contempt. Harper and his associates were arrested and imprisoned and the money was returned. The Supreme Court in 1824 affirmed the decree of the court below disallowing the payment of the tax. The State gave up any attempt to collect the money, but an attempt was made by the Legislature to secure a change in the Constitution of the United States removing such matters from the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. In the course of this discussion the Ohio Legislature passed a resolution endorsing the so-called "Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions" of 1798 and 1800 and asserting the right of the State to tax the banks and protesting against the doctrine that the political rights of the sovereign States can be passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States. Nullification as is apparent did not begin in South Carolina.

THE CITY'S FIRST YEARS.

A brief mention of some of the events of the period is all that is possible in a history of a community of such great size. The newspaper press in the early days made great pretensions, particularly in the editorial departments, but as a matter of fact so far as local news was concerned none of the papers were as satisfactory as the most insignificant county paper of the present day. Columns were given to the narration of foreign affairs and to the discussion of national politics. A great fire in New York or Lexington, Kentucky, would be exploited to the extent of half a column because it was easy to copy this matter from other newspapers, but there would be half a dozen issues of the paper without a single item of local consequence. In the advertising columns would be frequent notices of matters that seemed of public interest and at times notices of important meetings or elections might be found in some obscure corner of the editorial page, but the most diligent search fails to disclose in many cases the simplest mention of events known to be of great importance in the history of the city. Even after Mr. Hammonds's paper became a daily under the name of the *Gazette*, the news columns if anything were more meagre than before. The principal reason for the existence of newspapers was politics and any news not of a political nature was regarded as of little consequence.

During the year 1819 but few events of serious importance are chronicled in the paper. In the early part of the year we read of the launching of three steamers, the "Vulcan," the "Tennessee" and the "Missouri," which occurred March 30th.

Public expectation was aroused by the rumor of an intended visit from President Monroe, who was traveling through the West. He was tendered a reception and preparations were made for an oration by the newly elected mayor, Isaac G. Burnet. The committee of the Council in charge included some of the most distinguished citizens of the time: Jacob Burnet, Ethan Stone, James Findlay, Jesse Hunt, Nicholas Longworth, William Corry, Samuel W. Davies and Isaac Hough. Unfortunately at the last moment President Monroe was obliged to omit Cincinnati from his itinerary and the great oration prepared for the occasion was never delivered.

Gen. James Miller, however, one of the heroes

of the War of 1812, already referred to, visited the city on his way to "Arkansaw Territory," of which he had been appointed Governor. A public dinner, at which General Findlay presided, was tendered him at Washington Hall on Front near Main street and a public ball at the Cincinnati Hotel followed.

The paper for this year was filled with references to the financial stringency of the time. Added to the general depreciation of the bank paper came that of the corporation notes. Every effort was made to keep up the paper to as high a price as possible and advertisements offering to take Piatt's notes, corporation notes, Miami notes at par to be exchanged for goods were frequent. The city paper suffered not only from a general depreciation but from a mismanagement of the affairs of the city treasury and on December 11, 1819, five of the councilmen, P. A. Sprigman, Oliver Lovell, William Oliver, Richard L. Coleman and John Tuttle addressed a letter to Jacob Wheeler, the city treasurer, asking that for the purpose of restoring the credit of the city paper and in the interest of harmony he should resign his position. Wheeler a little later retorted by addressing a letter to the same five councilmen asking that in the same interest of harmony these five gentlemen should resign. As a result of this controversy, Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, acted as city treasurer for a short time.

Several public meetings of the citizens were held during the year. One held at the "Circus" on October 4, 1819, which was presided over by Samuel Q. Richardson with Joseph S. Benham acting as secretary, passed resolutions denouncing the banks and particularly the Branch Bank. James W. Gazlay was endorsed for Senator in preference to W. H. Harrison, who it was charged was a director of the last named bank. This naturally brought forth a long letter from Harrison denying the fact of his connection with the bank and insisting that his principal occupation was that of farmer and dairyman. In the election for State Senator which followed Harrison and Gazlay received an equal number of votes in the city, 605, but the former was more successful in the county, his vote being 1,528 to 1,180 for his opponent. This election hinged entirely on the matter of the United States Bank.

Another public meeting, held at the Court House on December 15, 1819, was presided over by Ethan Stone with Daniel Roe acting as secretary. At this meeting it was resolved that slavery should not be permitted in any State thereafter to be admitted into the Union. The committee on resolutions comprised Ethan Stone, Daniel Roe, Bellamy Storer, Nathan Guilford and Micajah T. Williams. At subsequent meetings a committee on correspondence was selected, which in addition to the citizens already mentioned included Judge Burnet, Lot Pugh, O. M. Spencer, F. A. Blake and William Burke.

Another event which properly belongs under the head of amusements seemed of sufficient importance to entitle it to be mentioned in the general news columns of the day. This was the arrival of the elephant "Columbus," accompanied by a dromedary and jaguar, who held court on Fifth street opposite the Upper Market house near the Museum. "The room is large and no danger need be apprehended from the animals." Not to be outdone by the elephant, the sea serpent came to town in 1820 in the shape of a painting by "that inimitable artist Reuben Molthrope." His snakeship took up his quarters at Mr. Page's Museum of Fine Arts on Market street a few doors above the Hill market.

On the 16th of August (1819) occurred what was regarded as the severest storm of thunder and lightning that had yet visited the city. Two men were killed by the lightning. This aroused a long discussion as to proper safeguards against this danger, as a result of which it seemed to be concluded that feather beds were indispensable adjuncts to the household. The establishment of a stage between Dayton and Cincinnati, which took place in May, 1819, was greeted with enthusiasm. The stage left every Friday morning, passed through Hamilton and Middletown and arrived at Dayton on Saturday evening. It arrived in Cincinnati on its return on Thursdays. In April of this year some vandals attempted to wreck a quantity of the apparatus preserved in the Cincinnati College. No reason for this attempted outrage is given.

In 1819 Independence Day was celebrated with much enthusiasm. Mrs. Belinda Groshon showed great genius at a performance of "Isabella." An interesting feature of the entertainment was an illuminated painting of the recent engagement of the "Constitution" and the "Java." On the same day the first throw of water conveyed from the small reservoir on the hillside through log pipes was made at the southeast corner of Sycamore and Fifth streets. The following day the Cincinnati Guards met at the Olympian circus enclosure on Sixth street and

marched to Dr. Wilson's church. William Corry acted as reader and Bellamy Storer as orator. The dinner was held at the City Hotel. The mayor and aldermen dined the Light Infantry at Christ Walker's at four in the afternoon while eight hundred mechanics marched from Greenleaf's Hotel to the Stone Meeting House where they were addressed by J. Barfoot Smith. (Address of John D. Caldwell, July 4, 1874; Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 7.)

The topics nearest the minds of the citizens are indicated by the toasts drank at the various banquets. At the celebration of the Cincinnati Guards held on July 5th, General Findlay offered the toast "A Speedy Circulation to Real Money;" that of N. G. Pendleton was "The Cincinnati Woolen Manufactury,—Blanket Coats for Dandies;" Philip Yost offered the toast quoted elsewhere, "The Cincinnati Theatre,—May It Not Like the Walls of Jericho Fall at the Sound of Joshua's Horn!" At the Hussars' celebration on the same day one of the toasts was "Negro Slavery,—May It No Longer Stain Our National Character!"

The financial stringency of 1819 was the occasion of complaints in the newspapers against the extravagance of the citizens who attended the public balls. Eight of these we are told occurred annually and were attended on an average by 70 persons of each sex; "seventy gentlemen therefore must incur at the hotel an expense of six dollars each, which will give for assemblies $3,360.00. $10.00 per annum for additional clothing for each lady and gentleman will give $2,240.00, a total of $5,600.00."

The celebrations of Independence Day were continued throughout this period. In 1820 there was a trial of fire engines and an oration by William M. Worthington at the First Presbyterian Church and a mechanics' procession which was addressed by A. Jocelyn in Dodson's Olympian circus enclosure at the corner of Sixth and Walnut. The following year 31 mechanics' and college societies marched in a procession to the same meeting house, where Nathaniel G. Pendleton delivered an oration and J. B. Smith read the Declaration of Independence. The same meeting house was the scene of a meeting in 1822. William Greene, later Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island, was the orator and Benjamin M. Piatt, the reader. Francis Carr acted as marshal, assisted by Colonel Borden. The procession included 31 mechanics' societies, judges, college officers and teachers of Sabbath schools. Captain McFarland commanded the infantry, Captain James the Cincinnati Guards and Capt. William Barr, the Abaelino Society. At College Hall there were addresses by G. W. Burnet, Jacob Wykoff Piatt and C. S. Ramsey for the Erophoebic and Philomath societies. A projected parade of school teachers to Cutter's woods had to be abandoned on account of the weather and the exercises were held in church, where an ode by "Horace in Cincinnati" was read.

Independence Day of the following year is notable for the fact that in the evening Edwin Forrest appeared at the Globe Theatre as "Jaffier" in the play of "Venice Preserved." General Harrison presided and Gen. Samuel Findlay delivered the oration at the meeting in the chapel of the Cincinnati College on July 4, 1824. Eleven hundred and four white and 208 black children of the Sabbath schools took part in the procession.

One of the incidents of this period of distress was the riot brought about by the failure of the Miami Exporting Company's bank, which occurred in 1820. A large number of depositors together with their friends formed a procession in the upper part of the town and marched down Main street. A number of drays were pressed into service to add dignity to the occasion. One carried a black coffin on which was painted in large letters "Miami Bank No More." The bank building, which was on Front street near Sycamore, had been surrounded by a detachment of militia to protect it and its contents from violence. The procession marched to Front street without any attempt being made to stop or divert it, but when it reached the mayor's office, which was at the southeast corner of Front and Main streets, the city executive, Isaac G. Burnet, who was unable to walk or stand without crutches, made his way to the head of the column and there read the riot act to the multitude and called upon them to disperse. A great majority of the participants had no lawless intention and had engaged in the demonstration from thoughtlessness, but this action of the mayor fortunately brought them to their senses in time and the mob at once dispersed without committing any act of violence.

Other incidents of this year was a town meeting held in February with relation to the notes of Piatt's bank, which passed under the name of "Piatt's shinplasters."

At a meeting held at the "Circus" on Sixth street on July 10, 1820, it was resolved that the paper of no bank that did not pay its face in specie would be received. John Scudder, Jr.,

presided at this meeting and Daniel Roe acted as secretary.

To the hard times was attributed the large number of burglaries which took place in the city in the spring of this year, as well as an incendiary attempt on Piatt's bank, which fortunately was discovered before any serious damage resulted.

Another event worth noting during this year was the first celebration of St. Patrick's Day, which took place of course on March 17th, at White's Tavern on Lower Market street. A large number of toasts glowing with patriotic feeling for both America and Ireland and breathing defiance to the hated English and Orangemen were drank. Among the principal participants in this affair was Dr. Moorhead, then smarting under the attack by Dr. Drake in which the latter had incautiously referred to the fact that Moorhead was an Irishman, as if a matter of reproach; at least so Moorhead regarded the reference.

A change in the character of the circulating medium of the city took place in this year. At a meeting held at Christopher Walker's in December, it was resolved that copper coins should be introduced into the city to take the place of the many tickets that were in circulation and provisions were made for procuring a proper supply of this token money.

The first commencement of the Cincinnati College was held this year. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on William H. Harrison, Joshua L. Wilson and James Kemper.

The principal subject of discussion during the spring of the year 1821 was the matter of the establishment of the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum which had been incorporated by an act of January 22nd of that year. The chartering of such an institution had been recommended by Governor Ethan Allen Brown, who was himself a citizen of Cincinnati, upon the suggestion of Dr. Drake. The purpose of the institution was to unite all the charitable funds in its behalf and the Medical College of Ohio, which was incorporated in February, was practically affiliated with it. Strangely enough the matter was a subject of violent discussion and the principal contests in the spring election of 1821 hinged on this matter of the hospital, which by the way was usually referred to as the "Lunatic Asylum." In this election the friends of the hospital won, electing Benjamin Hopkins, Benjamin Mason and Francis Carr as township trustees over Henry Beehtle, William Disney and R. L. Coleman. Shortly afterwards one of the out-lots, a tract of four acres, was obtained and here upon the site of the present Cincinnati Hospital a building was begun which was completed in 1823.

On January 1, 1822, was opened the Cincinnati Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. This was under the instruction of James Chute of the American Asylum of Hartford. Among the officers of this institution were J. L. Wilson, president; I. G. Burnet and William Steele, vice-presidents; Thomas Tucker, treasurer; Martin Ritter and F. Keyes, secretaries; and among the trustees were O. M. Spencer, David Root, William Burke and Samuel Johnson.

Despite the efforts to keep up the value of the bank paper, specie still remained at a high premium. In April, 1822, by resolution of the Council, it was determined that specie for two-thirds of the amount should be received in full payment of taxes due the city. In June at the "Bank Note Exchange" of John and G. R. Gilmore, the paper of the Bank of Cincinnati was quoted at 70 and that of the Miami Exporting Company at 62½ to 65.

The subject of the canal excited renewed interest during this year. Micajah T. Williams had made his report on the subject of the canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio, which was published in the papers of January of this year. On June 8th a town meeting was held at the Cincinnati Hotel at which the general subject of a canal was discussed at length. Judge Burnet presided and Peyton S. Symmes acted as secretary. These with S. W. Davies, Nathan Guilford and Ethan Stone were appointed a committee of correspondence to take up the general subject of a survey for a canal from Mad River to the Ohio River.

Another public dinner was given at the Cincinnati Hotel (called in the notices "The Hotel") on Wednesday, August 28, 1822, in honor of Henry Clay and Gen. Thomas S. Jessup as a testimony of respect for their public services. General Harrison presided, assisted by Judge Torrence, and many toasts were offered by Nicholas Longworth, Mr. Hayward, Dr. Drake, Dr. Godman, Moses Brooks, Peyton S. Symmes, William S. Hatch, William Greene and W. H. Harrison, Jr.

This too was the year of the bitter contest for congress between James W. Gazlay and General Harrison

EARLY POLITICS.

That the politics of the time were of an unusually spicy character can be inferred from a glance over the few columns of the *Independent Press* preserved to us. This paper, by far the liveliest of the early publications, seems to have been in hot water from the very first day of its publication, which was July 4, 1822. Its editor was Solomon S. Smith, and there seems to have been nothing which he regarded as reserved from discussion. His first article was the Declaration of Independence, which was followed by several paragraphs indicating the thorough independence of the sheet. In the second number communications complain of the water works and demand a cleansing of the reservoir, discuss the markets, which were called the two great stables of the city, where had accumulated the filth of 30 years, and also a recent meeting of citizens at the Court House. A correspondent seems to think it very droll to hear Dr. Drake making such remarks "as would induce a stranger to think he was the most peaceable citizen in town and to say that he was ever engaged in a street battle would be profane." The events of the Fourth of July seem to have been as extravagant as they are at present and the editor promises that if the persons who made such beasts of themselves are caught in such a scrape again that they will get a closer pressing than they had already received. Another letter shows that the celebration at the Cincinnati Hotel was so exuberant as to require Colonel Mack to remove the liquors from the bar. Another party, among whom can be easily distinguished from the disguised names Griffin Yeatman, Judge Peter Bell, Judge Torrence and Major Ruffin, celebrated "a real Blow Out" at the reestablished hotel near the Hill market. The correspondent complains that had a meeting of this kind been held by the lower classes it would have met with very serious disapprobation.

On July 18th, we are told under the headline "Daring Outrage," that "early on Tuesday morning last James W. Gazlay, while peaceably on his way to the market, was personally attacked by a ruffian named William H. Lytle, who was armed with a cudgel and pistol. Mr. G. while slowly retreating defended himself manfully and consequently received but little hurt. We understand that three or four stripplings of the same stamp were in company with Lytle, two of whom, Lytle having made his escape, were on examination before the mayor bound over for trial. Much excitement is manifested in the public mind on the occasion. In a community like this comment is considered unnecessary." This little episode is further discussed in later issues of the paper, although the statement is made that no other paper referred to it for the reason "that the principal person concerned in the business is the son of a general; and that all his accomplices are persons of quality." The paper is full of references to this little battle. One calls attention to the fact that the best weapon of defense ever discovered is a basket, another is an advertisement for a quantity of good tough elastic hickory timber, another for a quantity of maple suitable for pistol stocks and dirk handles.

An advertisement offers to supply doctors, lawyers and dandies with the "most improved knock-em-down canes." Another advertisement offers one cent reward for "a long lank sided flesh colored Puppey who in conjunction with three or four other puppies committed some depredations on a gentleman's market basket as he was on his way to market on Tuesday evening last; for this doggish conduct the gentleman gave him a sound caning, for which he ran off mad."

Another notice advertised for "thirty or forty additional baby faced Dandies to stand at the doors of the Stone Methodist Meeting House and stare the ladies out of countenance as they go in and out. Those without whiskers would be preferred."

W. H. Harrison also calls for constant ridicule.

The controversy between Lytle and Gazlay resulted in the arrest of General Lytle for sending a challenge to fight a duel to Gazlay. The editor calls attention to the fact that the punishment for this was confinement in the penitentiary for not more than ten or less than three years. The campaign against General Harrison and his friends was evidently one of the greatest virulence. The paper is full of communications, editorials, alleged advertisements and notices of the most scurrilous character. A regular department is an imitation of Tristram Shandy, while another one purports to be a series of articles from the pen of a Philadelphian on a tour through the Western country. These are made the means of attacking the Harrison party in a style by no means without wit. Another department was written in the style of the Bible but pretends to give a narrative of events of the

town. There is no offense against morals whether public or private which is not charged against the distinguished citizen of North Bend. As a result of the election Mr. Gazlay succeeded in defeating Harrison, carrying the township by a majority of 493 and the county by a majority of 703. As soon as that election was over, the editor returns with renewed rigor to the attack on Judge Torrence, and "Uncle Toby" and "Corporal Trim" and the traveling "Philadelphian" and all the correspondents hurl their missiles at his head.

Increased activity in politics is shown at this time by the number of meetings held with relation to the nomination of presidential candidates. These began with a meeting held on December 7, 1822, at McFarland's Hotel. This was presided over by Isaac G. Burnet, the mayor, with John P. Foote as secretary. DeWitt Clinton was endorsed for the presidency and a committee of correspondence consisting of E. P. Langdon, S. W. Davies, Isaac G. Burnet and B. E. Bliss was selected to present his name to the public generally. Another meeting of a similar character was held about a year later, where again by a vote of 450 to 330 Clinton was endorsed for the presidency and Jackson for the vice-presidency.

Among the deaths noted for the year 1822 was that of the pioneer John S. Gano who died on the first day of the year in Covington. Another prominent man, John H. Piatt, died on February 11, 1822, in the city of Washington.

Another episode which was sufficiently important to creep into the scanty news columns of the day was the accident, which almost terminated fatally, that happened to a son of Samuel Beresford. The boy fell into the river and was taken out for drowned. Fortunately a physician was in the neighborhood and his efforts to resuscitate him were successful. This was made the occasion for an elaborate discussion of the proper treatment of persons supposed to be drowned.

The bridge built by Ethan Stone over Mill creek was carried away by the freshet of September, 1822, the most violent known for many years in this vicinity. Mill creek had been swollen by heavy rains at the head waters and in the course of one night the effect of the freshet was so great as to double the creek in size and wipe out of existence the bridge and the immense pile of masonry in the shape of abutments at its mouth. Two huge sycamore trees in the neighborhood were torn out by their roots. The effect of the freshet was particularly marked by reason of the fact that the Ohio was quite low at the time. This bridge, although five or six years old, had not been accepted by the county commissioners and as a result the entire loss, more than $10,000, fell upon Mr. Stone and almost ruined him. He was a man of great determination, however, and began the work over again, determined to carry out his obligations under his contract. He put up another bridge of very much more elaborate character with stone arches. This was purchased by the county and made a free bridge. The wooden part of the structure was carried away by the flood of 1832 and floated in company with the Methodist Church, which had come from Marietta, down the Ohio to an island just above Louisville. After some efforts to tow it back it was taken apart and carried back to the city in a flat-boat and reerected. Some years later it was burned.

Possibly the most important events of 1823 were the organization of a volunteer city watch and the Board of Commerce and the burning of the steam mill. The numerous fires which were thought to be of incendiary origin and the burglaries which had become quite frequent made the citizens despair of the efforts of the public officials to protect them against crime. As a result of this dissatisfaction a volunteer city watch was organized and included in its numbers many of the most prominent citizens of the city. According to its arrangement, 13 persons were detached in alphabetical order to go on duty each night. How long this arrangement continued is not known, but for a time at least its benefits were marked.

On February 14, 1823, appears in the papers of the day a notice to the effect that "the merchants of Cincinnati who feel disposed to aid in the establishment of a board of commerce for the purpose of regulating the mercantile transactions of the place and to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a place of deposit and exchange as a medium through which to transact their business are requested to meet at the Washington Hall on Monday evening next at half past six o'clock." Subsequently a so-called exchange office was established at No. 30 Main street by J. and G. R. Gilmore, brokers.

The most serious calamity that happened to the city in the way of a fire occurred on November 3rd. This was the burning of the great steam mill at that time owned by Oliver Ormsby. At first the volunteer fire department at-

tempted to cope with the flames but their efforts were without avail and the building was practically destroyed, with an estimated loss of over $100,000. This was regarded as a very serious matter, as this institution was one of the centers of the manufacturing interests of the town. Much complaint was made with reference to the fact that the general body of onlookers made no effort to assist the fire department in the work of putting down the flames. Citizens were reminded that in other towns fire wardens were armed with swords which they used mercilessly to drive all bystanders into the ranks. This fire resulted in the establishment of the Cincinnati Steam Mill Lottery, under the superintendence of Samuel Patterson and James Reynolds, commissioners appointed by the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County. This lottery offered $80,000 in prizes and its advertisements read very much as do those of the present day.

In 1824 the city was much exercised in behalf of the Greeks. A number of enteratinments were given for the benefit of the patriot cause and public meetings in their behalf were quite numerous. The Thespian Corps once more appeared in a play and the Euterpian Society gave a concert. W. H. Harrison delivered orations and Peyton S. Symmes wrote poems and the most prominent citizens figured in committees of correspondence.

Another performance of the Thespian Corps assisted by the Thespian Corps of Newport and several by the professional actors of the theatre was given on the 25th of March for the benefit of the John Cleves Symmes polar expedition.

At a meeting held this year (1824) by the Jackson adherents, Judge Bell presided and William Barr acted as secretary. Col. William Piatt was nominated as the Jackson elector. A little later a public meeting was held by the friends of the Adamses, which selected Elisha Hotchkiss as the candidate for elector. Benjamin Basset presided at this meeting and D. C. Wallace as secretary. Mr. Clay's friends also held a meeting at which Ethan Stone and Daniel Roe officiated and it was determined to support such elector as should be selected by the proper committee. At the presidential election held this fall, the voting was for the first time by wards. Previous to that time the whole city had voted at the mayor's office on Third street.

An ordinance passed November 17, 1824, indicates the reverence in which the Sabbath day, commonly called Sunday, was held. Its first provision made it unlawful for any minor or other person to play at marbles, pitch quoits, or to engage in any other game or sport on that day. The second section was even more comprehensive. It provided that it should be unlawful to fly any kite in the city or to kick any football, roll any hoop, play at the game commonly called shinny or engage in any other play or sport. Fortunately the boys of the day did not have to go very far to get outside the town limits.

The year 1825 was noteworthy for the breaking of ground of the Miami Canal at Middletown. Almost 31 miles of this canal from Main street to the Middletown dam were nearly finished during the following year.

The Longworth place, afterwards the Sinton residence, now occupied by Charles P. Taft, for so many years known as the Martin Baum house, was erected in 1825. Baum, however, lived in it but a short time. The financial distress of the time overwhelmed him, as he had placed all his confidence in the United States Bank. On September 18, 1826, he deeded the place to the bank. It was afterwards occupied as a young ladies' school and finally purchased from the bank in 1828 by Nicholas Longworth, who lived there until his death in 1863. His son Joseph lived in the house until 1869, when it was sold to Mr. Sinton. Pitts Burt describes the style of the house as "later colonial, or rather of a transition period, from the square house without the door porch to the pseudo-classic, when the facade was in evolution, before the stucco Greek temple was used to mark an ordinary two-storied dwelling, square windows, balconies, and all. That is, between the rare Carneal house in Ludlow and the Williamson house on Third street. The special changes are readily noted. The main portion, or center, has grown half a story, lighted by two oval openings on each side of the facade, and the roof has lost some of its pitch. It has pushed out two long, low wings on the front line, usually to be found reaching to the rear. Then the whole house has risen from the ground somewhat, disclosing windows. The cellar has become a basement. The approach has widened by the force of the door porch, which is led up to by nine stone steps. Two wooden columns, close together on each side at the corners, support the pediment which crowns the portico. The door, where the character of a house is so strongly told, has suffered a base 'alteration' and no longer holds the half-wheeled transoms that once must have been the greatest ornament of the house. This change belongs

to a late period. Otherwise, in the main, the house is intact. The length of the body, with the two fine arms it stretches out, is 120 feet, and height in good proportion. The building is made of wood, put on smooth and painted white. The pose and dignity are its best feature and effect. An air hangs about the broad foundation and wide halls of rest and recreation, and beauty of fitness."

THE VISIT OF LAFAYETTE.

The most notable event of the year 1825 was the visit to the city on the 10th of May of General the Marquis de Lafayette, accompanied by his son. The distinguished foreigners were making a tour of the country and approached the city from Lexington, Kentucky, where they had stopped to visit Henry Clay. A deputation of citizens was appointed to meet them on the other side of the river and escort them to Cincinnati. The river was crossed in an elaborately decorated barge rowed by six prominent citizens. Strange to say the party arrived on this side in safety. It was met and welcomed at the landing by Governor Morrow and General Harrison in company with the officials of the city, including a special committee of the Council,—Calvin Fletcher, Lewis Howell and Oliver Lovell. The occasion had brought thousands of people here from the country and all within a circuit of one hundred miles seemed to be on hand. The whole Public Landing between Main street and Broadway and Front street and the river was densely crowded with men, women and children and the windows, balconies and roofs of the buildings fronting the river were alive with people waving their welcome. As the party landed the band played "Hail to the Chief" and the crowd cheered vociferously. Governor Morrow delivered an address welcoming him to the city and State after which he entered a fine open phaeton owned by Maj. Daniel Gano and drawn by six magnificent bay horses. This was the only equipage of such magnificence in the city and it preceded a vast procession including Captain Brinkerhoff's Artillery, Captain Avery's Infantry, Captain Harrison's Lafayette Greys, Captain Emerson's Guards and companies from other points to the corner of Front and Broadway. Here had been erected a platform from which General Harrison delivered an address of welcome to which Lafayette responded with much feeling. Another address of the day was that of Joseph S. Benham, at that time distinguished as an orator. He had been selected to represent the people in welcoming the great Frenchman and delivered a great oration upon the "Old Court House" grounds before a most numerous concourse of people, which was pronounced by the multitude as a great effort, entitling Benham to be enrolled among the chief orators of the land.

Benham was a Kentuckian, a large and portly man, standing almost six feet five inches high with large head and dark auburn flowing hair, broad shoulders and capacious and "unbounded" stomach, covered by a large buff vest and brown broadcloth frock coat. He had a graceful and easy delivery and his voice was extremely deep but melodious, and according to a narrator the occasion was a most impressive one. (Carter's "Old Court House.")

In the evening Major Gano's orchard was utilized for a public reception and afterwards a ball was given at the Cincinnati Hotel and attended by people of the city prominent in social, business and professional life. One of the invitations to this ball preserved by the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society reads as follows:

LAFAYETTE BALL.

The Honor of Miss Salina Morris' Company
is requested Cincinnati May 1825.

MANAGERS.

Hon J. Burnet,	C. C. Febiger,
Gen. W. H. Harrison,	D. K. Este,
Gen. J. Findlay,	W. C. Rogers,
Gen. W. Lytle,	E. Woodruff,
Col. M. Piatt,	A. Irwin,
Col. S. Macfarland,	W. R. Foster,
Maj. W. Oliver,	W. S. Hatch,
M. Neville,	J. G. Worthington,
D. Kilgour,	J. S. Lytle,
P. S. Symmes,	C. Macalister.

A special feature of the visit was the organization of a new lodge of Free Masons called Lafayette No. 1, of which the distinguished Frenchman was elected an honorary member. Upon the occasion of his death 10 years later his obsequies were publicly celebrated by this organization.

Lafayette remained until midnight of the following day, when he departed by the river. Mr. L'Hommedieu tells us that "the day of his arrival, as well as that which followed, and his departure at midnight, will be remembered, by those who witnessed the scenes, as long as their memories last. All was grand; but the closing scene, at twelve o'clock at night, with the illu-

mination on both sides of the river, the crowd of many thousands of our people on the landing, the beautiful display made by all the steamboats in port, the procession of military companies, the firing of cannon from our landing, from the boats, and from the arsenal at Newport, with the martial music, seems to me, after the lapse of fifty years, the most brilliant sight of my life." (L'Hommedieu's Pioneer Address, Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 15.)

An amusing bit of gossip connected with this visit vouched for by a citizen of our neighbor across the river, Covington, is that that municipality was anxious too to be honored by a visit from Lafayette and as a result appointed a committee of distinguished citizens to cross the Ohio and tender him an invitation to return to their hospitable shore for a formal reception. Unfortunately the committee was handicaped by the fact that its most distinguished members were unable to present themselves in Ohio for fear of being served with legal processes by the officials charged with the collection of debts.

The visit of Lafayette resulted in a painting by Hervieu which for a long time was on exhibition in the art gallery of Mrs. Trollope's bazaar. This painting is described by Timothy Flint as follows: "Its dimensions are sixteen feet by twelve. The popular group is composed of Lafayette and the superior officers who crossed the river with him, and who are advancing to meet Mr. Morrow, Governor of Ohio. Amability sits embodied in the countenance of this man, who is affectionately grasping his hand. Among the persons of his suite are Generals Harrison, Lytle, and Desha, Governor of Kentucky. Near them are the Hon. Judge Burnet and Messrs. Greene and Fletcher, Esqrs., persons deputed by the city to tender its welcome. By them is Major Larrabee, an officer who distinguished himself at Tippecanoe, and who lost an arm in the service. Near him are the late lamented Mr. Madeira and J. Lytle, captain of the Hussars. A little below, in the second group, are the Governor's two aides-de-camp, the Colonels Pendleton and King, and with them Major Ruffin, the sheriff. The young gentleman in the military costume of West Point was introduced with a view to perpetuate the recollections of the nation's guest, who could never forget the reception given him by the pupils of that military school. In the same group are Messrs. Foster, Dorfeuille, Foote, P. Symmes, a man of letters, Rev. Oliver Spencer, and Dr. Drake. Two veterans of the Revolution, the first the late Mr. Wyeth, formerly mentioned in this journal as one who aided in throwing the tea overboard in Boston harbor, venerable by his age, his mild countenance, his gray hairs, and the recollections associated with his person; and the other an old negro servant in livery, who belonged to the suite of General Washington, are striking figures in the crowd. This group terminates with H. Powers, a young sculptor of the city, of the highest promise. He has given a strikingly faithful bust of the painter, and the latter has signalized his gratitude, and friendship, and respect for his talent by giving the sculptor a conspicuous place in his painting. The circumstance, along with the introduction of Mr. Flint and Rev. Mr. Pierpont, who were not actually present at the landing, may, perhaps, suggest the objection of anachronism, and violation of historical fidelity. The most formidable difficulty of the artist was this cramping limitation to fact. One of the gentlemen, by his recent visit to this city, in which he received such a cordial welcome, had in some sense identified himself with us; and as he is well and generally known in the Atlantic country, where this picture will be seen, it seems to us a fitting compliment to him. We imagine, that any objection in regard to the presence of the other two, will be generally put to the account of hypercriticism. We allow unlimited range to poetry. Surely the sister art may have some indulgence to episode; especially if any connection exists between it and the leading idea.

"But to return to the picture. Among the hundred astonishing incidents that occurred to Lafayette in his journey through our Union, it happened that the same woman mingled with the multitude in this welcome, who gave the nation's guest, as he came out of the prison of Olmutz, a three-franc piece and a cup of milk. Here was the good German woman no longer in Germany, but at the landing in Cincinnati. General Lafayette everywhere showed that such touching remembrances never escaped him. The artist has happily seized upon the circumstance, and has made the eagerness of the good woman conspicuous by presenting her in her German costume.

"The lines are formed by companies of infantry from the city. They were commanded by three Colonels, McFarland, Borden and Ferris. Near them are Daniel Gano and Davis B. Lawler, Esqrs. More to the left of the painting is the marshal of the day, Colonel Carr, and his aid, W. D. Jones. The group in this direction terminates with the fancy figures of which we have spoken, together with a number of young girls running with flowers toward the person who is the center of all thoughts for that day."

The same year two other distinguished citizens visited the city. The first of these was Henry Clay who had been tendered a public banquet by his friends and admirers. At this dinner a couple of hundred of citizens were present. This dinner was made the occasion of an elaborate defense by Clay to the absurd charge of the bargain and sale of his influence in connection with the election of Adams to the presidency. At the dinner there were present besides Mr. Clay, Governors DeWitt Clinton of New York and Brown and Morrow. Mr. L'Hommedieu tells us that, although an apprentice of 19 years of age, he managed to raise the three dollars necessary and attended the dinner. He was very much impressed by the distinguished characters seated at the head table which crossed ends of three or four longer ones and fancied himself in the presence of giants, until after the wine was freely drank, the cloth removed and smoking commenced, accompanied by speeches and story telling; he then came to the conclusion that most great men look smaller the nearer you get to them.

Mr. Mansfield tells us that in those days the popular current in Cincinnati was for Jackson, the next strongest for Adams and Clay came last in public esteem. There were not more than 280 original Clay men in Cincinnati, four times as many for Adams and much more than both for Jackson. Clay had already told Dr. Drake before the election that if the election should be thrown into the House of Representatives and be between Adams and Jackson he should vote for Adams on the grounds of his superior civil qualifications. The matter had been discussed in Cincinnati and therefore Clay's speech at this dinner given at the Cincinnati Hotel of Colonel Mack at the corner of Front and Broadway was one of public interest. The hearers were fairly startled by it as it was most eloquent in fiery utterance and energetic action. It was not entirely on politics but "when he came to defend his vote in the house for Adams, he fired up, his tall person seemed taller, his head and expression assumed a lofty bearing, with his foot advanced and his arm raised, and his eye flashing, he seemed to defy, in his mere presence the whole pack of hounds, who, under the name of Jackson had yelped at his heels, and snarled at his fame." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 211.)

THE MIAMI CANAL.

The reason for Governor Clinton's presence in the city was the beginning of the building of the Miami Canal, an event of the highest importance in the history of the city. Dr. Drake, it will be remembered, had already referred to the desirability of a canal and Governor Brown in his inaugural address of 1819 and in messages that followed had advocated the inauguration of a system of canals in the State. Several acts were passed by the Legislature concerning the matter and finally a commission was appointed to make the necessary examinations, surveys and estimates for a canal from the Maumee River to the Ohio River. Subsequently the examinations and surveys were placed in the hands of two acting commissioners, Micajah T. Williams and Alfred Kelley, and it is to these gentlemen that the State of Ohio owes its canal system.

Williams, a native of North Carolina, came to Cincinnati in 1812 when but 20 years of age, and after a short residence took the most prominent position in the affairs of the town. He was particularly interested in the internal improvements of the State and when elected to the General Assembly in 1820 he devoted himself to these matters. He was subsequently elected for the session of 1822-23 and was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1824-1825. It was upon his initiative that the Legislature took up the matter of canals. Not only did he personally inspect every part of the line of the projected canal, making entries of his observations with regard to physical difficulties to be overcome, but it was due to his personal efforts that the funds were raised by pledging the faith and credit of the State of Ohio. As a result of his exertions, Ohio credit went to a premium.

The first ground of the Miami route was broken at Middletown in July, 1825. Of course DeWitt Clinton, the father of canals and by many regarded as the greatest living statesman of the time, was invited to come on from New York to add luster to the ceremony. He was escorted by the local military companies, the Hussars, and Cincinnati Guards, to the place selected and the whole affair was made one of great pomp and ceremony. Governor Morrow of course was present and likewise ex-Governor Brown, who had given the first official stimulus to the undertaking. The prominent people of the city including such men as Dr. Drake and Mansfield turned out and attended the dedication ceremonies in a body. Governor Clinton and Governor Morrow together threw the first spadefuls of earth. The presence of Governor Clinton at this point at that time was utilized by certain political interests in bringing him and Mr. Clay together at a banquet tendered them in Lebanon.

The first division of the canal, extending from the head of Main street in Cincinnati to the mouth of the Miami feeder, a distance of 44 miles, was completed in 1827 and on the 28th of November three fine boats crowded with citizens delighted with the novelty and interest of the occasion left the basin six miles north of Cincinnati and proceeded to Middletown with the most perfect success. The boats made about three miles an hour including detention at the locks and other causes of delay. By the following November the division from Cincinnati to Dayton was finished. Subsequently the canal was extended through to the Ohio River but the extreme lower end of it was long ago abandoned and turned into Eggleston avenue sewer.

The completion of the canal and its opening for business was an event of much greater importance than would be supposed from present conditions. Before that time the mud roads and river were the only sources of supply and it frequently happened that in a mild winter season the roads were almost impassable and the river so low as to make transportation impracticable. The opening of the canal removed this objection and assured a reliable and easy means of communication throughout the year. As a result the city took on a new life, business improved, real estate advanced in value and population increased rapidly. Mr. L'Hommedieu tells us that during the 10 years preceding the opening of the canal real estate had receded decidedly in market value. He instances a lot on the south side of Seventh street running west from Central avenue, 740 feet front by 100 feet deep, which was sold at public sale in 1817 for $4,000 and was purchased at private sale in 1827 for $2,100, about $3 a front foot. Just at the time of his address (1874) he regarded it as worth $300 a front foot!

The city was much interested in the temperance agitation of 1826. Mr. Mansfield tells us of one of the meetings held here:

"The meeting was held at three o'clock in the afternoon, and for those days was really large and respectable. Many old citizens were present who were familiar with old whiskey and upon whose cheeks it blossomed forth in purple dyes. To these, and indeed to the great body of people in the West, a temperance speech was a new idea. Dr. Drake was the speaker, and they listened to him with respectful attention, and were by no means opposed to the object. The speech, however, was long. The Doctor had arrayed a formidable column of facts. The day was hot: and after he had spoken about an hour without apparently approaching the end, some one, out of regard for the Doctor's strength, or by force of habit, cried out: 'Let's adjourn a while and take a drink!' The meeting did adjourn, and, McFarland's Tavern being near by, the old soakers refreshed themselves with 'old rye.' The meeting again assembled, the Doctor finished his speech, and all went off well. Soon after the temperance societies began to be formed, and the excitement then begun has continued to this day."

A prominent visitor of 1827 was Dr. Caldwell, a phrenologist, whose lectures caused a sensation and resulted in the formation of a phrenological society. Miss Fanny Wright, the English radical, lectured to crowded houses and received much social attention. The doctrines that she preached excited much opposition, particularly the discussion relating to the impropriety and impolicy of the institution of marriage, as well as her views of religion and female education. She subsequently settled in Cincinnati and lived here until the time of her death in 1852.

In the fall of 1827 for the first time the subject of national politics was brought into local

elections. At this time a full county ticket was nominated by the adherents of Andrew Jackson. This ticket succeeded in carrying the city. There had been much discussion not only upon the propriety of injecting national politics into local affairs but even as to the propriety of having contests for local offices. At the previous spring election the mayor was for the first time elected by the people. Isaac G. Burnet had been mayor by the choice of the Council since the year 1819 at the time of the incorporation of the city. Elisha Hotchkiss, at that time a justice of the peace, aspired to succeed him in 1827 and offered himself as a candidate before the people. This aroused a great deal of discussion. It was claimed that it could not be expected that suitable men would serve the public for the paltry emoluments then attached to the office unless they could be assured of a continuance in office as a result of good service. In addition it was argued that the proper administration of the office of mayor necessarily aroused the opposition of wrong doers and that these and malcontents generally would be arrayed against any man who had done his duty. For this reason it was thought that Mr. Burnet, who had been a very satisfactory mayor and thoroughly understood the duties of the office, should not be annoyed by opposition. He was successful in the spring election of 1827. In the fall election, as already stated, the matter of national politics entering into local elections was discussed with great vigor. The administration party, headed by Charles Hammond and Isaac G. Burnet and others, refused to nominate a county ticket purely on the lines of national politics. The Jackson candidate for Senator, Colonel Mack, was successful in the city, defeating the Adams candidate, Maj. William Oliver, by a vote of 1,318 to 1,031.

In the spring of 1828 the test for councilmen and township trustees was made distinctly on national lines. The newspapers in those days practically controlled political affairs and Charles Hammond, of the *Gazette*, and Moses Dawson, of the *Advertiser*, announced prior to the election that the fight was to be made a test one. The result of the test must have been a surprise, for the Adams party carried four out of the five wards of the city and elected the township trustees. The head of their ticket received 1,387 votes as against 1,000.

An incident of the year 1828 was a most destructive fire which took place on December 11th and swept away one of the most solid business blocks in the city, that on Main street between Third and Fourth. The weather was bitterly cold and but two engines were able to play upon the fire. A line was formed to the river by citizens, including men, women and children, who passed fire-buckets but their efforts were not crowned with success.

In 1829 Washington's Birthday was the occasion of a great ball. A few days later General Jackson passed through the city on his way to take his seat as President. The fleet consisted of three steamers, which were greeted at the landing with cannon firing. They swept past the city for a little distance, then turned and came down to the landing, the President's steamer a little ahead, where an immense concourse of people watched the General and his suite come ashore. He remained but a few hours and then proceeded to Pittsburg.

At the spring election of 1829 Mayor Burnet again had opposition. He, however, was successful, receiving almost as many votes as both his opponents. William Corry, the former mayor of the town, received 204 votes. Col. Andrew Mack, so well known as proprietor of the Cincinnati Hotel and as State Senator, the special representative of the Jackson party, received 784 votes, while Mr. Burnet received 1,042. The aldermen, William Greene, S. F. Hunt and Morgan Neville, had no trouble about their election. This was Mr. Burnet's last term as mayor and at the following election of 1831 he refused to be a candidate and his former antagonist, Elisha Hotchkiss, defeated Samuel W. Davies for the mayoralty.

In the fall election of 1828 the Jackson party was successful, the city going 1,833 for Jackson as against 1,695 for Adams.

An interesting episode was the joint discussion which took place between Alexander Campbell and Robert Owen in April, 1829. Owen attacked religion altogether while Campbell defended it, particularly Christianity. The discussion, which was held in the Methodist Church, lasted for eight days and was attended by the people, who came from all parts of the country.

At its conclusion the audience by a rising vote decided in favor of Campbell. A few years later Campbell took up the cudgels against Catholocism and in January, 1837, another discussion was started between him and Bishop Purcell. In this the whole city took part and the members of the press, including Charles Hammond and James G. Birney, contributed their efforts.

In this same year, the office of the surveyor general of public lands in the Northwest, which had been removed to Chillicothe in 1814 upon the appointment of ex-Governor Tiffin as surveyor general and Josiah Meigs as commissioner of the General Land Office, came back to the city as a result of the appointment of Gen. William Lytle.

The population in 1830 had increased to 24,831 an increase of 260 percent in 10 years. In the decade beginning that year the city was to increase an amount almost equal to the population at the beginning of the period. This is a much smaller percentage, it is true, but the city during this time began to take its place among the great ones of the nation. The Miami Canal was extended this year from the head of Main street across Deer creek by means of a large culvert. This improvement was finished two years later.

In the early days of 1831 a severe fire broke out on Front street in the middle of the night. The building contained powder which exploded and shattered all the glass in the neighborhood. The thermometer was 10° below zero and the suffering of the people who were fighting the fire was intense. E. S. Thomas, the editor of the *Commercial Daily Advertiser*, who lived opposite the place of the fire, assisted by his wife and daughters supplied hot coffee to the multitude throughout the night. To this action on the part of Mr. Thomas, which was recognized by the present of a bag of coffee from the Ohio Insurance Company, is attributed the discontinuance of serving spirits on such occasions. The first macadamized road into the city was built this same year.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—V.

IMPORTANT INCIDENTS FROM 1832 TO 1838.

FLOOD, FIRE, FAMINE AND PESTILENCE—THE FLOOD OF 1832—THE CHOLERA—THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT—WEBSTER'S VISIT—REVIVAL OF PROSPERITY—THE RAILROADS—THE RACE AND ANTI-ABOLITION RIOTS OF 1836—JAMES G. BIRNEY—SALMON P. CHASE—THE MATILDA CASE—THE EXPLOSION OF THE "MOSELLE"—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

FLOOD, FIRE, FAMINE AND PESTILENCE.

The year 1832 was one of flood, fire and cholera. The gloom which pervaded the city as a result of the many disasters naturally affected the pleasure of the semi-centennial celebration fixed for this year. It will be remembered that the officers of George Rogers Clark's expedition in 1782 had agreed to meet at the place of their temporary occupation opposite the mouth of the Licking, if there should be any survivors there to renew their recollections of pioneer days. There were still surviving Gen. Simon Kenton, James Galloway of Xenia, John McCaddon of Newark and others who had taken part in the expedition. The celebration was discussed at length in the papers and Simon Kenton delivered an address to the citizens of the Western country in which he called on all those survivors of General Clark's army in accordance with their promise made on the ground on the fourth day of November to join in the celebration at old Fort Washington now Cincinnati. The meeting was to be in Covington on the 3rd; the 4th, the Sabbath, was set apart for divine service and on Monday a final adieu was to be taken on the ground where the old fort stood. Here a corner-stone of a suitable monument was to be laid to mark the site of the old fort. The horrors of disease kept many of the pioneers from attending. A few came however and exchanged greetings and reminiscences and were treated as guests of honor by the city. It was a sad occasion however and the pioneers separated in sorrow, never to meet again.

Some progress Cincinnati made this year both in buildings and population. Three hundred buildings are said to have been erected making the total number 4,016 and the population increased about 2,000, to a total of 28,000. The limits of the city were still practically the Miami Canal, the Ohio River and Western row.

A great fire extending from below Third street up almost to Fourth devastated a large section of the city.

THE FLOOD OF 1832.

This calamity was followed by the first of the great floods. On the 8th of February the river began to rise quite rapidly and increased in volume and height for 10 days until on the 18th it reached the maximum height of 64 feet and three inches. There had been no warning as this was before the day of telegraphs or railroads and but little preparation was made to avoid this calamity. No such experience had come to the city since its settlement and as a result the loss of property was very great and much suffering was entailed upon the people. Two men lost their lives by the giving way of foundation walls. The so-called Bottom for an area of 35 squares, practically the whole business portion

of the city, was inundated. This extended from John street on the west to Deer creek on the east and as far north as Lower Market and Pearl. The region for a mile west of John street was also submerged but fortunately few lived there at that time. The ferry boats landed at the corner of Main and Pearl streets. Many houses were swept away, many more were damaged and thousands of people were driven from their homes. The Mill creek bridge was swept away, and that over Deer creek damaged to such a point as to be dangerous. A town meeting was held in the council chamber, February 15th, to devise measures of relief for the sufferers. A committee of 15, three from each ward, was appointed to solicit funds and another committee of 15, a vigilance committee to which 20 more were afterwards added, was appointed to prevent theft and destruction of property and to remove persons and goods to places of safety. A shelter committee of five took charge of a provision house and all public buildings; school houses and churches were given up for the time being to the refugees. Benefit performances were given at the various houses of amusements, including Mr. Letton's Museum, Mr. Franks' Gallery of Paintings, Mr. Brown's amphitheater and a concert of sacred music given in the Second Presbyterian Church on Fourth street as the contribution of the Beethoven Society. Most of the provision and grocery stores were in a district covered by the water and there had not been time to remove the stock before the flood came upon them. This involved a partial famine. What little stock had been saved and carried to the upper floors of buildings was held at exorbitant prices. This created great indignation and resulted in a denunciation by the papers which had some effect and helped relieve the situation. Two men were killed, who were in the employ of William Tift, losing their lives while trying to keep the water out of his cellar. While at work, the back wall of the building gave way which allowed the water to rush in and they were drowned before they could get out. The water began to fall very slowly on the 18th about noon and it was many weeks before the city below Third street resumed its wonted appearance. The citizens who were prominent in the measures of relief were as follows: George W. Jones was the chairman and Samuel H. Goodwin was the secretary of the meeting in the council chamber. The committee appointed to receive contributions was made up of E. Hulse, N. G. Pendleton, E. C. Smith, J. W. Gazlay, John Wood, G. W. Jones, W. G. Orr, W. Holmes, A. Owen, P. Britt, J. Resor, O. Lovell and G. C. Miller. On the vigilance committee were J. Pierce, William Phillips, Samuel Fosdick, William Stevenson, Charles Fox, Henry Tatem, I. A. Butterfield, James McIntyre, N. M. Whittemore, M. Coffin, James McLean, J. Aumack, J. D. Garrard, A. G. Dodd and Fulham Perry. The committee of shelter was constituted as follows: T. D. Carneal, J. M. Mason, J. C. Avery, Charles Fox and R. Buchanan.

Before the flood began to abate, the large horse ferry boat came up Main street to Second where she discharged her passengers. The still larger steam ferry boat came up Plum to Second, where she discharged her passengers. On Friday, the 17th, the steamboat "Daniel Webster" discharged her cargo at Tatem's foundry on Plum street above the line of Pearl. The largest steamboats could have passed down Second street or down Front street for a distance of a mile or more. This flood came within two or three inches of the point fixed upon by the Indians to show high water mark. On Broadway it reached as far up as the market house and at Cromwell's Cincinnati Hotel the water was 20 inches deep on the bar room floor and at the Broadway Hotel 17 inches. When the water receded, it left a sediment several inches deep all over the streets and in the houses. The weather was extremely unpleasant and as a result this sediment froze hard and it was days before it was possible for business to be resumed. (Thomas' Reminiscences, p. 147.)

THE CHOLERA.

The distress which resulted from the fire and the flood and the famine, which was a consequence of these misfortunes, had not passed away, when an affliction more dreadful than all burst upon the city. This was the pestilence known as the Asiatic cholera which carried more of the population to their graves than have all its visitations since, notwithstanding the then small population of 25,000. This dread disease was supposed to have landed from an immigrant ship at Quebec whence it ascended the St. Lawrence, entered the basin of the lakes and swept through the Upper Mississippi Valley into the valley of the Ohio. It had also proceeded down the Champlain Canal and Hudson River to New York City. From Buffalo it was carried by General Scott's soldiers, on their way to engage in the Black Hawk War, across the lakes to the little town of Chicago on a boat which ar-

rived at that place on July 10th. In the two or three days occupied by the trip, out of 200 men, 52 including an officer died and 80 were left sick at Chicago. From many of the other boats the soldiers terrified by the disease had deserted in large numbers and scattered into the country to die of starvation in the woods or be devoured by the wolves. They were shunned by the terrified inhabitants as the source of mortal pestilence as they struggled blindly on their way and in many cases were left to die in the very sight of assistance which fear of the disease kept from them. The cholera broke out extensively in Cincinnati about September 20th and staid for 13 months. At first an effort was made to deny its presence in the city but on October 10th an official list of deaths from cholera was published. In the month of October 423 persons, 41 in one day, the 21st of the month, perished from the disease. The epidemic lasted almost to the end of the year but broke out again the following season, when in July 176 fell victims. The total mortality during the two years was 813. Cholera came again in 1834 and caused great anxiety among the people and seriously affected business but fortunately the mortality was slight.

"The city, during the prevalence of this dreadful epidemic, presented a mournful aspect. Thousands of citizens were absent in the country; very many were closely confined by personal affliction or the demands of sick friends; hundreds were numbered among the dead; the transient floating population had entirely disappeared; the country people, in terror, stood aloof; business was almost wholly suspended; the tramp of hurrying feet was no longer heard on the streets; the din of the city was hushed, and every day appeared as a Sabbath. Instead, however, of the sound of church-going bells and the footsteps of happy throngs hastening to the house of God, were heard the shrieks of terror-stricken victims of the fell disease, the groans of the dying, and the voices of lamentation. For weeks funeral processions might be seen at any hour, from early morning to late at night. All classes of people were stricken down in this fearful visitation. Doctors, ministers, lawyers, merchants and mechanics, the old and the young, the temperate and the intemperate, the prudent and the imprudent, were alike victims." (Life of Bishop Morris.)

"One of the results of the cholera was a large number of orphans. The ladies of Cincinnati found an occasion for their efforts in caring for the unfortunates. With funds placed in their hands by the Masonic lodges, and others of the city, they founded the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum. The city gave them the use of a building on the ground, now occupied for the beautiful Lincoln Park." (L'Hommedieu's Pioneer Address, Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III.)

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

In 1833 the 45th anniversary of the landing of the pioneers of Losantiville was celebrated by a large number of citizens. A banquet was given at the Commercial Exchange on the Public Landing which for convenience was determined upon as the site of the first cabin built in Losantiville. Viands of native production only were served and the wine on the table was from the vineyard of Nicholas Longworth. The *piece de resistance* was a roast of two fat raccoons surrounded of course by the traditional sweet potatoes. The presiding officer was Maj. Daniel Gano and the vice-presidents were William R. Morris, Henry E. Spencer and Moses Symmes. The young orator of the occasion was Joseph Longworth and the poets, Peyton S. Symmes and Charles D. Drake, a son of Dr. Drake (afterwards United States Senator from Missouri and chief justice of the Court of Claims). Revs. James B. Finley and William Burke acted as chaplains. On the committee of arrangements were such prominent young men as W. M. Corry, N. M. McLean, J. M. Foote, William R. Morris, George Williamson, L. M. Gwynne, James C. Hall, George W. Burnet and R. S. Whetstone. Among the speakers were James C. Ludlow the son of Col. Israel Ludlow, General Harrison, General Findlay the Congressman, Majors Gano and Symmes, Judge Goodenow, Nicholas Longworth and Samuel J. Browne. It was at this banquet that Dr. Drake made his celebrated speech upon the "Buckeye."

WEBSTER'S VISIT.

Daniel Webster visited Cincinnati in 1833 and on June 10th he was tendered a public dinner at the Exchange Hotel. This dinner was tendered by a committee of citizens of which Morgan Neville was president and Bellamy Storer, secretary. The members of the committee were: Gen. James Findlay, Joseph Pierce, Robert Buchanan, Judge Torrence, Bellamy Storer, Josiah Lawrence, Robert T. Lytle, Morgan Neville, Judge William Miller, Gen. Samuel Borden,

James Goodloe, Jacob Resor, Allison Owen, Peyton S. Symmes, Archibald Irwin, Jacob Burnet, D. T. Disney, William C. Anderson, Judge Goodenow, Daniel Drake, Ebenezer Hulse, Gen. Edward King, Dr. L. Rives, Col. Francis Carr, William Tift, William R. Foster, John H. Groesbeck, D. J. Caswell, E. S. Thomas and John P. Foote.

At the dinner the mayor presided and the toasts were numerous and eloquent. After the usual set speeches, 14 in number, the volunteers took a hand and the city, the guest and the constitution were lauded to the skies by Mr. Webster himself, General Harrison, General Findlay and others.

The return of the cholera in 1834 seemed to cap the climax of the city's misfortunes and for a time the universal depression had a serious effect upon the business of the city and its general atmosphere was one of hopelessness and despair. The town seemed lifeless and inert and property fell to very low prices. The following year however was free from the expected return of the disease and a period of extraordinary activity ensued. Enterprise and business growth rapidly increased. Many public works were projected during this period, including the great Southern Railway route to Charleston, the railroad to St. Louis, the Little Miami, the Cincinnati, Columbus & Cleveland railway, the Mad River & Lake Erie, Covington & Lexington, and the White Water Canal. All of these enterprises though perhaps under different names were finally carried out.

REVIVAL OF PROSPERITY.

The year 1835 was in fact *"annus mirabilis"* just as 1832 had been *"l'annee terrible"* in the history of the city. Mr. Mansfield tells us the enormous speculations of the East were received with slight favor here where speculation was on a small scale just sufficiently large "to give a necessary and healthful excitement to the business community, which had so long been in a dull quiescent state. Certain it is," says he, writing 20 years later, "that Cincinnati now owes half her growth and prosperity to plans of public work and usefulness then formed and undertaken." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 267.)

The Young Men's Mercantile Library Association was organized at a meeting held April 18, 1835, in the second story of the engine house on the north side of Fourth street east of Main. It obtained a charter on January 5, 1836. It was first located in the second story of a building belonging to Daniel Ames on the west side of Main below Pearl. It was removed in the fall of 1835 to the second story of a building belonging to Ross and Geyer on the north side of Fourth east of Main. By the end of 1835 the library contained 750 volumes and had on its files many leading newspapers. In the winter of 1836, B. F. Doolittle was elected librarian. Its first president was Moses Ranney.

The 47th anniversary of the settlement of Ohio was celebrated at the First Presbyterian Church where William M. Corry delivered an oration from which several quotations have been taken. The dinner was at the Commercial Exchange. A number of warehouses were put up as well as St. Paul's Church, two banking houses and about a dozen commodious school buildings. This too was the year of the founding of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society with headquarters at Cincinnati.

THE RAILROADS.

Mr. Thomas in his reminiscences tells us that upon the occasion of a visit to Cincinnati in 1827 the idea first struck him of a railroad from this city to Charleston. He subsequently called at Joseph Walker's on Sycamore street where he argued at length upon the subject of this proposed road. Two years later he broached the subject to Morgan Neville and others. In 1830 interest was again aroused by the discussion about the Lexington & Ohio Railroad Company and Mr. Thomas attempted to get that road brought to the river at Covington. For this purpose he succeeded in obtaining a town meeting which took place in the council chamber December 7, 1830. Joseph Gest presided and Maj. William C. Anderson acted as secretary. Mr. Thomas explained the purpose of the meeting and a committee of 15 consisting of Robert Buchanan, Joseph Lawrence, William Neff, Joseph Gest, George Graham, William Greene, William C. Anderson, Alex. McGrew, Wright Smith, E. S. Thomas, William Tift, Major Gwynne, William Hartshorne, John H. Groesbeck and David Griffin were appointed to take the matter in charge. Messrs. Thomas, Greene and Anderson were appointed a committee to go to Lexington and confer with the railroad people. Unfortunately nothing of any consequence resulted from this movement.

The opening up of the railroads in Hamilton County begins a new chapter of Cincinnati history. The first effective step in the State was

made on February 23, 1830, when Representative William B. Hubbard, of Columbus, submitted to the General Assembly an act to incorporate the Ohio Canal and the Steubenville Railway Company. This was but the first of many acts granting charters to roads in various parts of the State but until 1836 little was done except on paper. During this year a movement was started involving the construction of a railroad from Cincinnati. The building of the Liverpool & Manchester road in England and the beginning of the Baltimore & Ohio road in 1828 and the New York & Erie in 1835 stimulated the public interest in the subject. As usual Dr. Drake was most prominent in this as in other matters of public interest. He succeeded in interesting a number of others, among them E. D. Mansfield, in the matter and the latter wrote an article which was published in August, 1836, in Judge Hall's *Western Monthly Magazine*. This advocated a route to the South taking in Knoxville and running thence to Mobile. Long before this article was published, however, public meetings were held in which the same matter was taken up. A meeting had already been held at Paris, Kentucky, to take steps towards the construction of a railroad from Newport or Covington to that point. This was not sufficient to satisfy Dr. Drake and he succeeded in having a public meeting called at the Commercial Exchange on the Public Landing which was held on Monday, August 10, 1835. He offered resolutions providing for the appointment of a committee of three to consider the practicability and advantages of an extension of the proposed railroad from Paris into the State of South Carolina. This resolution was adopted and Dr. Drake, James W. Bakewell and John S. Williams were appointed on the committee. The meeting adjourned to Saturday, August 15th, at which time it reassembled at the same place. The special matter of the road to Paris was presented by Mr. Williams. Dr. Drake however read an elaborate and exhaustive report discussing the extension of the road through to the sea. He discussed the questions of practicability, commerce, profit and social advantages. After noticing the connections which would be made from Richmond and Knoxville through the valley and with Nashville and Augusta, Georgia, he proceeded to point out that the Miami Canal running to Lake Erie, the Ohio Canal from Portsmouth and the Mad River & Sandusky Railroad from Dayton to the lake would connect the proposed road with the entire chain of Northern lakes from the Falls of Niagara to the Straits of Mackinac, including the west shore of Lake Michigan, Wisconsin Territory, Northern Illinois and Indiana, Michigan Territory and Upper Canada. The Wabash and Erie Canal and the railroad from Lawrenceburg at the mouth of the Great Miami already begun to Indianapolis would connect with Indiana, while the Ohio River would bring in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys. "Thus the proposed main trunk from Cincinnati to Charleston would resemble an immense horizontal tree extending its routes through and into ten States and a vast expanse of uninhabited territory in the Northern interior of the Union, while its branches would wind through half as many populous States on the Southern seaboard."

The route proposed was to the Cumberland Gap through the valley of the French Broad to Greenville, South Carolina, thence by branches to Augusta and Charleston with lateral roads in North Carolina. A railroad had already been completed from Charleston to a point opposite Augusta and the one to Paris was under way leaving but 475 miles to complete this new and most important communication between the interior and the seaboard of the South. It was thought that the cost of building this road at the high price of $12,500 a mile would not exceed six millions of dollars which money could easily be raised from capitalists throughout the country and in Europe. The immense pecuniary and social benefits could not be overestimated. Another speaker at the meeting was E. D. Mansfield, who subsequently published a report of the proceedings together with a map of the region through which the road was to pass. The report on motion of J. D. Garrard seconded by James Taylor was unanimously adopted and a standing committee of inquiry and correspondence was appointed, consisting of Gen. William Henry Harrison, Judge James Hall, Dr. Daniel Drake, Edward D. Mansfield, Gen. James Taylor of Newport, Dr. John W. King of Covington and George A. Dunn of Lawrenceburg. Drake and Mansfield were appointed as a sub-committee to prepare an address and a map to be distributed to the people of the States concerned. Dr. Drake wrote the report and Mansfield made the map which was subsequently printed later in August of the same year. (Railroad from the Banks of the Ohio River to The Tide Waters of the Carolinas and Georgia; Mansfield's Drake, p. 252-258; Memories, p. 200; Hinkle's Cincin-

nati Southern Railway, [1901]; Hollander's Southern Railway.)

This committee succeeded in arousing general interest throughout the South in the plan of connecting the Ohio with the seaboard. In February, 1836, the right of way was granted by the Kentucky Legislature which resulted in a grand illumination. This occurred on February 25th. The impromptu affair of the night of the 23rd had suggested a general illumination to be participated in by Cincinnati, Covington and Newport. These cities were splendidly illuminated from seven to ten in honor of the Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad. A transparency was displayed in front of the Exchange Hotel on the Public Landing which represented two trains of cars meeting on a railway over which two female figures representing the South and West were hastening to embrace each other. At Platt Evens' store on Main street, the principal store in the town, was "a view of Covington and the mouth of the Licking with a splendid temple on the river bank representing we suppose the future capital of the United States; also a railroad with a southern and western bound train of cars, one of the former filled with carcasses of whole hogs." Another transparency contained the motto "Cincinnati and Charleston, Railroad Office; seats may be taken within; through in forty-eight hours." There were also portraits of Washington and Lafayette and representations of railroads innumerable. The illumination was quite general and all the principal streets were brilliantly lighted while bonfires were placed on the landings and at street crossings. The city bells rang and cannon poured forth volleys of thunder. The illumination was heightened in its effect by the fact that it took place in a heavy snow-storm which however did not interfere with the crowding of the streets with men, women and boys many of whom carried blazing torches. The very best people of the city took part in this celebration and the whole affair was a great success and was accompanied by no unpleasantness or disturbance. The orderly habit of the citizens of those days is perhaps explained by the statement that "by eleven o'clock our city was as quiet as a tomb." (Cincinnati Southern Railway by T. M. Hinkle.)

But a short time after this a Southwestern convention was held at Knoxville where nine States, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama were represented. The delegates from Cincinnati were Governor Vance, Dr. Drake, Mr. Mansfield, Crafts J. Wright and Alexander McGrew. Dr. Drake took a very conspicuous part in the proceedings of the convention which was much split up on the question of the termini of the proposed road. It is not hard to understand the feeling of the citizens of Cincinnati, who were trying by every means to cultivate friendly feelings and social relations with the South, towards abolitionists whom they regarded as mischief-makers at this critical time. In considering the anti-Birney riots it must be remembered that this delegation of citizens was then at Knoxville. In 1837 the Legislature authorized the city to borrow $1000,000 and to use it in equal parts in subscribing for stock of the Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad Company or of any company by whatever name called for the purpose of constructing a road from Charleston to Cincinnati and for stock in the Little Miami Railroad Company and the White Water Canal. Four years later the Council passed an ordinance reciting that the expenditure of money for the purpose of this railroad was unnecessary and devoted the money authorized to the White Water Canal. The movement begun so auspiciously failed at the time by reason of the conditions imposed by the State of Kentucky. Subsequently however the idea of a Southern Railway was taken up again and has since been carried to successful completion.

Other railroad schemes at about the same time were the Cincinnati & St. Louis Railway via Lawrenceburg which had been chartered by the Ohio Legislature in 1832; the Cincinnati, Columbus & Cleveland Railroad, chartered in 1836; the Mad River & Lake Erie Railroad; Covington & Lexington Railroad; and particularly the Little Miami Railroad which was the first to make any definite progress. This railroad received its charter March 11, 1836. It was part of the general scheme of improvements (including those already mentioned as well as the White Water Canal) contemplated by a committee of internal improvements which had been appointed at a public meeting of citizens. This committee included among others Micajah T. Williams, John T. Williams, Dr. Daniel Drake, E. D. Mansfield, George Graham, John C. Wright, Robert Buchanan and Alexander McGrew. The proposed route lay along the valley of the Little Miami River, beginning at the eastern end of the city, passing above the main street of Fulton to Columbia and up the valley to Xenia 66 miles and finally to Springfield 85 miles away, where it was expected to meet the Mad River & Lake Erie

Railroad which would give a continuous line to Sandusky. At the same place it intersected the National road. The work of survey was put into the hands of Ormsby M. Mitchel, whose name stands among the first of Cincinnati's distinguished citizens. He is best known of course as an astronomer, the founder of the Cincinnati Observatory, and as a patriotic general and army commander in the Civil War. He had been known at West Point for his quickness and ingenuity and was regarded by his partner in the law business, E. D. Mansfield, as a man of genius, a characterization that is now universally accepted as just. Neither Mitchel nor Mansfield were over enthusiastic about the practice of the law and Mansfield gives a picture of the two sitting in their office: the one, Mitchel, reading Quintilian's work on "Oratory" (he expected to be a public teacher); and the other, Mansfield, writing his book on politics. Mitchel had been appointed in 1834 professor of mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy in the Cincinnati College. When the Little Miami Railroad scheme was taken up, Mitchel threw himself into it with great energy and in conjunction with George W. Neff he forced it upon the attention of the public and particularly of the Council, securing from it a large loan of $200,000. He also went East and although it was a period of depression he enlisted much pecuniary aid there. He with others was also successful in obtaining the passage of the act of March 24, 1837, which pledged the State credit in behalf of the enterprise to the extent of $115,000. He also devoted himself to the actual work of surveying which was no light task in view of the difficulties, financial and otherwise, with which he was met. "The struggle of the officers of the Little Miami Company to carry on their work, the then young civil engineers can best record. They could tell how often, when pay-day came, how many cattle were butchered and distributed to the laborers—cattle which had been received in payment of the farmers' subscriptions to capital stock. They could also tell how the men of the 'shovel and the pick' surrounded the house of honest William Lewis, the treasurer, demanding money from an empty treasury, calling him every kind of hard name, until he was forced in search of his president, in order to resign, saying, 'These men, when I tell them I have no money, call me liar and scoundrel so often and so earnestly that I begin to think that I am what they call me, and I must resign.'" (L'Hommedieu's Pioneer Address, Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 17.)

In spite of discouragements, however, the projectors of this mighty enterprise persevered and by 1843 30 miles of road were opened to traffic and in 1840 the road was completed to Springfield.

THE RACE AND ANTI-ABOLITION RIOTS OF 1836.

The year 1836 was marked by a number of outbreaks growing out of the anti-slavery agitation which was becoming more and more fierce. This was a question of intense interest in Cincinnati because of the city's peculiar location, being as it were the outpost of freedom thrust into the heart of the slave land and the first station of the "Underground Railway." In 1830, of the 7,500 negroes in Ohio, 2,200 were in Cincinnati. Most of the negroes who had reached maturity had been born in slavery and had bought their freedom for the purpose of crossing into the free land where they could raise their children without their having fastened upon them a lifelong bondage. They were not welcomed generally in the Buckeye State although Cincinnati as was true of other Southern communities at that time needed their services as laborers. The expression "other Southern communities" is not used unadvisedly for in those days this section was regarded as being more Southern than Northern in its sympathies as well as climate.

The law of Ohio required free negroes to be registered and to give bond that they would not become public charges and any person who harbored an unregistered free negro was liable to be fined. Negroes of course were excluded from voting, their testimony could not be received against white persons even to support the testimony of white witnesses and they were not entitled to education at the public expense although they paid part of the school taxes. In addition to this, very few of them were able to obtain any employment except as common laborers as they were not permitted by public sentiment to follow a trade. (The same is true to-day to a large extent.) The state of armed hostility which existed between the two sections of the country made each of them particularly careful about affronting the other and every effort was made to keep the colored people from changing their residence from one State to another or from one part of the State to another.

The negroes themselves, however, were keenly alive to their debased situation and also to the public feeling against them. Many of those who had escaped were paying for their freedom

in installments although beyond their masters' control, realizing that at any time the hand of the law might take them into its grasp and return them to bondage. One instance is given of a Southern student of theology who paid for his education with the money received from an escaped slave for his own freedom. He charged on the deferred payments 12 percent interest. Another story is told of a negro child at a charitable school in the North who explained her absence from school by saying that she had been staying at home to work for the purpose of helping to buy her father.

The Directory of 1829 contains the statement of the population of the colored people as 2,258. In this year an effort was made in the city to enforce the registration law of 1807 and as a result the colored people driven to desperation sent a committee to see whether homes could be arranged for in Canada. The feeling was so intense that a mob was formed which assailed negroes wherever they were found. In the street fights which followed some of the assailants were killed and as a result of the intense feeling which was aroused more than half of the colored people left the city, many of them to go to Canada.

The Directory of 1834, five years later, gives the number of negroes in Cincinnati as 740, about one-third of what it had been five years before. Those who remained were usually of the very poorest class such as were unable under any conditions to escape the prejudices which were as strong in Ohio as below the river. On the other hand there were many of the inhabitants white as well as black whose sympathies were with the down-trodden race and the "Underground Railway," although then not known by that name, had been in operation since the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 which provided against slavery within the Territory. Strangely enough by virtue of the fact that the prohibitive clause did not apply to slaves already in the Territory there were slaves listed in the census of Ohio as late as 1840. The agitation against slavery however had been carried on in a small way in the State for a great many years. Benjamin Lundy became an abolitionist about 1810 and founded the Union Humane Society at St. Clairsville in 1815. His "Genius of Universal Emancipation" appeared in 1821. Three years later the Ohio Legislature passed resolutions in favor of emancipation. Garrison had made speeches in Ohio but his influence was not so strong here as elsewhere. In fact as is well known the Ohio contribution to the cause of anti-slavery was on entirely different lines from that of Garrison. Chase was a practical politician and believed in the great advantages of political organization. Garrison relied on moral suasion and the certain truth of his cause. It was the Ohio idea that finally won the victory. The center of the agitation or rather the two centers of the agitation were the Connecticut Western Reserve in Northern Ohio and Cincinnati and its neighborhood. In the latter city were many of the most powerful enemies that slavery ever had to contend with, some of them sons of Southern slaveholders and others former slaveholders themselves.

Lane Seminary on Walnut Hills had been formed in 1829 for the purpose of training young men for the Presbyterian ministry. Its students were divided in sympathies so that of the 100 attendants more than one-half were Southerners. Dr. Lyman Beecher had been appointed its president in 1830 and took charge of the institution two years later. Associated with him in the faculty was the husband of his daughter Harriet Beecher, Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, and at a little later time among the students was his son Henry Ward Beecher who in 1836 conducted for a year the *Cincinnati Journal*.

Another member of the faculty was Theodore D. Weld, an enthusiastic follower of Garrison. About 1833 after the Seminary had become well established, slavery became a constant topic of discussion by reason of the different antecedents of the students. This agitation become so pronounced that in 1834 a joint debate was instituted in the chapel which lasted for 18 consecutive nights. A former slave was brought in and gave testimony as to his experiences and those of his race and as a result a number of students from the South became converted to the cause of anti-slavery. This was followed by the institution of Sunday schools and day schools for the education of negro children and an organized effort to interest religious bodies generally in the agitation. Intense opposition to this movement emanating as it did from an institution of learning and religion was manifested throughout the city and a mob threatened the institution itself. In August, 1834, the trustees in the absence of Beecher and Stowe voted that there should henceforth be no discussion of slavery in any public room of the Seminary on the ground that it was a political subject. John Morgan, the principal of the preparatory department, an anti-slavery man, was dropped

from the faculty. This action resulted in the resignation of one of the trustees, Asa Mahan. The students however did not accept the situation and 51 of them left the Seminary in a body for the purpose of seeking an institution where free discussion would be tolerated.

"The venerable president of the institution, Dr. Lyman Beecher, whose family have, by their genius and writings, given to the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation and the world an extraordinary extension and power, said to the students: 'Boys, you are right in your views, but most impracticable in your measures. Mining and quiet strategy are ordinarily better as well as safer methods of taking a city, than to do it by storm. It is not always wise to take a bull by the horns. You are right; but in your way you can't succeed. If you should succeed, I will be with you, and swing my hat and shout huzza!' Leading literary magazines and newspapers of Cincinnati combined to disband this Anti-Slavery Society of Lane Seminary, declaring it 'discreditable to the institution, and calculated to inflict a deep wound on the great interests of education; and the indignation of the public will put it down.'" (Life of Thomas Morris.)

James C. Ludlow (the son of Israel Ludlow), whose daughter married Salmon P. Chase in 1846, thereupon proffered the use of a building near the city where for five months the students taught themselves with the assistance of some lectures by Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. One of these students, Amos Dresser, was found in Kentucky in the following year with abolition documents in his possession and was brutally whipped by a mob. About this time Oberlin College, which had been founded in 1833 on a very broad and liberal platform, including among its purposes "the elevation of female character by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex over theirs," concluded that colored people were even more misjudged and neglected than the unfortunate females. It was decided to engage as instructors Mahan and Morgan who had left Lane Seminary. They consented to go to Oberlin on condition that the students should be admitted irrespective of color. Mahan accepted the presidency and Morgan a professorship and with them went 30 of the Lane seceding students, including Amos Dresser, while others went to the Western Reserve College at Hudson where Elizur Wright and Beriah Green as professors had won for that institution the name of the "Western Yale." In 1835 was formed as a result of the work of the Lane and Oberlin movements "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society." The feeling against the negroes and their friends became more and more intensified as these movements began to take form. The anti-slavery propagandists were in thorough earnest and carried their teachings throughout the State. (Hart's Chase, Chap. 3.)

A curious incident of the year 1835 is narrated by Rev. J. Hoby, a Baptist minister who took a trip through the United States in that year. He spent Independence Day in Cincinnati, the guest of Mr. Lynd, pastor of the Sixth Street Baptist Church. He comments upon the fact that "there was nothing worthy of the name of a celebration on the 4th of July, at Cincinnati. The only attempt was the tricking out of the cartmen and their horses with a few ribbons, and the ascent of a balloon." Later in the day he attended a temperance commemoration and was drawn into a controversy on the subject of emancipation which seemed to be the principal topic of discussion at the time. Two days later however he observed a demonstration of unusual character.

"If I was surprised at the absence of the customary procession and show on the 4th, I was still more so by a demonstration witnessed on the 6th. I had been prevented by increased indisposition from leaving the city, and was writing, when the sound of a drum, beaten to keep the regularity of march, caught my ear. I was struck with the very genteel and uniform dress of a large body of fine-looking men, who wore blue coats and white trowsers, before I noticed the contrast of coal-black countenances of many of them with their snow-white linen. I soon saw they were all coloured people! This fact filled me with surprise, but how was it increased when the banners they carried were fairly in view? On one was inscribed—'We by steamboats live, and our families maintain.' Another was a ship, intended to represent the first slaver which sailed to the American shores! A third displayed a kneeling negro; his chains were broken off, and lo! the genius of liberty hovered over the humble form, and was just about to place on his brows a chaplet of laurel! I could scarcely credit the evidence of my own senses; but from my heart did I bless God, that my eyes had beheld that sight. I learned that many were offended, and scandalized, at such a procession; but the parties were so truly respectable, and

those who employed some of them so influential and determined, that it was deemed expedient to let all pass. This was truly the right side of the Ohio; and surely these cheerful notes of freedom will not always be responded to across the silver stream, with nought but groans from the slave, while he sighs, 'Am I not also a man and a brother?'" (The Baptists in America, p. 303.)

What seemed strange to the English visitor was a very serious matter to the Cincinnati populace. Their relations with the South were very close, both from a business and social standpoint, and they felt that such agitation could not but arouse their Southern brethren and break the apparent peace which thinly covered the smoldering volcano of unrest and dissatisfaction on this subject. This feeling of opposition broke forth in a pro-slavery riot on April 11, 1836, and for several days the streets of Cincinnati were the scene of a race war. The cause which started this outburst was trifling as is usually the case on occasions of this sort. Two boys one of whom was black and the other white got into a quarrel about some small matter and unfortunately for the colored people the black boy whipped the white one. Immediately a cry of "Down with the nigger" was raised and the white boy's champions collected a mob. The violence started in the locality known as the "Swamp" just below Western row now Central avenue where was the foot of West Sixth street at that time. The houses of many negroes were burned to the ground and their occupants were shot down like dogs. The police were called upon and did make an effort to stop the riots but were entirely helpless. They were so overwhelmed by the mob that they were obliged to stand by and see negroes who had given no offense whatsoever shot to death. At last the Governor of the State, Robert Lucas, was obliged to declare the city under martial law and fix his headquarters at this point. He was able by adopting stringent measures to quell the mob and restore quiet.

The peace was but for a short time and in July another serious affair occurred. The city at that time was filled with Southern visitors who came here for the purpose of trade. As has already been said: "In many respects Cincinnati was a Southern city on free soil; the Southern buyer gladdened the heart of the merchant; the Southern traveler and his family took the best rooms in the hotels; and in times of crises Southern sympathy for slavery was visible in the newspapers. New Englanders were numerous and contended for their familiar standards of education and intellectual life; but they were not here as in Northern Ohio the dominant element." (Hart's Chase, p. 14.)

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

The formation of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society had resulted in the publication of a newspaper. No Cincinnati paper sympathized with the movement and it was felt then as now that any political contest must be aided by its representative organ. The man for such a paper was present in the person of James G. Birney. Birney was a Kentuckian by birth, of North Irish descent. He was a graduate of Transylvania University and of Princeton. He subsequently studied law in Philadelphia and returned to his native State where he married a daughter of William McDowell, judge of the United States Court, a member of what was at that time the most influential family in Kentucky. In 1816 he was elected a member of the Kentucky Legislature, where he succeeded in defeating a proposition to demand of the States of Ohio and Indiana the enactment of fugitive slave laws. He moved in 1818 to Alabama and became a member of the first Legislature of that State in the following year. He found his cotton plantation unprofitable because he would not permit the use of the lash upon the slaves and in 1823 he resumed the practice of the law. A few years later he became interested in the American Colonization Society. He had from the start favored various measures looking to the final emancipation of the slaves. In the presidential election of 1828 he was an elector on the Adams ticket. He was repeatedly elected mayor of Huntsville and was regarded as a leader in educational matters. In 1830 he visited Henry Clay for the purpose of urging him to place himself at the head of the gradual emancipation movement in Kentucky. He failed in this and subsequently antagonized Clay. He had been for several years counsel of the Cherokee Nation, which experience also led him to feel in sympathy with men deprived of rights because of their race. In 1831 he determined to move his family to a Free State and was about to settle in Illinois when he was appointed by the American Colonization Society its agent in the Southwest. Feeling urged by his sense of duty, he devoted a year to that work which resulted unfortunately in his losing faith in the ultimate success of the movement. His travels through the South-

west convinced him of the danger of permanent slavery and Southern control of the Senate with possibly civil war and disunion. He thereupon moved to Kentucky, hoping to bring about the separation of that State as well as Virginia and Tennessee from the Slave States. He found that during his absence slavery sentiment had been strengthened and that the opposition to emancipation was much greater than before. In 1834 he freed his own slaves and severed his connection with the American Colonization Society whose work he concluded simply tended to postpone indefinitely the emancipation of the slaves. He formed an anti-slavery society in Kentucky in March, 1835, and was prominent at a meeting of the same character in New York in May of that year. In June, 1835, he issued a prospectus for the publication of an anti-slavery paper to begin in August at Danville, Kentucky. The feeling of opposition to anti-slavery agitation was becoming so strong that he found it impossible to obtain a publisher or printer at his own home in Kentucky. The Postmaster General had excluded anti-slavery papers from the mails and a little later President Jackson recommended in his message not only the refusal of the use of the mails to the so-called incendiary publications (anti-slavery) but action on the part of the States themselves to suppress them. Birney therefore crossed the river to Ohio and started his paper at New Richmond. There he was repeatedly threatened but never mobbed and in the spring of 1836 he removed the *Philanthropist* to Cincinnati upon the encouragement of the anti-slavery element here. The paper had been published for several months to the profound disgust of the Southern sympathizers. Finally a public meeting was called to protest against the *Philanthropist*. The mayor of the city, Samuel W. Davies, presided and many prominent citizens acted as vice-presidents. Resolutions were passed "that no abolition paper should be published or distributed in the town." It took more than resolutions however to frighten Birney and the *Philanthropist* continued to appear with regularity despite the protest of this meeting, including some of the most prominent citizens of the community. To give emphasis to their protest, a mob gathered on the 14th of July and entered the printing office of Achilles Pugh, the printer, and defaced and partially destroyed his press and materials. The pied type were distributed, the articles were set up again and the paper went on. The mayor issued a proclamation against the rioters but included in it also a warning to the persistent abolitionists. As Birney continued in his obduracy, a great meeting of citizens was held on July 23rd at Lower Market "to decide whether they will permit a publication or distribution of abolition papers in this city."

A committee was appointed to advise Birney and the executive committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society to cease the publication of their paper. Such men as Judge Burnet and President Lawrence of the Lafayette Bank accepted membership on this committee. The committee waited upon the conductors of the paper and a correspondence ensued. The point of the protest was that the paper was damaging the city. The anti-slavery committee refused to accede to the request and as a result the committee of citizens published the correspondence to which they added a resolution, part of which read as follows: "That in discharging their duties they have used all the measures of persuasion and conciliation in their power. That their exertions have not been successful the above correspondence will show. It only remains, then, in pursuance of their instructions to publish every proceeding and adjourn without day. But ere they do this they owe it to themselves and those whom they represent, to express their utmost abhorrence of every thing like violence and earnestly to implore their fellow citizens to abstain therefrom."

As is usually the case the warning against violence produced violence. On Saturday night the 30th of July a concourse of citizens, composed in the main of young men of the better class, collected at the corner of Seventh and Main streets. After a consultation they marched to the office of Mr. Pugh the printer a few squares distant (No. 106 Main street). Here they forced an entrance and again seized the press and the types upon which the hated abolition paper was printed. After scattering the types in the street and dismantling the office completely, they smashed the press and carried part of it down Main street and threw it into the river. From this point this crowd of respectable and gallant young men rushed to Mr. Pugh's residence on Walnut street between Sixth and Seventh streets, hoping to find other material there. Nothing was found there however and no violence was offered. A journey of another square took them to the residence of the Donaldsons on Eighth beyond Vine who were fellow criminals in the mind of the crowd with Mr. Birney. No one but ladies were found there and

the place was left in peace. Birney's own house on Race between Eighth and Ninth naturally came next. Here a boy was found at home and this brave assemblage felt that he was beneath their dignity. He too was left undisturbed. The next proposed victim of their anger was Dr. Isaac Colby, the brother-in-law of Chase, who lived on the east side of Broadway between Fourth and Fifth streets. He too sympathized with the cause of freedom and thereby had offended the Southern business men. Fortunately the distance was a little too great for so sportive an assemblage and the gathering returned to the printing office. Here it was proposed to pile the contents of the office in the street, making a bonfire of them. Before the light was applied however one man more prudent that the rest climbed the pile and advised against burning it for fear the houses in the neighborhood might be set on fire. This seemed to appeal to the mob and they contented themselves witn breaking up everything in sight and carrying much of the debris to the river. So much effort required a rest and recuperation. The valiant warriors filed into the Cincinnati Exchange Hotel kept by J. W. Garrison on Front between Sycamore and Broadway and partook of refreshments. Feeling renewed life from the supplies there taken, the desire to reform the community generally (with the exception of themselves) came upon them. The first person whose name was suggested as a proper victim was the distinguished editor of the *Gazette*, Charles Hammond. The office of the paper was on the east side of Main between Fourth and Fifth streets and Hammond's law office was opposite to it. The suggestion was that these offices should be destroyed and the mob halted in front of the *Gazette* office for some time. Some darky residences in Church alley near at hand however seemed a safer point of attack and the mob surged down the alley expecting an easy victory. Two shots from the proposed victims changed the face of affairs and a retreat more hasty than dignified was effected with no apparent loss. It was claimed that one man was hit but as the pistols were fired in the air and the man was never discovered it is probable that this claim was without foundation and was made to inflame the mob. It took some time to encourage this self-elected vigilance committee to recover and many of its members protested that they had no idea of their bringing any danger upon their own heads and merely intended to endanger others. After a sufficient time had passed to permit the victorious besieged to retire with honor, the mob regained courage and a second attack was made. As the negroes had departed they found no difficulty in entering the houses and destroying the contents. After this, finding no more worlds to conquer, this respectable assemblage retired to their homes.

A day or so after this, E. D. Mansfield who had been in the South with Dr. Drake, Crafts J. Wright and others attending the railroad convention at Knoxville for the purpose of considering a railroad from Cincinnati to the South, returned. The outrage of Saturday night and Sunday morning seemed to him one which should not pass without notice and in company with Mr. Hammond, Chase and others he determined that a public meeting should be held to vindicate the right of free speech. They therefore called an afternoon meeting at the Court House to consider the outrage. According to Mr. Mansfield's account, the affair was a curious one. "We did not expect to announce opinions for the whole city but to give our own view of the subject. We did not therefore expect any interruption or opposition. What therefore was our surprise to find the Court House crowded and among the crowd the leading men of the city. We saw at once that we were checkmated and that like the market house meeting the result would be a neutral compound. A large committee was appointed to propose resolutions. I was upon that committee and as I was almost alone in my views, I agreed to bring in a single resolution condemning mobs in general terms and the meeting passed off in an amiable mood. Since then I have thought that I wanted moral courage in that meeting. After the experience of forty years, I think the true plan would have been to have made a minority report, expressing fully my opposition to the pro-slavery movements of the day. This would have raised a storm, but it would have made discussion and brought people to a full consideration of the subject." (Personal Memories, p. 304.)

The meeting also adopted a resolution approving the course of the American Colonization Society as being the only method of getting clear of slavery.

Ex-Governor Charles Anderson, writing many years afterwards a tribute to the memory of William M. Corry, is perhaps a little forgetful of the work of others but does not speak in too high terms of Corry's position at the time:

"All Cincinnati was aroused in 1836 into a wild ferocity towards the great Abolitionist,

James G. Birney, Esq. He was a scholar, orator, gentleman, Christian, and philanthropist, if ever these sentiments did centre in any one man. But his paper, published from the corner of Main and Fifth streets, was universally esteemed and denounced as a most pestilent nuisance to the city, the State, and the Nation. And doubtless, in the morbid and reckless state of the public feeling in the Southern States, such an issue from Cincinnati did operate injuriously against the business and property of the citizens, which was based mainly upon their Southern trade. A public meeting was therefore held in the Court House for the denunciation, warning, and, if necessary, the expulsion of so great a culprit. Every man of influence or property in Cincinnati, save one alone, was directly or indirectly a party to this outrage upon free thought, free speech and free press. That single man was William M. Corry. He alone, amidst the general obloquy and indignation, bared his brave breast to this popular tempest of the combined plutocracy and mobocracy of the whole city, and ably defended Mr. Birney's rights. It was in vain. His office was publicly pillaged. His press was smashed into splinters. His types were sown broadcast from the market place through Main street and into the Ohio River. He was driven into exile to Buffalo."

SALMON P. CHASE.

This outrage, however, as in other outrages of the same character throughout the country, had its good results in arousing the attention of noble minded men not only to the horrors of slavery but to the danger of a slave power to the cause of freedom among white people. Not the least important of these results is indicated in the autobiography found many years afterwards among the papers of a young man who had come to the city a few years before and who from that time became identified with Ohio as one of her greatest sons,—Salmon P. Chase.

Chase was born of an American line which traced its history back to 1000 when Aquila Chase came to "Old Newbury." Salmon P. Chase's mother was of Scotch ancestry and he came into the world in "hill-ridden New Hampshire," January 13, 1808. He attended a dame school, a district school in Keene, a school in Windsor, Vermont, and studied under a tutor until 1820. Then another celebrated man in the history of the West, his uncle Philander, at that time Episcopal Bishop of Ohio, appeared upon the scene. There were to fatherless children to be supported by a widow with slender property (Chase's father had died in 1817) and Bishop Chase although so poor that he envied a friend his "good fat living of a thousand dollars a year as clerk in the navy department" took the boy Salmon to the West with him. He did farm work and studied Greek at the Bishop's school at Worthington near Columbus. In 1822 when Bishop Chase was appointed president of the Cincinnati College, he entered that institution as a sophomore, although but 15 years of age. The Bishop resigned at the end of the year and Salmon returned to New England to begin to support himself. In 1824 he entered Dartmouth College as a junior, teaching school during vacations, and graduated in 1826. Again his uncle Philander appeared on the scene and gave him letters of introduction to Washington where his uncle Dudley was at that time United States Senator. He started a "select classical school" and one pupil entered the school. A request for government employment addressed to his uncle, the Senator, resulted in a warning never to enter the services of the government and the offer of 50 cents to buy a spade. The Bishop, however, once more came to the front and Chase became the head of a boys' school and for three years was a schoolmaster. He mingled much in Washington society and met many notables, among others Daniel Webster whom he saw toss off a full glass of whiskey supposing it to be wine. (At least that is what Webster said.) He began the study of the law in 1827 but was more interested in attending concerts or conversing with artists and inhaling the general atmosphere than in study and when he presented himself for admission to the bar, his friend Justice Cranch objected at first but finally admitted him on December 14, 1829. Not the least of Judge Burnet's services to Cincinnati was the advice given by him in February, 1830, while Senator from Ohio in Washington, to Chase to come to Cincinnati on the ground that "on the whole it offers to you stronger inducements than any other place in the West." This idea had been in his mind for some time as four years before a friend in Cincinnati felt called upon to advise him against the place where there were "about sixty lawyers, about thirty ministers and doctors without number" and it was this determination to go West which induced Justice Cranch to feel that he was sufficiently prepared to be admitted to the bar. He arrived in Cincinnati on March 30th just at the time described with so much severity by Mrs.

Trollope. His letters to the Burnets, Longworths and others of the social leaders of the city gave him an entrance into a delightful society, particularly agreeable to a young man who had devoted so much time to the social life of the capital. For a couple of years progress at the bar was slow. His first client paid him half a dollar for drawing a deed and the second client borrowed the half dollar and cleared out. His office was in the well known building on the north side of Third between Main and Sycamore and he lived at boarding houses, at one time at the corner of Symmes and Lawrence and at another at the northeast corner of Fourth and Broadway. He at once took a large part in the intellectual life of the city and was prominent in the founding of the Cincinnati Lyceum, in the fall of 1830. His name appears in the Directory of 1834 as one of the two managers of this institution, Elwood Fisher being the other. He himself delivered four of the lectures for the Cincinnati Lyceum. In 1832 he formed the project of publishing a collection of the laws of Ohio with notes and references, to which he prefixed a brief historical sketch of the State. This work which became the standard collection of laws at the time and which so far as its historical part is concerned is still one of the best ever written on the subject added much to his reputation but nothing immediately to his pocketbook. As already stated, Chase boarded for a time on the northeast corner of Fourth and Broadway at the residence of John P. Garniss which gave him plenty of opportunity for courting Catherine Jane Garniss to whom he was married on March 4, 1834. His wife died in December of the following year, leaving him a little daughter who lived but four years longer. He had formed a partnership with Gen. Edward King and Timothy Walker in 1830 but a few months later entered into a partnership with D. J. Caswell, at that time solicitor for the United States Bank. In 1834 he had separated from Caswell, retaining however the bank business. He had also been made solicitor of the Lafayette Bank, whose president had been so prominent in the anti-abolition meeting. It was apparent from this that Chase had already become a prominent figure in the life of Cincinnati with every motive to be conservative and to not ally himself too strongly with an unpopular agitation. Despite claims made by many biographers it is apparent that up to this time Chase had taken no violent partisan view of slavery. It was an academic question to him and not one that called for any special action on his own part. The conduct of the mob which destroyed Birney's property was probably the one thing needed to bring clearly before his mind not only the wrongs of the slaves but the danger to free white men and it is to this instance therefore that the cause of freedom is indebted for Chase. The autobiographical fragment referred to is as follows:

"At this time I had come to regard the Slavery question as among the most important questions of the day; and I was not long in discovering it to be the most important. I heard with disgust and horror the mob violence directed against the Anti-Slavery Press and Anti-Slavery men of Cincinnati in 1836. My own sister was the wife of one of the most worthy and respectable of these Anti-Slavery men, Dr. Isaac Colby. Through them I had become personally acquainted with most of them, though I did not at this time know Mr. Birney, the Editor of the Paper. I knew them to be as pure, upright, and worthy citizens as Cincinnati contained. Yet against these men and their families the fury of a mob, stirred up by politicians and by emissaries from Slave States, was directed. My own sister left her house and took refuge in mine. I was opposed at this time to the views of the abolitionists, but I now recognized the Slave Power as the great enemy of freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of the person. I took an open part against the mob. Of the prominent citizens very few stood decidedly on that side. Charles Hammond, a man who had some faults and many virtues, among which last were true greatness of soul and intense horror of cowardice and meanness, was chief among these few. I drafted and he with others signed a call for a meeting of those opposed to mobs. He and I drafted the resolutions intended to be presented in the meeting: but when the hour came and we repaired to the Court House we found the mob there and a meeting organized. A committee was appointed and I was named upon it. In the committee I read the resolutions we had prepared, but they were voted down, and others reported in their place which, under the circumstances, were justly regarded as approving rather than censuring the mob. Shortly after the meeting adjourned, I was for a time in a good deal of personal danger in consequence of a declaration that I would sooner give ten thousand dollars than see the press destroyed by a mob. But my assailants contented themselves with denunciation, without proceeding to a per-

of Lawrence, seized her and took her before a magistrate for action under the Fugitive Slave Law. Birney employed Chase with whom he had become intimate to apply for a writ of habeas corpus before a State court on the ground that she was a free person because her master had brought her voluntarily to the Free State of Ohio. The court held against the claim and the magistrate finally remanded her back into slavery and she was carried across the Ohio and sold down the river. This seemed the opportunity for the slavery sympathizers in Cincinnati to show the abolitionists the danger of harboring a slave and Birney was indicted. Chase defended him but the court and jury decided against him and the case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State where Birney was freed on a technicality. The main question was dodged.

In October, 1836, a monument was erected in memory of William McMillan by the lodge which he had founded, Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge, No. 2. This was placed on the farm of William M. Corry in what is now Avondale. A eulogy was pronounced by Mr. Corry. The monument was afterwards removed to Spring Grove Cemetery. One of the distinguished visitors of this year, Prof. Frederick Hall, likened the city in its appearance to Genoa.

THE EXPLOSION OF THE "MOSELLE."

A remarkable incident in the history of Cincinnati was the explosion of the new and elaborate steamboat, the "Moselle," which took place on April 26, 1838.

"The Moselle was regarded as the very paragon of Western steamboats; she was perfect in form and construction, elegant and superb in all her equipments, and enjoyed a reputation for speed which admitted of no rivalship. * * * Her last trip from St. Louis to Cincinnati, seven hundred and fifty miles, was performed in two days and sixteen hours; the quickest trip, by several hours, that had ever been made between the two places.

"On the afternoon of April 25, 1838, between four and five o'clock, the Moselle left the landing at Cincinnati, bound for St. Louis, with an unusually large number of passengers, supposed to be not less than two hundred and eighty, or, according to some accounts, three hundred. It was a pleasant afternoon, and all on board probably anticipated a delightful voyage. * * * The Moselle proceeded about a mile up the river to take on some German emigrants. At this time it was observed by an experienced engineer on board, that the steam had been raised to an unusual height; and when the boat stopped for the purpose just mentioned, it was reported that one man who was apprehensive of danger went ashore, after protesting against the injudicious management of the steam apparatus. When the object for which the Moselle had landed was nearly accomplished, the bow of the boat was shoved from the shore, and at that instant the explosion took place. The whole of the vessel forward of the wheels was blown to splinters; every timber (as an eye-witness declares) 'appeared to be twisted, as trees sometimes are, when struck by lightning.' As soon as the accident occurred, the boat floated down the stream for about one hundred yards, where she sunk, leaving the upper part of the cabin out of water and the baggage, together with many struggling human beings, floating on the surface of the river.

"It was remarked that the explosion was unprecedented in the history of steam; its effect was like that of a mine of gunpowder. All the boilers, four in number, burst simultaneously; the deck was blown into the air, and the human beings who crowded it were doomed to instant destruction. It was asserted that a man, believed to be a pilot, was carried, together with the pilot-house, to the Kentucky shore, a distance of a quarter of a mile. A fragment of a boiler was carried by the explosion high into the air, and descending perpendicularly about fifty yards from the boat, it crushed through a strong roof and through the second floor of a building, lodging finally on the ground floor.

"Captain Perrin, master of the Moselle, at the time of the accident was standing on the deck, above the boiler, in conversation with another person. He was thrown to a considerable height on the steep embankment of the river and killed, while his companion was merely prostrated on the deck, and escaped without injury. Another person was blown a great distance into the air, and on descending he fell on a roof with such force that he partially broke through it, and his body lodged there. Some of the passengers who

were in the after-part of the boat, and who were uninjured by the explosion, jumped overboard. An eye-witness says that he saw sixty or seventy in the water at one time, of whom comparatively few reached the shore. There were afterward the mutilated remains of nineteen persons buried in one grave.

"It happened, unfortunately, that the larger number of the passengers were collected on the upper deck, to which the balmy air and delicious weather seemed to invite them, in order to expose them to more certain destruction. It was understood, too, that the captain of the ill-fated steamer had expressed his determination to outstrip an opposition boat which had just started; the people on shore were cheering the Moselle, in anticipation of her success in the race, and the passengers and crew on the upper deck responded to these acclamations, which were soon changed to sounds of mourning and distress.

"Intelligence of the awful calamity spread rapidly through the city; thousands rushed to the spot, and the most benevolent aid was promptly extended to the sufferers, or rather to those within the reach of human assistance, for the majority had perished. The scene here was so sad and distressing that no language can depict it with fidelity. Here lay twenty or thirty mangled and still bleeding corpses, while many persons were engaged in dragging others of the dead and wounded from the wreck or the water. 'But,' says an eye-witness, 'the survivors presented the most touching objects of distress, as their mental anguish seemed more insupportable than the most intense bodily suffering.'

"Death had torn asunder the most tender ties; but the rupture had been so sudden and violent that none knew certainly who had been taken or who had been spared. Fathers were distractedly inquiring for children, children for parents, husbands and wives for each other. One man had saved a son, but lost a wife and five children. A father, partially demented by grief, lay with a wounded child on one side, his dead daughter on the other, and his expiring wife at his feet. One gentleman sought his wife and children, who were as eagerly seeking him in the same crowd. They met and were reunited.

"A female deck passenger who had been saved seemed inconsolable for the loss of her relatives. Her constant exclamations were, 'Oh! my father! my mother! my sisters!' A little boy about five years old, whose head was much bruised, appeared to be regardless of his wounds, and cried continually for a lost father, while another lad, a little older, was weeping for a whole family. One venerable man wept for the loss of his wife and five children. Another was bereft of his whole family, consisting of nine persons. A touching display of maternal affection was evinced by a woman, who, on being brought to the shore, clasped her hands and exclaimed, 'Thank God, I am safe!' but instantly recollecting herself, she ejaculated in a voice of piercing agony, 'Where is my child?' The infant, which had been saved, was brought to her, and she fainted at the sight of it.

"Many of the passengers who entered the boat at Cincinnati had not registered their names, but the lowest estimated number of persons on board was two hundred and eighty. Of these eighty-one were known to be killed, fifty-five were missing and thirteen badly wounded.

"On the day after the accident a public meeting was called at Cincinnati, at which the mayor presided, when the facts of this melancholy occurrence were discussed, and among other resolutions passed was one deprecating the great and increasing carelessness in the navigation of steam vessels and urging this subject upon the consideration of Congress.

"The Moselle was built at Cincinnati, and she reflected great credit on the mechanical genius of that city, as she was truly a superior boat, and under more favorable auspices might have been the pride of the waters for several years. She was new, having been begun the previous December and finished in March, only a month before the time of her destruction." (Western Annals, p. 971.)

At a meeting of citizens called by a proclamation of the mayor, Samuel W. Davies, the mayor himself presided and the well known journalist Edward D. Mansfield acted as secretary. Judge Fox offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of five to inquire into the causes of the disaster and to make a report. In accordance with this a committee, composed of Charles Fox, Jacob Strader, Thomas J. Matthews, Joseph Pierce and Dr. John Locke, was appointed and prepared an elaborate report of some seventy odd pages which was transmitted

by the mayor to the Council. Strangely enough some of its recommendations aroused a spirit of opposition on the part of citizens interested in steamboat traffic and the members of the Council took it upon themselves to criticise the report. Thereupon the report was withdrawn by the committee and Dr. Locke addressed a communication to the citizens of Cincinnati calling attention to the fact that a report had been made and that the committee had discharged its duty. This resulted in a letter addressed to Dr. Locke, signed by the mayor and prominent citizens, over 200 in number, requesting a copy of the report for publication. The list of names signed to this petition seems to include almost every person of prominence in the community at the time. The second name is that of Jacob Burnet, followed closely by Morgan Neville, R. R. Springer, E. D. Mansfield, P. S. Symmes, Joseph Ray, Robert Punshon, Josiah Lawrence, Timothy Walker, Dr. John Moorehead, Dr. Lawler, E. S. Haines, A. L. Voorhees, Benjamin Drake, Micajah T. Williams, David T. Disney, Joseph Graham, W. H. McGuffey, Robert T. Lytle, William Criswell, Elam P. Langdon, George Graham, Nathan Guilford, James Hall, Bellamy Storer, J. W. Piatt, James F. Conover, Crafts J. Wright, Alexander H. McGuffey, William Burke, Joseph Longworth, J. H. Beard, Larz Anderson, Nicholas Longworth, Salmon P. Chase, Edmund Dexter, Daniel Drake, Samuel Wiggins and many others.

Dr. Locke complied with the request and the report was published. In his letter presenting the report, he disclaims any intention to injure the feelings of those immediately concerned in steam navigation but insists that the facts and conclusions contained in the report were justified. The report is prefaced by a narrative of the event from the pen of Judge Hall, from which much of the sketch given above seems to be taken. The main body of the rest of the report was prepared by Dr. Locke himself and was quite detailed with regard to the causes of the explosion. The report concludes with a recommendation by the committee pointing out the inadequacy of the act of Congress relating to steam vessels and suggesting proper legislation which should provide for adequate inspection and the proper training of engineers.

Among the events of the year 1838 were the mechanics' and citizens' ball given in February at the National Theatre and the fair held in the last days of May at the Bazaar in the interest of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

On December 26, 1838, was celebrated the 50th anniversary of the first settlement of Cincinnati. This date was chosen by reason of the impression prevailing at that time that the pioneers landed on the 26th of December, 1788, instead of two days later as seems now to be the generally accepted view. This celebration closing as it did a half century of civic life with but few parallels in the history of the world naturally is regarded as a very important event in the history of our city and an account of it seems appropriate to close the chapter on the period ending at that time.

At sunrise the Cincinnati Independent Artillery's Invincibles fired a salute of 13 guns in honor of the original States and at noon one of 50 guns, one for each year of the city's life and at sunset one of 26 for the number of States in the Union at that time. At ten o'clock in the morning a committee of arrangements, the mayor and City Council met at the council chamber and proceeded to the Pearl Street House accompanied by the Cincinnati Greys, the Citizens Guards and a large number of citizens. Here they were joined by the invited guests,—the pioneers who had come to this region before 1801, a list of whom is printed in an earlier chapter. A procession was then formed and under the charge of the marshals of the day, George Graham, Jr., and James Saffin, marched down Walnut to Front and then over to Main and up Main to the First Presbyterian Church. Here an opening prayer was offered by Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, followed by music by Professor Mason's Eclectic Choir and the Buckeye Band, a discourse on the early history of the city by Dr. Daniel Drake and a closing prayer by Rev. William Burke. Dr. Drake's oration was most exhaustive and although it occupied three hours and 20 minutes in its delivery it was received with enthusiasm. At the conclusion of the exercises in the church, the committee of arrangements, the invited guests, the Council and a large number of citizens dined together at the

Pearl Street House. Nathan Guilford presided and was assisted by Griffin Yeatman, Maj. Daniel Gano and Gen. Robert T. Lytle as vice-presidents. There were 13 regular toasts including: The day we celebrate, the country, the West, the State, the pioneer fathers, the pioneer mothers, the city, the orator of the day, Kentucky, the schools, the manufacturers and mechanics, the railroads and the military. In responding to the toast to the orator of the day, Dr. Drake after a few remarks contrasting the city of that time with the town in 1800 offered the toast of the people of Cincinnati. The conclusion of the regular toasts, however, was but the beginning of the festivities. The volunteer toasts must have been fifty in number and many letters were read and reminiscences recited. Among those especially toasted were the Shawanee chief, Logan; Capt. John Bartle who 92 years of age sat at the right hand of the presiding officer and who is mentioned as the second merchant of the town; General Harrison, the memory of General Lytle, Colonel McFarland, Simon Kenton, Judge Burnet, Judge Symmes, Miss Ross the first Cincinnati belle, Dr. Allison, William Goforth, William McMillan, William Wells, Gen. Josiah Harmar, Col. Israel Ludlow, Gen. John S. Gano, John Filson, Benjamin Van Cleve, Joel Williams, Benjamin Stites, Colonel Kingsbury the heroic defender of Colerain, Col. John S. Wallace, Col. David Strong and Capt. Ephraim Kibby. The hilarities of the occasion were heightened by several songs and by fine music by the Buckeye Band and it is not strange that the company which sat down in the afternoon dispersed at an early hour as stated by the report signed by Griffin Yeatman as chairman and P. S. Symmes and William M. Corry, secretaries of the general committee.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—VI.

THE EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES.

CINCINNATI COLLEGE—MEDICAL COLLEGE OF OHIO—CINCINNATI LAW SCHOOL—THE HIGH SCHOOLS, OLD WOODWARD AND HUGHES—PRIVATE SCHOOLS—THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY—THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL—THE CHURCHES.

CINCINNATI COLLEGE—MEDICAL COLLEGE OF OHIO CINCINNATI LAW SCHOOL.

In no department of the city's life was greater progress made during the two decades concluding the first half century than in that of education. At the outset of this period as has already been stated charters were obtained for the Cincinnati College and for the Medical College of Ohio. Large amounts were subscribed by Gen. William Lytle, Oliver M. Spencer, John H. Piatt, Ethan Stone, William Corry, Gen. James Findlay, David E. Wade and Andrew Mack as well as many others whose avowed purpose was to elevate Lancaster Seminary into a respectable college. The edifice itself called by one writer "the building that most deserved the attention of strangers" has been described several times.

The high hopes of the public are shown by the notices in the first directory in which we are told that the officers are to consist of president, vice-president, professor of languages and tutors who were to be appointed by the approaching winter season. Dr. Elijah Slack had already been elected president. The government of the college was vested in the hands of 20 trustees to be chosen annually from among the stockholders. For the first year the trustees elected were Jacob Burnet, Joshua L. Wilson, Oliver M. Spencer, William Corry, Levi James, Daniel Drake, Samuel W. Davies, Samuel Johnston, Martin Baum, William Lytle, William Steele, David E. Wade, Jesse Hunt, John Thompson, Zaccheus Biggs, Francis Dunlevy, Joseph H. Crane, William H. Harrison, John Galloway, Jr., and Samuel McCord, surely a most imposing list. The college was to have two sessions, those of the winter and the summer, and the annual commencement was to be held on the last Wednesday in September. The months of April and October were the vacation months allotted to students in those days. The requirements for admission to the freshman class included the knowledge of at least two books of the "Æneid," prosody and the introductory authors usually read; the Greek grammar and one or two of the evangelists, the accurate construction of Latin and arithmetic through the "rule of three." For entrance to the sophomore class was required a knowledge of Virgil, Horace's "Odes," Lucian, the first book of Xenophon and arithemetic through fractions. The junior class studied geometry, algebra, surveying, navigation, conic sections, spherics, natural philosophy, composition and occasionally the languages, while the senior class devoted itself to natural philosophy, astronomy, belles lettres, moral phil-

osophy, logic, chemistry, composition, speaking and the languages.

The funds of the institution at that time already amounted to $50,000 and students were entitled to the use of the Cincinnati Library containing more than 2,000 volumes and the cabinet of the Western Museum Society both of which had been placed in the College Building.

The college was organized in 1820 with Dr. Slack as president and with a professor in every department of science. It seems to have been moderately successful for a time and in 1821 held its first commencement on September 20th, at which time the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon William Henry Harrison, Rev. Joshua L. Wilson and Rev. James Kemper. In 1825 we are told that the institution, exclusive of the Lancasterian department in which 400 pupils were regularly taught, "was conducted by three professors and one tutor, four officers in the whole and the income of the house defrayed the expenses of the establishment." The average number of pupils was 60. The institution was improving and bade fair to become a permanent and useful seminary in which would be taught all the branches prosecuted in the Eastern colleges. Proper instruments were owned for experiments in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy and mineralogy of which nearly 5,000 were performed in a year. There was a collection of minerals, a philosophical apparatus and a library. In addition to natural science and mathematics, languages, moral philosophy and such studies were particularly attended to. The fourth commencement had just been held. The college had contributed to the education of more than 100 pupils since the obtaining of the charter and "of this number not a profligate was to be found." Two literary societies had been founded by the students,—Philomath and Erophobic. A grammar school was connected with the college in which pupils were prepared for the collegiate department. (Directory of 1825, p. 122.)

Unfortunately the funds of the college were finally exhausted and instruction was suspended during the next year. The rooms of the college were leased and from the proceeds the interest on the debts was paid. All the rooms of the edifice were occupied by schools except the one permanently appropriated to the Lancasterian department, whose exercises though recently suspended it was thought would soon be reopened under the superintendency of a competent teacher. (Cincinnati in 1826, p. 41.)

We are told that during the operation of the college several young ladies were included in the graduating classes. Their presence however does not seem to have affected the manners of the students as much as might be desired, for a visitor to the college in 1823 predicted that it would not be well attended until better regulations were established. He attended a lecture and was much shocked at the want of decorum exhibited by the students who sat down in their plaids and coats and were constantly spitting tobacco juice about the room.

Among the trustees of the year 1824 were some new names of prominence,—Rev. William Burke, G. P. Torrence, D. K. Este, J. S. Lytle, P. S. Symmes, Daniel Gano, William Greene, Joseph Benham, T. Graham, Charles Hammond, Nathan Guilford, E. S. Haines and A. Mack. At the fourth commencement held this year orations were delivered by H. E. Spencer, T. H. Burrows, George W. Burnet, J. W. Piatt, E. Woodruff and John Scott Harrison. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on John H. James, Frederick A. Kemper and William H. Harrison, Jr.

After the closing of the collegiate department, the charter was kept alive by a primary school. In the *Cincinnati Mirror* of June 7, 1832, a call was issued by Morgan Neville, president of the board of trustees, and Peyton S. Symmes, secretary, soliciting public interest in behalf of the college and expressing the hope that the Mechanics' Institute, the Lyceum and the Public Library would be induced to connect their institutions with the college. Dr. William H. McGuffey became president in 1833 and in the following year Ormsby M. Mitchel began a course of popular lectures in the College Building on astronomy, which resulted in his appointment, upon the attempted reorganization of the college in 1836, to the professorship of mathematics and astronomy. To understand this it is necessary to go back a bit.

The Medical College of Ohio had received its charter at about the time of the organization of the Cincinnati College. Principally instrumental in its organization as in the case of the college was Dr. Daniel Drake. There was some delay about the organization of the Medical College, due it was thought to the jealousy of several leading medical men, but the college was organized in January, 1820, with a faculty consisting of Dr. Drake, Dr. Jesse Smith and Dr. Benjamin Bohrer. The original organization had contemplated as members of the faculty Dr. Samuel

Brown and Dr. Coleman Rogers, the latter of whom had been a partner of Dr. Drake; but the jealousies of the profession had estranged these two from Dr. Drake and neither of them served. To take their places the two professors, Bohrer and Smith, were imported from the Atlantic States, "a process," says Mansfield, "which though sometimes successful is oftener attended with disappointment." In the first announcement of the college, President Elijah Slack of the Cincinnati College and Robert Best, curator of the Western Museum, were assigned to the charge of chemistry. Drake was the president of the faculty and professor of the theory and practice of medicine.

The government of the institution, by a great defect in the charter, made the professors also the trustees so that in fact the majority of the faculty could turn out the others and elect whom they pleased. Bohrer was charged with being an intriguer who immediately began a cabal to supplant Dr. Drake. He soon left of his own accord, after alienating the other professors from their president, which resulted in a very solemn and ludicrous ceremony.

"At eight o'clock we met," says Dr. Drake, "according to a previous adjournment, and transacted some financial business. A profound silence ensued; our dim taper shed a faint light over the faces of the plotters; and everything seemed ominous of an approaching revolution. On trying occasions, Dr. Smith is said to be subject to a disease not unlike St. Vitus' dance; and on this he did not wholly escape. Wan and trembling, he raised himself, with the exception of his eyes, and in lugubrious accents said: 'Mr. President, in the resolution I am about to offer, I am influenced by no private feelings, but solely by a reference to the public good.' He then read as follows: 'Voted, that Daniel Drake, M. D., be dismissed from the Medical College of Ohio.' The portentous stillness recurred, and was not interrupted until I reminded the gentlemen of their designs. Mr. Slack, who is blessed with stronger nerves, then rose, and adjusting himself to a firmer balance, put on a proper sanctimony, and ejaculated: 'I second the motion.' The crisis had now manifestly come; and learning that the gentlemen were ready to meet it, I put the question, which carried, in the classical language of Dr. Smith, '*Nemo contradicente.*' I could not do more than tender them a vote of thanks, nor less than withdraw; and performing both, the Doctor politely lit me down stairs." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 170.)

There seems to be no question that this action was a great shock to the public mind as well it might have been and this particularly brought about the end of the institution for a time. There had been in attendance 30 pupils during the first year and during the following year, when Dr. Jesse Smith and another colleague attempted to carry on a course of lectures there was but a handful of pupils. The Legislature at the session of 1822-23 thereupon amended the charter and appointed a new board of trustees with General Harrison at its head, and to this board was given the power of electing and dismissing members of the faculty. The college was revived the next year with an attendance of 15, which increased the following year to 30, and then to 80, and a few years later was as large as 131, making 1,019 pupils in the 16 years from 1819 to 1834. The medical war, however, filled the town and divided it into parties and the bitterness on this subject lasted for many years. An attempt to found a "Medical Department of Miami University" was made in 1831 by Dr. Drake and others, but the old school took in four of the professors, including Drake, and thus broke up the scheme.

In 1834-35 there was sent to the Legislature a petition for a reform of the institution; this was signed by a number of prominent physicians of Cincinnati and the neighborhood. A new board was provided for by the Legislature and this board sent out a circular asking physicians their views as to the inefficiency of the college. The replies caused the report to be made by the board that the depressed condition of the institution was due to "the dissensions of individuals composing the faculty at different times and the want of scientific reputation in the teachers." Thereupon an attempt was made to reorganize the faculty and Dr. Drake and several of his friends were offered chairs, but as several of the old professors were to be kept, and these were the ones against whom was the greatest complaint, this scheme fell through. As a result of this attempt came about the revival of the Cincinnati College. In May, 1835, a resolution, offered by Dr. Joshua Martin, was passed by the board of trustees of that institution, reciting the unsuccessful attempt to improve the condition of the Medical College of Ohio and resolving to establish a medical department of the Cincinnati College. As a result of this a faculty including Drs. J. W. McDowell, Samuel D. Gross,

Horatio G. Jameson, Landon C. Rives, James B. Rogers, John P. Harrison, Daniel Drake and John L. Riddell was selected. As Dr. Jameson did not take his place, the chair, that of surgery, was filled by Dr. Willard Parker. The projectors of this movement were Drs. Drake, Rives, McDowell and Gross.

In connection with the medical department, Dr. Drake and his associates contemplated an entire reorganization of the college in which should be included a law department and a faculty of arts. The Cincinnati Law School had been founded in 1833 by John C. Wright, Timothy Walker and Edward King, a most able body of instructors. King and Walker were then partners. Both had been educated in the East, the latter at the Harvard Law School. The first term of this, the first law school west of the Alleghanies, began October 8, 1833, with 17 students, one of whom was the son of Dr. Drake, —Charles D. Drake, afterwards Senator from Missouri, chief justice of the Court of Claims and author of "Drake on Attachment." General King had subsequently died and upon the revival of the college, this school was made a department of that institution as the Law School of the Cincinnati College. The faculty were John C. Wright, Joseph S. Benham and Timothy Walker. This institution is the only department of the old college that has survived and to-day, as a result of the union of May, 1897, it forms a department of the present University of Cincinnati.

The literary department of the college survived but a few years. The faculty as finally constituted was composed of a most interesting and able set of instructors. At its head as president and professor of moral and intellectual philosophy was Rev. William H. McGuffey, a man of experience as an educator and of great energy and zeal in the cause of education. Ormsby M. Mitchel became professor of mathematics and astronomy. His reputation as an educator, astronomer and soldier has become national. Asa Drury was professor of ancient languages, a man of great tact as a teacher, who subsequently became a professor of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Covington and later the head of a private school in that city. Charles L. Telford was professor of rhetoric and belles lettres. He was "in no way a common person; he had uncommon talents, both of nature and self culture. Tall, erect, with dark hair and clear dark eyes his carriage was manly, dignified and commanding. In this respect he was one of a few whom nature has formed not to be reduced to the ordinary level by the want of gravity and dignity. * * * He was a fine writer and with a clear voice and good address he was also a graceful orator. * * * He was a pure character; he was upright; he was conscientious. In all these respects he was without fear and without reproach. He was entirely reliable; and in integrity and fidelity, was a model in these days of laxity and irreligion." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 201.)

Telford was subsequently, in 1847, appointed one of the professors of the Cincinnati Law School. He died, while yet young, of consumption. He seems to have been one of those young men who make a most marked impression upon their contemporaries both for ability and character and whose early death make all who know them feel that great opportunities for usefulness have been cut off. Telford's name is always mentioned by writers of his times with the greatest respect, admiration and affection.

Edward D. Mansfield, the journalist and historian, was the professor of constitutional history. Lyman Harding was principal of the preparatory department and Joseph Herron of the primary department. With such a faculty Mansfield thought, as Dr. Gross did of the medical department, that they should have succeeded. For a time they did and the college contained at one time as many as 100 pupils, but being without endowment of any kind and without revenue except such as had been received from tuition the institution was unable to carry the burden. "After lingering a few years its light went out; the professors separated; and the college name attached to its walls only attests that such an institution once existed."

The lease from the First Presbyterian Church had stipulated for certain gratuitous annual instruction and as the institution had been unable to give this instruction for some years, the church trustees attempted to obtain a surrender of the lease. This resulted in litigation which was compromised in 1840. By the terms of the compromise the college released to the church the southern part of the lot. It received a deed for its north 140 feet,—the lot on which stood for so many years the College Building now replaced by the new Emery sky-scraper. The old building was destroyed by fire January 19, 1845, and all that survives through many years of the institution is the Cincinnati Law School, now incorporated with the Law Department of the University of Cincinnati.

THE HIGH SCHOOLS,—OLD WOODWARD AND HUGHES.

A most important part of the educational system of Cincinnati is contributed by the high schools, Woodward and Hughes, named for their founders, and that child of recent birth the Walnut Hills High School.

Among the earliest of the pioneers who came to Cincinnati were Levi and William Woodward, two sons of Elias Woodward of Connecticut and of a mother Lydia Cliff, a sister of the mother of Lorenzo Dow. Levi's name is among the list of those who purchased land here in 1789 and 1790; William came here in the fall of 1791. He took part in one of the expeditions against the Indians. In the year 1792 he purchased from his brother a farm in the northeastern part of the city which extended from where is now Hunt street to Liberty and from Main to Broadway. He built here on Webster street between Main and Sycamore the house which stood as a landmark for more than half a century, using in its construction the timber from old flat-boats and wooden pins in lieu of nails. During this same year he married Jane McGowan, who died within the twelvemonth. Some six years later he took a trip to his old home in Connecticut, a perilous and laborious journey in those days.

Among the early victims of the marauding Indians was James Cutter, who was killed while at work on his farm near the present site of the Cincinnati Hospital. In 1801 William Woodward became the guardian for Cutter's daughter Abigail, a young girl of about 15 years, who was quite an heiress for those times. She owned land on the north side of Fifth street between Main and Walnut, also the southeast corner of Fifth and Main streets and a number of out-lots northwest of the city and other strips on Sycamore street. She also had $2,000 in money and at a later time more money came to her from her father's people in the East. Mr. Woodward took excellent charge of Miss Cutter's estate and also of his ward, and two years later, in 1803, he made her his wife. Abigail street took its name from this young woman, as Cutter street did from her father. The old house was not considered pretentious enough for people of such consequence and in 1816 a commodious brick house, one of the handsomest houses of that time, was built which is still standing in part at the northeast corner of Main and Webster streets. Several children were born to them but all died young. With the property already acquired by Mr. Woodward and that brought by his wife as a foundation he succeeded in accumulating a large fortune. He engaged in farming and also carried on the occupation of tanning on the northern outskirts of the town on the south side of Liberty street east of Sycamore. He engaged in trading ventures down the Ohio and made many investments in real estate. He was a large contributor to public enterprises and especially to the First Presbyterian Church of which he was a member and to the Lane Seminary fund. At the time of his death in his 60th year, his real estate was valued at $230,000 and his personalty at more than $28,000. As early as the year 1819 Woodward gave some attention to the matter of schools for poor children, but it was not until 1826 that he made any actual move in this direction. In this as in all other matters he consulted his friend Samuel Lewis and as a result in that year he transferred to two trustees, Samuel Lewis and his nephew Osmond Cogswell, some seven acres of land on Sycamore street north of the present site of Hunt street. A little later he gave more than an acre in addition for a school house and on this land was erected the old Woodward College building and its successor, the present Woodward High School building. By the terms of the gift its purpose was to maintain a free school for the education of the poor children of the city of Cincinnati in reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar. This apparent discrimination in favor of the poor for a time seemed a drawback but the terms of the gift were afterwards altered in this particular. On January 24, 1827, an act was passed by the Legislature providing that Samuel Lewis, Osmond Cogswell and Jonathan Pancoast be trustees of the land under the name of the "Trustees of the Woodward Free Grammar School." They and their successors were authorized to hold and use other property which might be granted to them for similar purposes. The act provided for the admission of children between the age of five and sixteen years who had no parents able to provide for their instruction or whose parents or relatives refused to do so. Other children, however, could be admitted upon payment of reasonable compensation. On March 24, 1828, Lewis and Cogswell as trustees accepted the deed of confirmation from Woodward carrying into effect the previous deed and the last mentioned act. In May, 1828, Lewis Howell was formally elected by the City Council as trustee to act with Lewis and Cogswell. Two years later, May 25, 1830, Woodward modified

the trust so as to allow the trustees to establish a high school and on December 16th of the same year he conveyed the land for the building, adding to the three trustees already mentioned Oliver Lovell and J. P. Foote. To Lewis and Cogswell, the life trustees, was given the privilege of each educating two pupils in the high school free of expense.

The first load of earth excavated for the cellar of the new building was drawn away by Mr. Woodward himself and he had the pleasure of living to see the opening exercises on October 24, 1831. He died January 23, 1833, and was buried in the cemetery on 12th street now Washington Park. Subsequently his remains with those of his wife were removed to the stone vault in front of the Woodward High School building over which was erected the bronze statue of William Woodward which was unveiled October 24, 1878, by Mrs. Samuel Lewis the widow of his dearest friend.

The first teacher selected was T. J. Wheelock, who accepted the position of professor of mathematics with a salary not exceeding $1,500 on June 6, 1831.

The school opened on October 24, 1831, with the faculty composed of Wheelock, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; Claudius Bradford, professor of languages; and H. L. Rucker, professor of the academic department. The tuition fee varied from five to nine dollars a quarter and the majority of the early students paid tuition. No one but those who had charge of the admission knew who were pay students and who were charity students. Dr. Joseph Ray, subsequently so well known as the author of Ray's "Mathematical Series," was added as a teacher in the preparatory department. The charter was amended January 7, 1836, so as to provide for a collegiate department.

In September, 1832, Thomas Johnson Matthews was elected the first president of Woodward. This head of one of Cincinnati's most distinguished families was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, January 26, 1788, of Quaker parents. He came from Philadelphia to Cincinnati in 1818. He devoted himself to teaching and was associated at times with John L. Talbott and Milo G. Williams. In 1823 he was elected to a professorship in Transylvania University and resided there until his election to the presidency of Woodward High School. During his residence in Lexington he surveyed the line between Kentucky and Tennessee and the Cumberland Gap and Tennessee River and also laid out a railroad from Lexington to Frankfort. After serving as president of Woodward for three years, he resigned to become an officer with the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company. In 1845 he became professor of mathematics and astronomy in the Miami University and retained this position until his resignation on account of ill health in June, 1852. He died in Cincinnati November 10, 1852.

Among his children were Justice Stanley Matthews, Judge Samuel R. Matthews, C. Bently Matthews and Charles E. Matthews, who was a pupil under his father at Woodward and some years later taught in that institution. President Matthews was succeeded by Benjamin P. Aydelott, a Philadelphian, born January 7, 1795. He first studied medicine and afterwards theology and came to Cincinnati as rector of Christ Church in May, 1828. He was elected president of Woodward High School in April, 1835, and retained the position for 10 years at the end of which time, having joined the Presbyterian Church, he became pastor of the Lane Seminary Church. He died in Cincinnati, September 10, 1880.

Thomas J. Biggs, the third and last of Old Woodward's presidents, born in 1787, was a Philadelphian, a graduate of Princeton and pastor of various Presbyterian churches and finally a professor in Lane Seminary. He subsequently was elected president of the Cincinnati College but at the burning of the College Building he was chosen in October, 1845, president of Woodward, which position he held until the school was reorganized in 1851.

Two of the best known of the instructors of Woodward were Dr. Joseph Ray and William H. McGuffey. Dr. Ray, a Pennsylvanian, born in 1807, and a graduate of the Medical College of Ohio in 1829, was induced to give up his medical career to accept the position of teacher of arithmetic at Woodward in November, 1831. Three years later he became professor of the subject and retained the position during the college organization. He was also member of the Woodward High School faculty from 1851 to the time of his death in 1865. His series of mathematical text-books have been among the most successful educational works published in this country.

William Holmes McGuffey, also a Pennsylvanian, born in 1800, a graduate of Washington College and subsequently professor of ancient languages in Miami University, was for some time the most popular teacher and lecturer in the Western States. He was elected president of Cincinnati College in 1836, of Ohio University

in 1839, and occupied a professorship in Woodward from 1843 to 1845. During the last named year he accepted the chair of moral philosophy in Virginia where he remained until his death, May 4, 1873. McGuffey's "Readers" are known throughout the length and breadth of the land.

During this period several efforts were made to unite the Hughes and Woodward funds and also overtures were made to unite this school with the Cincinnati College but there were no results from these efforts at the time.

Samuel Lewis, to whom the city is so much indebted in connection with the cause of education, was born March 17, 1799, at Falmouth, Massachusetts, and with his father's family settled in Ohio in 1813. In 1819 he entered the clerk's office under Maj. Daniel Gano. While there he studied the law and was admitted to the bar in 1822. Throughout his life he took a great interest in educational matters and on March 30, 1837, was appointed superintendent of common schools of the State of Ohio. While holding this position he laid the foundation of the common schools of the State of Ohio. He was also known as an ardent anti-slavery man, was chairman of an anti-slavery convention in 1841 and presided over the convention that nominated the "Liberty Ticket" of the same year. He was a nominee of this party for the governorship in 1846 and again in 1851 and in 1853. He was the president of the National Liberty Convention in Buffalo in 1847. In early life Mr. Lewis connected himself with a Methodist Church and was licensed as a local preacher and became well known as a popular and effective speaker. Throughout his entire career he was a public spirited citizen of the best type. He died July 28, 1854.

Adjoining the farm of William Woodward in the early days of the 19th century was that of an English shoemaker whose name will ever belong in Cincinnati's hall of fame. Very little is known of the life of Thomas Hughes. It is said that he was an Englishman born of Scotch parentage not far from the border line of Wales. Just when he came to Cincinnati does not seem to be known. He spoke but seldom of his early life and the name of his wife who had died in early life he never mentioned. One reason for this commonly given is that he was unhappily married. His friend and neighbor Woodward said that his reticence was due to the deep sorrow caused by the early death of his wife. His little farm of some 30 acres was on the hillside north of the old corporation line and here Hughes lived alone in a humble log cabin a little north of Liberty and west of Sycamore. His only companions were a sorrel dog "Dick," a sorrel pony "Joe" and a pet hen "Molly" and several other chickens. His sign hung up in the cabin told that he did repairing and mending of shoes. One morning, however, a friend, Peter Melindy, happened to come upon him at his house and found him still in bed. He claimed not to be ill but was finally prevailed upon to go to Melindy's home and look at a horse. He was never able to return to his shop and in the house of John and Peter Melindy, west of Main and south of Liberty, he died September 26, 1824. He was buried in the old burying ground on 12th street and afterwards his body was removed to Spring Grove Cemetery where it is surmounted by the Hughes Monument. A few days before his death Hughes made a will by which he left all his property to William Woodward, William Greene, Nathan Guilford, Elisha Hotchkiss and Jacob Williams as trustees to be applied to the maintenance and support of a school or schools. This is the oldest of all bequests for education now available. In 1827 the land was laid out into lots and since that time has been leased on perpetual ground rents for the benefit of the school. During the first 10 years the income was used to pay for the education of indigent pupils in the Woodward College and it was not until after the time covered by this chapter that anything was done with relation to the building of a school house.

The property left by the will of Hughes was not considerable in value. It embraced 27 acres of hillside land worth five or six hundred dollars and it is said has never produced more than $2,000 annual income. It was at first valuable merely for pastures and stone quarries but afterwards when laid out in city lots it became more valuable. It covers about 10 squares extending from Schiller street up to Mount Auburn between Main and Sycamore with two lots below Schiller.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

Another successful institution of those days was Dr. John Locke's Cincinnati Female Academy which was established in 1823. The Directory of 1825 tells us that this academy had met with uninterrupted success and had had two annual examinations at which gold and silver medals and premiums about 30 in number had been awarded. In addition to the principal, among the instructors were Col. Julien Denis teacher of French, and the Misses Mary Bliss, Sally Douglass, Sarah Loring, Amanda Wilson and Narcissa Ruter, teachers of music, needlework, penman-

ship and the preparatory department respectively. In 1829 appears the well known name of J. Tosso teacher of music. Practical instruction in the science of botany was given in the summer season at the garden of Nicholas Longworth, which contained a variety of ornamental, indigenous and exotic plants very suitable for the purpose. This institution was located in the new and commodious building on Walnut street between Third and Fourth. The price of tuition was from four to ten dollars a quarter, exclusive of music and French. The fair pupils were given a vacation of four weeks after the annual examinations in August. "The plan of the institution embraces an extended circle of female education. The Principal has adopted the demonstration method of teaching, by which the knowledge of things instead of words alone is imparted. The exercises, in relation to things of quantity, are such that the eye measures, the hand delineates, the reason compares and the tongue describes at the same moment." Certainly a most valuable series of accomplishments for any woman. This method of instruction was said to be on the plan of Pestalozzi; the public were given to understand that the idea that this system tended to infidelity would seem to be unfounded. "Abstractly it appears to have no immediate connection with the doctrines of the Bible." (Cincinnati in 1826, p. 42.)

It took four years for the young ladies to achieve this astonishing series of accomplishments and it was noted as a remarkable fact that not one of the several hundred pupils who had been members of the academy since its establishment had died and but few during the period of their membership had been seriously afflicted with disease. This institution continued in existence for many years. The effects of the education so carefully described for young women are indicated by Mrs. Trollope who visited the school:

"Cincinnati contains many schools, but of their rank or merit I had little opportunity of judging. The only one I visited was kept by Dr. Locke, a gentleman who appears to have liberal and enlarged opinions on the subject of female education. * * * I attended the annual public exhibition of this school, and perceived, with some surprise, that the higher branches of science were among the studies of the pretty creatures I saw assembled there. One lovely girl of sixteen took her degree in mathematics, and another was examined in moral philosophy. They blushed so sweetly, and looked so beautifully puzzled and confounded, that it might have been difficult for an abler judge than I was to decide how far they merited the diplomas they received."

The daughters of the most prominent citizens attended this school and at the close of the examination in 1824 we find that prizes were awarded as follows: The gold medal to Miss Amanda Drake for general scholarship, silver medals to Miss Mary Longworth for excellence in moral philosophy and to Misses Sarah Loring, Jane Loring, Frances Wilson, Jane Keyes, Eliza Longworth, Celina Morris, Charlotte Rogers, Mary Rogers, Elizabeth Hamilton and Juliet Burnet for high standing in other subjects.

Another school mentioned in the early accounts was the Female Boarding School of the Misses Bailey on Broadway between Market and Columbia streets which in 1826 was said to be the oldest school of the character in the city. In this school one of the instructors was Frederick Eckstein, the "Father of Cincinnati Art."

Another well known institution was the Cincinnati Female School or Cincinnati Female Institution which, conducted by Messrs. Albert and John W. Picket, occupied quarters in the south wing of the Cincinnati College Building. In this institution the analytic or inductive system was followed as being peculiarly fitted to the minds of young women. The studies were divided into four departments comprising all the practical and ornamental branches of female education and the location of these gentlemen in Cincinnati was considered a matter of public interest. Both of the principals were men of standing in the educational world where they were known because of a series of school books published by them. The elder was a member of that charmed circle known as the College of Teachers and of him Mansfield says:

"Albert Picket, president of the College of Teachers, was a venerable, gray-haired man, who had been for fifty years a practical teacher. * * * He was a most thorough teacher, and a man of clear head, and filled with zeal and devotion for the profession of teaching. He was a simple minded man, and I can say of him that I never knew a man of more pure, disinterested zeal in the cause of education. He presided in the college with great dignity, and in all the petty controversies which arose poured oil on the troubled waters." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 238.)

In 1826 this school, then called Picket's Female Academy, seems to have been located on the southeast corner of Vine and Fifth streets. This institution appears as the Cincinnati Female In-

stitute in the Directory of 1840. We are told in a local paper of April, 1830, that the examinations and graduating exercises of the school were continued for three days. There were at that time 150 young ladies in the school. Eleven gold medals were gracefully distributed in the presence of a crowded audience by D. K. Este and addresses were delivered by Rev. Mr. Dennison and Rev. Timothy Flint, both of which are summarized in the journal,—Flint's *Monthly Western Review*. For a time the Pickets edited the educational journal known as the *Western Academician* and later the *Educational Disseminator*.

Rev. C. B. McKee kept the Cincinnati English and Classical Academy on Third street near the Post Office from 1826 to 1829. This school comprised preparatory, English, scientific and classical departments.

Another school mentioned in 1826 was that of Rev. Elijah Slack, president of the college, which occupied the rooms of the north wing of the Cincinnati College Building. This seems to have been distinguished for its valuable apparatus. We are told in fact that at this time there were about 50 schools in the city. In addition to those already named some of the more important ones were under the care of Mr. Catheart, M. G. Williams (on Third between Main and Sycamore), Mr. Kinmont, Mr. Talbert (on Fifth between Vine and Race streets), Mr. Winwright, Mr. Chute, Mr. Wing and Mr. Morecraft.

The principal of these schools was probably that of Alexander Kinmont, the Scotchman who came to Cincinnati from Pennsylvania probably in 1826. His school in 1829 was at the corner of Sixth and Main and included a preparatory class and two departments, one covering mathematics, classics and the general branches of education and the other particularly devoted to the Spanish and French languages and the higher branches of English education. Of the head of this school, also one of the College of Teachers, Mansfield speaks as follows:

"Alexander Kinmont might be called an apostle of classical learning. If others considered the classics necessary to an education, he thought them the one thing needful, the pillar and the foundation of solid learning. For this he contended with the zeal of martyrs for their creed; and if ever the classics received aid from the manner in which they were handled, they received it from him. He was familiar with every passage of the great Greek and Roman authors, and eloquent in their praise. When he spoke upon the subject of classical learning, he seemed to be animated with the spirit of a mother defending her child. He spoke with heart-warm fervor, and seemed to throw the wings of his strong intellect around his subject.

"Mr. Kinmont was a Scotchman, born near Montrose, Angusshire. He very early evinced bright talents, and having but one arm, at about twelve years of age was providentially compelled to pursue the real bent of his taste and genius toward learning. In school and college he bore off the first prizes, and advanced with rapid steps in the career of knowledge. * * *

"Kinmont made a profound impression upon those who knew him; and to me he had the air and character of a man of superior genius, and (what is very rare) of one whose learning was equal to his genius." (Mansfield's Drake, pp. 238-240.)

It is said when Kinmont first came to the city which must have been before 1827, a professorship was offered him in the Cincinnati College for a salary of $2,000 a year, a very high salary for that time. He preferred however to be independent as he did not wish to be directed by a faculty or by trustees. "Think of my being told how to teach school by a set of professional donkeys." His academy was located on Race street between Fifth and Longworth streets and his name and fame survived long in the memory of his fellow citizens and of his scholars. After his death his widow continued as a school teacher for some years.

Another of the earlier schools for young ladies was that of Mr. and Mrs. James Ryland at the corner of Fourth and Sycamore which was established in the latter part of the "twenties" and was maintained for almost 30 years. It was afterwards at Fifth and Vine streets and stood later on the west side of Walnut between Fourth and Fifth streets and later on Fourth west of Vine street. Mrs. Ryland who was the principal figure in this school was an Englishwoman of culture who succeeded in attracting to her school the larger part of the pupils of the Western Female Institute founded by the two daughters of Lyman Beecher, Catharine and Harriet, about the year 1833. This institution was also on the corner of Fourth and Sycamore streets in the rooms originally occupied by the Ryland school. The school was subsequently carried on by Miss Mary Dutton of Hartford, Connecticut, who finally returned to New England, leaving her pupils to the care of the Rylands.

In 1829 a classical school was established by

J. F. Finley in the Cincinnati College Building. This school apparently lasted but a short time.

Another school for young ladies was kept by Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Truesdell on Walnut street near the Enon Baptist Church while the Misses Wood kept a similar school on Pike between Symmes and Fifth streets and Mr. Dickinson kept the monitorial school in the Cincinnati College edifice. In the Directory of 1829 appears the name of L. C. Levin who kept a classical school we are told at Sixth and Vine streets. His pupils took part in a parade on July Fourth of that year. This school is supposed to have been on the site of the present Hulbert Block. An account of this corner where afterwards was the Gazette Building and now is the Hulbert Block was given in the historical number of the paper published April 20, 1870:

"The very first building on this lot was a school house, built more than fifty years ago. There are many men and women in Cincinnati who have vivid recollections of Wing's school house, which stood on the southeast corner of Sixth and Vine. It was a frame building, a high story or story and a half. The entrance was on Sixth street, and the floor was constructed like that of a theatre, rising from the south end of the building to the north. The teacher occupied a sort of stage at the south end, and by this arrangement had before his eyes every pupil. The boys occupied the east side, and the girls the west side, next to Vine street. William Wing was the founder and builder of this school. He died soon after this school was opened, and then Edward Wing, his son, took up the work and kept the school going for a long time. The house being well adapted to giving shows, or exhibitions, as they were called, Mr. Wing frequently gave that sort of amusement to his pupils and patrons. At one of these, Mr. W. P. Hulbert, then a mere lad, played the part of William Tell's son, to the late S. S. L'Hommedieu's William Tell, in the thrilling drama which introduces the exciting scene of shooting the apple off the boy's head. To the unerring aim of Master L'Hommedieu's arrow, and to the heroic bravery of Master Hulbert, who endured the ordeal without putting himself in range of the arrow, are we, perhaps, indebted for the present Gazette Building.

"This pioneer Wing school house became one of the first school-houses of the public or common-school system. George Graham, a man who carries more knowledge of Cincinnati in his head than any man living, was one of the trustees of the common schools, and he rented this school building for the use of the Second Ward school. Here Mr. Graham appeared frequently as an examiner, for he was an active man in those days, and knew how necessary it was to inaugurate strict discipline. The common schools were new, and were not popular. The name 'common' was distasteful. Mr. Graham personally examined every pupil in the schools. He popularized the system by causing all the teachers and pupils to appear, once a year at least, in procession through the streets, and soon had the pleasure of seeing the common school system regarded as one of the institutions deserving the highest esteem."

Another school mentioned as early as 1829 was that of Nathaniel Holley whose academy on Western row between Fifth and Longworth continued in existence for some years. The celebrated novelist, Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, established a popular female seminary on Third street east of Broadway. Associated with her was her husband Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, a Frenchman who had studied medicine and learned the art of miniature painting in Paris and emigrated from Paris in 1810 at the age of 19. He had taught French and painting in various parts of the East, being for two years associated with George Bancroft in his school at Northhampton. About this time he married the daughter of Gen. John Whiting. For the four years preceding 1830 he was professor of modern languages and belles lettres in the University of North Carolina. In the following year he moved to Covington and in 1832 or 1833 with his wife he took charge of the seminary mentioned above. Unfortunately they did not remain very long, but during their residence here they made a most marked impression. Subsequently they conducted schools in Alabama, Georgia and Florida to which points they had been obliged to move on account of the health of Professor Hentz. In the social circle described by Mansfield, Mrs. Hentz was conspicuous both in person and manners and none saw her without admiring. While at Covington Mrs. Hentz, who had written a poem and novel and a tragedy before she was 12 years old, competed for a $500 prize offered for a play by the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia. The prize was won by her for the tragedy of "DeLara or the Moorish Bride" which was produced on the stage and afterwards published. Another tragedy "Lamoraie or the Western Wilds" was acted at Cincinnati and subsequently published. She also wrote another tragedy and many stories and novels of which 93,000 volumes were sold in

three years, a large number for that time. The scene of her tragedy "Lamorah" was laid on the banks of the Ohio and the heroine was a love-sick Indian squaw. Two daughters of the Hentzes achieved distinction in later years in the literary world, one of whom, Carolina, was born in Cincinnati during the residence of the parents here. Both Professor and Mrs. Hentz died at Marianna, Florida, in 1856.

In the early "thirties" in addition to the schools already described mention may be made of those of A. M. Bolton on Elm street, Jacob Borton on West Fifth street, J. Jones at Fifth and Vine streets, Andrew Donough on Main street, the Perkins School on Third and the Woodbury School on Fifth street. There was also an Adelpha Seminary with Thomas H. Quinan as principal on Walnut street and a female academy of Mrs. Tallant and Miss Davis on Fourth street and a school of Mrs. Comstock on Sixth street. A little more pretentious was the Cincinnati Academy at Fourth and Walnut streets in which W. Hopwood was the professor of mathematics and languages and J. L. and David L. Talbott, professors in the English department.

In 1836 appears the name of a more distinguished man, at the head of O. M. Mitchel's Institute of Science and Language at the corner of Broadway and Third.

Deming's Academy was in the basement of the Second Presbyterian Church and that of J. W. Johnson on the northwest corner of Sixth and Race. E. Stone, an accountant, kept a commercial academy at the northeast corner of Fourth and Main streets. In the directory of the same year (1836), besides the female academies of Picket, Ryland, Tallant, Dr. Locke, Comstock, Wood, Dutton, and Tappan, are mentioned those of Mrs. Wright on Walnut near Third, Mrs. Hopwood on Walnut between Second and Third and Mrs. Landhear on Sixth between Walnut and Vine.

In the school of Milo G. Williams already mentioned, in addition to the usual courses were taught manual training and the principles of the United States Constitution. This was the first technical school in the city. Mr. Williams afterwards moved to Dayton where he founded the first professedly technical school in the West.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Of Cincinnati owe their being to Nathan Guilford who was not only the author of the laws which made possible their organization, but was the leading spirit in keeping up interest in the matter. A name to be associated with that of Guilford for all times is that of Micajah T. Williams, the father of internal improvements in the State of Ohio. He and Guilford associated themselves together and joined their causes. Another name that should stand with these is that of Samuel Lewis.

Nathan Guilford was a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Yale, who began the practice of the law in Cincinnati about 1816. He immediately took an interest in the matter of public education and joined hands with Samuel Lewis and other advocates of the system. He published a letter in 1822 advocating a general tax for the purpose of supporting schools which was published by the General Assembly of the next year. By reason of his interest in the matter, he was elected to the Senate for the express purpose of securing the enactment of a law that would create adequate means of education. With the assistance of Ephraim Cutler of Marietta he succeeded in passing through the Legislature the act of February 1, 1825, which authorized the assessment of one-half mill on the value of all taxable property. Strangely enough the law was much opposed by the larger tax payers of Cincinnati, by the proprietors of private schools and by the very class that it was intended to benefit who objected to having their children known as charity scholars. The story is told of a wealthy citizen who upbraided one of those who had voted for the law on the ground that he had sacrificed the interests of his fellow citizens and had mortgaged all their property irredeemably and forever. Guilford, Lewis and Williams as well as others took up the cause and it was not long until the great majority of thinking people began to favor the common schools. The bill was however inadequate and no special result came from it. Col. Andrew Mack introduced into the Senate during the sessions of 1828 and 1829 a bill to amend the charter of the city. The friends of education took this opportunity to obtain for the city the right to organize her own schools and pay for their maintenance by local taxation. This bill which became a law permitted the Council to divide the city into 10 districts and at the expense of the city to provide for the support of common schools, to purchase land and build school houses and in addition to the tax of a mill on a dollar for the purchase of sites and erection of buildings to levy an additional mill for teachers and fuel. The schools were placed under the direction of a Board of Trustees and Visitors to be chosen annually on the first Monday in April by the quali-

fied voters of the city and this board was to appoint six citizens and examiners. The trustees elected for the first year were: Nathan Guilford, David Root, Calvin Fletcher, Oliver M. Spencer and J. Buckley. Oliver M. Spencer became the first president. The examiners appointed were Timothy Flint, Henry Starr, Bellamy Storer, Jesse Kimball, Enos Woodruff and Lewis Howell. (Directory of 1829.)

According to the official minute book at the City Hall, at a meeting at Guilford's house in July, 1829, Messrs. Flint and Howell were appointed examiners for three years, Starr and Calvin Washburn for two years and Bellamy Storer and Enos Woodruff for one year. Nathan Guilford acted as chairman of this meeting.

The original buildings were of brick or stone two stories high and intended to contain two school rooms each. One stood on the river bank near the Front Street Pumping Works and the other on Sycamore and Fifth. There were 70 or 80 pupils and two teachers, Stephen Wheeler and J. F. Easterbrook. A little later a building was acquired on Franklin street and one on Congress street. Later one on Fourth near Smith was acquired: this was known as the "Frogtown" school. Another was acquired on Race near Front. The school buildings were utterly inadequate and were more calculated to encourage the spread of disease than that of education. It was at this time that George Graham, one of Cincinnati's most philanthropic citizens, came forward and employed an architect to draw the design of a "Model Schoolhouse" which was built by him on his own lot on the west side of Race between Fourth and Fifth streets. In order to catch the public eye the house was surmounted by a cupola. Graham after the completion of the building offered the whole property to the Council for the cost of the building. They refused at first to pay the amount but finally accepted the school house, paying for all except the cost of the cupola. This building was completed in the summer of 1833. Nine others patterned after it were afterwards built at the cost of a little over $[illegible]. They were of brick, two stories high and with two rooms on each floor. The boys occupied the lower floor and the girls the upper one. George Graham, too, suggested the cultivation of the public interest in the common schools by having examinations open to the public accompanied with speechmaking and parades. A very successful parade was held on July 4, 1833. Some of the teachers refused to march and were discharged for obstinancy. The number of pupils in the procession was estimated at less than 2,000. (There were but 1,900 enrolled pupils in the schools.) In 1830 there were 44 teachers and 2,400 pupils and in 1841 nine public school houses, 60 teachers and 5,000 pupils.

There seems to have been no systematic course of study, but each trustee selected such a course of study as he thought proper. The books in use included Hall's "School Companion," Pierpoint's "National Reader," Ruter's "Arithmetic," Talbott's "Primary Geography," Parley's "First Book of History," Kirkham's "English Grammar," Webster's "Spelling Book and Alphabet."

At first there was no superintendent and the schools were controlled by the Board of Trustees composed of one member from each ward. In 1837 the number of members increased to two from each ward. The teachers' salaries were very low, the men receiving from $300 to $500 a year and the women from $200 to $250. No attempt was made at systematic grading or classification until 1830 and even then the system was not very definitely carried out.

The teachers formed a faculty association in 1836, which met twice a month to prepare plans for the improvement of the school and to hold conferences with the trustees. About this time the first step was taken towards uniting the common schools and the high schools. The trustees of Woodward High School offered to receive for that year for gratuitous instruction 10 boys from the common schools to be selected by the School Board.

Although the condition of the public schools during this period was somewhat chaotic and the mind of the people had not yet become entirely familiar with the idea of popular education, the progress made was sure and steady and enough to make possible the complete reorganization of the system in the beginning of the second half century of the city's existence upon a plan which has practically continued in operation to the present day.

The presiding officers of the board during this time were Oliver M. Spencer, Nathan Guilford, Peyton S. Symmes and Elam P. Langdon.

A description of the school parade of 1835 is given by Miss Martineau:

"The morning of the nineteenth shone brightly down on the festival of the day. It was the anniversary of the opening of the common schools. Some of the schools passed our windows in procession, their banners dressed with garlands, and

the children gay with flowers and ribands. A lady who was sitting with me remarked, 'this is our populace.' I thought of the expression months afterward, when the gentlemen of Cincinati met to pass resolutions on the subject of abolitionism, and when one of the resolutions recommended mobbing as a retribution for the discussion of the subject of slavery, the law affording no punishment for free discussion. Among those who moved and seconded these resolutions, and formed a deputation to threaten an advocate of free discussion, were some of the merchants who form the aristocracy of the place; and the secretary of the meeting was the accomplished lawyer whom I mentioned above, and who told me that the object of his life is law-reform in Ohio! The 'populace' of whom the lady was justly proud have, in no case that I know of, been the law-breakers, and in as far as the 'populace' means not 'the multitude,' but 'the vulgar,' I do not agree with the lady that these children were the populace. Some of the patrons and prize-givers afterward proved themselves 'the vulgar' of the city.

"The children were neatly and tastefully dressed. A great improvement has taken place in the costume of little boys in England within my recollection; but I never saw such graceful children as the little boys in America, at least in their summer dress. They are slight, active and free. I remarked that several were barefoot, though in other respects well clad; and I found that many put off shoes and stockings from choice during the three hot months. Others were barefoot from poverty—children of recent settlers and of the poorest class of the community.

"We set out for the church as soon as the procession had passed, and arrived before the doors were opened. A platform had been erected below the pulpit, and on it were seated the mayor and principal gentlemen of the city. The two thousand children then filed in. The report was read, and proved very satisfactory. These schools were established by a cordial union of various political and religious parties; and nothing could be more promising than the prospects of the institution as to funds, as to the satisfaction of the class benefited, and as to the continued union of their benefactors. Several boys then gave specimens of elocution, which were highly amusing. They seemed to suffer under no false shame and to have no misgiving about the effect of the vehement action they had been taught to employ. I wondered how many of them would speak in Congress hereafter. It seems doubtful to me whether the present generation of Americans are not out in their calculations about the value and influence of popular oratory. They ought certainly to know best; but I never saw an oration produce nearly so much effect as books, newspapers, and conversation. * * *

"Many prizes of books were given by the gentlemen on the platform and the exercises closed with an address from the pulpit."

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

An institution whose name is inseparably connected with that of Cincinnati and which was organized during this period is Lane Theological Seminary. We are told that as early as 1819 Elnathan Kemper and Peter H. Kemper devoted eight acres of land on Walnut Hills for the support of the Walnut Hills Academy established that year by Rev. James Kemper on the manual labor principle. Here for five or six years the Greek and Latin languages were taught as well as the ordinary branches of education. This circumstance was an important one in determining the location of the seminary which was finally erected at this point.

In 1828, E. Lane and brother, merchants of New Orleans, and members of the Baptist Church, proposed to the Baptists of Cincinnati to lend assistance to a plan for the education of pious and indigent young men. The Baptists declined the proposition and then the suggestion was made that there should be a partnership affair, the Presbyterians also sharing the undertaking. This proposition the Presbyterians declined, whereupon the offer was made to them alone. At a meeting in the First Presbyterian Church, September 27, 1828, the proposition of Messrs. Lane was considered and the plan of the institution discussed. In October of the following year an association was formed to establish a seminary of learning. Samuel Caldwell offered to give 25 to 30 acres near the village of Carthage for a site. Elnathan Kemper offered to sell for the same purpose 100 acres on Walnut Hills for $7,500 and William Cary offered a farm on the pike between College Hill and Mount Pleasant, part of which he would donate and part he would sell for $1,650. While these offers were being considered, Elnathan Kemper on January 1, 1829, donated 60 acres on the north end of his farm and offered to sell 40 more at $4,000. This offer was accepted and the institution was incorporated February 11, 1820. From the outset it was planned to have a preparatory, a collegiate and a theological department. The course in the lat-

ter department was to be three years. George C. Beckwith of Lowell, Massachusetts, was called to take charge and he accepted and the Seminary was opened in Kemper's school house. Some $15,000 seems to have been subscribed for the institution in this neighborhood and Arthur Tappan of New York agreed to give $20,000 to endow a chair, provided Dr. Beecher could be obtained. John Tappan of Boston subscribed $10,000 and Dr. Daniel Waldo and sister subscribed $4,000 more for various professorships. The first building erected was the boarding house, which cost $35,000. This building erected in the summer of 1830 was destroyed by fire in 1868. The next structure undertaken was the dormitory which was begun in 1832 and built with money raised in Cincinnati. The chapel was finished some time before the year 1836.

Professor Beckwith came West but remained a very short time. He was sent East to solicit funds and in the fall of 1830 he resigned. Thereupon Dr. Lyman Beecher was appointed president and professor of didactic theology but did not accept until 1832. Dr. Thomas J. Biggs was also appointed professor of Christian history in 1831 and the following year Dr. Calvin E. Stowe was appointed to a professorship. Dr. Beecher retained his connection with the institution until 1850, at which time both he and Professor Stowe resigned.

Some of the conditions of the early days are interesting. The proposition was made in 1829 to board not less than 10 nor more than 25 orderly well behaved boys from November 10th to the 1st of May following. The table was to consist of a change in bread, vegetables, meats and soups. The lodging room was in the third story and was 40 feet long by 13 feet wide, well plastered and, commonly called the garret, was lighted by four small windows. There was also one large room with a fireplace common to all boarders and a dining room which the students ha , to warm at their own expense. The price of this luxury was $1.12½ a week, candles and bedding not included. Four years later the students petitioned for coffee but it was thought inexpedient to make such a radical change. Smoking of cigars was prohibited and students were forbidden to form connections by marriage on pain of dismissal. A cemetery was laid out in the neighborhood for the following among other reasons: "Inasmuch as those who are studying for the ministry need time and opportunity for meditation and self-examination, a cemetery in proximity to the institution will afford a favorable retirement for that purpose." The anti-slavery troubles in the institution have been discussed elsewhere.

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL.

A Catholic parochial school was founded about 1821 and continued about 10 years, when Bishop Fenwick merged it into the Athenæum which was opened October 7, 1831, as a school for higher instruction. This was subsequently, in 1840, placed in charge of the Jesuit Fathers and finally became St. Xavier College.

THE CHURCHES.

The religious life of the community developed with the other phases of city life. During the year 1827 the First Presbyterian Church was considerably remodeled and in the following year a great revival was held in the church. The scene at that time is described in the sermon delivered at the commemoration service a half-century later by Rev. Dr. S. R. Wilson, a son of Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, who officiated in the church as assistant and pastor for 20 years, making the continuous service of father and son 53 years.

He was a boy of 10 years of age at the time of the revival and recollected vividly the scenes of that early day. "You must dismiss from your mind all the magnificence of to-day; reduce its population, and imagine this beautiful plateau covered to a large extent with trees, dotted with houses and garden-plats, while the environment of hills is covered with woods that form a beautiful background. The streets were shaded, and the heat which we now feel from building and pavement was not felt then. Take away this building and the surrounding buildings, and place there to the right a large space surrounded by tombs and tombstones, among which children played till the bell called them into the church. The church building accommodated one thousand two hundred persons on the lower floor; five hundred or six hundred more could be given room in the broad and long aisle, while the gallery had sittings for one thousand two hundred or one thousand five hundred. The pulpit was almost as high as the choir, and back of it was a vestry-room for prayer-meetings and Sunday-school."

This revival was the outcome of very deliberate

preparation and to assure its success two Tennessee clergymen, Revs. James Gallaher and Frederick A. Ross, were called in. One of them added to his power of preacher great ability as a singer. These two evangelists according to the story of one of them seemed to have been discouraged by the lack of interest but subsequently resort was had to the "Anxious Seat" which had never been tried in Ohio and as a result the meetings became very successful.

The same church was used again in 1835 for the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the settlement of Ohio where William M. Corry pronounced an oration of great power. A dinner was held afterwards at the Commercial Exchange but in deference to the temperance feeling at the time no wine or spirits were served.

In 1829 as already stated the Second Presbyterian Church began the erection of its new building on the lot on the south side of Fourth street between Vine and Race which had been purchased from the Bank of the United States for $5,000. The building was to cost $30,000 and the church experienced much difficulty in raising the money to pay its indebtedness. The bank finally obtained judgment, ejecting the church, but it was allowed to remain and was occupied by the church from the day of its dedication May 20, 1830, for 42 years or until April 28, 1872, when the congregation moved to its new church, the one now occupied by it at the southwest corner of Eighth and Elm streets.

Dr. Root, the first pastor, ceased his ministrations in the spring of 1830 and was succeeded by Dr. Lyman Beecher, president of Lane Theological Seminary, who occupied the pulpit for 11 years. During his pastorate the church increased rapidly in influence and eventually became the most powerful and wealthy congregation of Presbyterians in the city. Dr. Beecher, who is regarded by Dr. D. W. Rhodes as the largest figure in the first century of the religious life of Cincinnati, was at that time in the prime of his power and he soon became one of the most respected and influential citizens of the community. Not only this, but his presence in the city did much to fix upon it the attention of the whole country and to give to it the intellectual preeminence which during the middle part of the century won for it the title of the "Athens of America."

Beecher was born in New Haven, Connecticut, October 2, 1775, and was considered one of the foremost preachers of the day long before he came to Cincinnati. He was a great controversialist and had taken a most active part in the war against intemperance, in the Unitarian controversy and in the defection of Dr. Channing and others. Upon the establishment of Lane Seminary, he felt that this could be made a nucleus from which ideas could circulate throughout the whole country. Here could be trained young men who as ministers of the Gospel could become propagandists. After his arrival here he kept up his controversial writings, publishing among other things a tract calling attention to what he regarded as the danger of Roman Catholic supremacy in the West. His discussions in the Seminary with relation to the slavery question are referred to elsewhere. He was formally elected pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church March 11, 1833, although he had supplied the pulpit since his arrival in the city, November, 1832, and continued there until the fall of 1843, when he resigned. "His high reputation for talents and piety is matter of general history. He was a man of brilliant intellect, of untiring zeal in the cause, and of great usefulness. He was original and somewhat peculiar, both in manner and thought. In preaching, his most striking passages seemed the inspiration of the moment—when he raised his spectacles to his forehead, and his sparkling eyes to the audience, and something came forth which struck us like electricity. He was deeply reverential at heart, though sometimes his strong, abrupt language seemed almost to belie it; as on one occasion I remember he said in prayer, 'O Lord, keep us from despising our rulers, and keep them from acting so that we can't help it.'" (Wright's Memorial Address, p. 22.)

During his pastorate the Old and New School controversy, so-called, came to its head. The members of his church even before Mr. Beecher's arrival had by reason of sympathy for his predecessor, Rev. Mr. Root, drifted into the New School party. Upon Beecher's arrival the position of the church in this particular was confirmed and finally Beecher, who had been called a moderate Calvinist, was arraigned for trial for hypocrisy and heresy upon charges preferred by Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. The trial which followed took place in his own church and Beecher was

compelled to defend himself while burdened with the cares of his seminary, his church and his home, where at that time his wife was lying on her death bed. It has been said that the controversy was purely theological, as the accused and accuser had no personal contention. This is always the case in heresy trials, but the fact that there is no personal contention is not so apparent to the lay mind. In this case Beecher was acquitted. An appeal was taken to the General Synod, where he was again acquitted, but the controversy split the Presbyterian Church in twain. "Indeed," says Mr. Wright, "the controversy seems not to have been one belonging to common people, but rather one of theological science; and, if a layman may be allowed to say it, savored somewhat of the speculations of human reason on matters above human ken."

Dr. Beecher, it will be remembered, resigned his presidency of Lane Seminary in 1852, defeated in the high hopes that had actuated him in coming West. He returned to Boston but shortly afterwards made his home with his son, Henry Ward Beecher, in Brooklyn, where he died January 10, 1863, in his 88th year. During the last seven or eight years of his life his mind was clouded.

The first Presbyterian Church on Walnut Hills had been founded in 1819 and had for its pastor Rev. Peter H. Kemper, a relative of Rev. James Kemper, the pioneer preacher. For many years members of the Kemper family held the pulpit. In 1879 this church was united with the Lane Seminary Presbyterian Church, which had been organized August 13, 1831, and the two combined churches took the name of the First Presbyterian Church of Walnut Hills. Among other churches organized during this period was the Third Presbyterian Church, a child begotten of the revival of 1828-29, as the result of the revival labors of Rev. James Gallaher, who became first pastor; the Fourth Presbyterian Church, also a result of the revival, organized by Dr. Francis, which must either be identified with the old Fulton Church or with the defunct High Street Church dissolved by the Presbytery in 1829; the Fifth Presbyterian Church, organized March 29, 1831, by Rev. Mr. Stark, so long known as the Scotch Church and so long in occupation of the brick tabernacle at the corner of Clark and John streets. The Sixth Presbyterian Church was organized in April, 1831, as the result of a pulpit defense of the cause of American slavery as drawn from the Bible and a denunciation of those who agitated the subject of emancipation. In 1846 this church severed its connection with the Presbyterian Church and adopted the Congregational form of government; taking the name of the Vine Street Congregational Church. Its original home was at the southeast corner of Sixth and Vine streets. An early church was the First Presbyterian Church of the Eastern Liberties of Cincinnati, which died and was afterwards reorganized on February 8, 1831, with the name of the First Presbyterian Church of Fulton.

The Methodist Church sent out colonies, one of which built the church known as the "Old Brick Church" at the corner of Fourth and Plum. This church was also called by some the "Brimstone Corner." This church was built in 1822. The "Old Brick Church" eventually became too small for its congregation and in 1831 it was replaced by a mighty structure denominated as Wesley Chapel, for many years the largest congregation hall in the city. Here was delivered the address of John Quincy Adams and here many large societies held their reunions and in fact it was one of the centers of intellectual life.

Asbury Chapel was built at the head of Main street in the Northern Liberties, so-called, and McKendree Chapel was in Fulton, which had for many years as pastor Rev. Granville Moody. Asbury Chapel was finally consumed by fire, but a new structure was erected near its ruins on the south side of Webster street between Main and Sycamore. The "Old Brick Church" was finally succeeded by an edifice on Western row between Fourth and Fifth streets. In the Directory of 1836-37, in addition to Wesley Chapel, the Fourth Street Church, Asbury Chapel and McKendree Chapel already mentioned, there is given the African Church, east of Broadway between Sixth and Seventh. There were also two Methodist Protestant churches, including Burke's church and that on Sixth street between Vine and Race. These churches had been formed by the cessions of 1827, at which time many influential families left the old society and united with the new. Bishop Morris, who was stationed here in 1832 and 1833, gives us an insight into what was expected of a pas-

tor at that time. His parsonage, which was on Broadway near Fifth street, was poor and uncomfortable. His salary was $450, the last $50 being added as he was expected to entertain "comers and goers." To accommodate these comers and goers he thought it necessary to buy a cot, which he carried home on his own shoulders. It broke down and he carried it back for repairs, making three trips with this bed on his back to save drayage. Both his wife and daughter were in poor health and he could not afford to hire help. He procured, therefore, a washing machine which, with saw and ax, furnished him with sufficient exercise. His daughter was strong enough to prepare the clothes, change the water and rinse them when clean, while he turned the machine. Just at that time the water works were destroyed by fire and he was obliged to pay 25 cents a barrel for water, hauled from the river, for laundry purposes. Drinking water he carried in buckets from Spencer's well, a square and a half away.

In 1821 a new Enon Baptist Church was formed. In 1838 this church was called the First Baptist Church of Cincinnati. At that time it had its church on Baker street between Walnut and Vine. The other Baptist churches given in the Directory of 1836-37 are the Sixth Street Baptist Church, which had been on Sixth between Main and Walnut, but at that time was erecting a house of worship on Ninth between Vine and Race; the African Baptist Church on Western row between Second and Third, and the Campbellite Baptist Church on Sycamore between Fifth and Sixth. The First Baptist Church celebrated revivals in the year 1828, which so enlarged the society that a colony of 118 split off to form the Sycamore Street Church. This is the church which afterwards became the Campbellite Church and was later known as the Central Christian Church on Ninth street. The African Baptist Church resulted from 45 colored members leaving the First Church in 1835.

Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal), which had occupied the Baptist building on Sixth street, in 1835 built a new church on the present site of the church of that name. Rev. Samuel Johnston resigned in 1828 to form a new parish of St. Paul's, where he had 55 communicants the first year as against 32 at Christ Church. At the latter church, Rev. B. P. Aydelott took charge and occupied the pulpit until 1835, when he was succeeded by Rev. J. T. Brook of Georgetown, District of Columbia, who remained until 1847, when he resigned to accept a professorship at Gambier. A new building, erected on the lot 100 feet front and 130 feet deep which had been bought for $9,000, was built upon the plan of the famous old Stepney Church of London. During the building the society worshiped in the Mechanics' Institute Hall.

St. Paul's parish, formed in 1828, erected its church on Fourth street where the present St. Paul Building now stands. It remained there for 50 years, at which time the property was sold for $87,000. The bishop of the diocese during the period from 1819 until 1831 was the celebrated Philander Chase, a man of indomitable perseverance and great strength of will and the most energetic and successful pioneer of the Episcopal Church in the West. He was succeeded by another man of great power, Charles Pettit McIlvaine, who became Bishop of Ohio in 1832, which position he held until his death in 1873. During all these years he was "a distinctive force in his community, felt in all denominations and in the mass of people outside of all denominations." (Rev. D. W. Rhodes.)

The progress of the Roman Catholic Church and the building of its first cathedral has been described in the quotation from "Cincinnati in 1826." The Athenæum, subsequently called St. Xavier College, was established in 1831. Bishop Fenwick fell a victim to the cholera in 1832 and was succeeded by Bishop John Baptist Purcell, who in 1850 became Archbishop of the archdiocese, which position he retained until his death, July 4, 1883. Bishop Edward D. Fenwick was a native of Maryland, where he was born in 1768. He studied in Belgium and subsequently entered the Dominican order. After his ordination he was appointed professor and procurator of the Dominican College of Bornheim, where he had been educated. When Belgium was invaded by the French Revolutionists, he was thrown into prison and threatened with death. Proof of his American citizenship saved him and he joined a convent of his order in England. He finally came to the United States with three others of his order for the purpose of introducing that order into this country. In 1805 he traversed the entire Mississippi Valley on a tour of observation and the following year he purchased with his own private fortune a farm

in Kentucky, where he founded the Dominican Convent of St. Rose of Lima. For some years he lived almost constantly on horseback, penetrating the States of Ohio and Kentucky in every direction, laying the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church in the West. He had founded eight churches before building the first one in Cincinnati in 1819. In 1823 he made a trip to Europe for pecuniary aid and returned in 1826 with ample resources, with which he began the erection of a cathedral, a parochial school and convents of the Sisters of Charity and of the Dominican nuns. In 1831 he opened the Athenæum, afterwards known as the College of St. Francis Xavier. A large part of the rest of his life was devoted to missionary work among the Indians and it was while on one of these visitations that he was attacked with cholera and died in a few days.

Bishop Purcell was born in Mallow, County Cork, Ireland, on February 26, 1800, and came to this country in 1818. He was educated in Baltimore and afterwards in Paris. His success as a priest of Notre Dame and afterwards professor and president of St. Mary's College brought him the nomination of Bishop of Cincinnati, to which office he was consecrated on October 13, 1833. At that time there was but one small frame Catholic Church in the city and not more than 16 in the diocese. During his incumbency he founded academies and schools, organized German congregations, built convents for the Ursulines and others. He became Archbishop in 1840 with four suffragan bishops attached to his see and received the pallium from the Pope's own hands in 1851. He thereafter founded one of the chief theological seminaries—Mount St. Mary's of the West. He held provincial councils in 1851 and 1858. In 1869 he attended the Vatican Council, where he tok an active part in the deliberations, opposing the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. He celebrated his golden jubilee in 1876. Three years later he was overwhelmed by a financial crisis, which involved both him and his brother Edward, although neither have ever been suspected of dishonesty or evil intent. The Archbishop was given a coadjutor, William H. Elder, in 1880, and he thereupon retired to Brown County, where he lived until his death. At the time of his death the number of Catholics in the diocese originally held by him was more than a half million, the priests 480 and the churches 500. One of the interesting episodes of his life and of Cincinnati's history is the debate which began on January 13, 1837, with Alexander Campbell. In 1870 he again made a public defense of Christianity. Both discussions were printed and widely circulated.

A Jewish society was established as early as 1822 and in 1826 occupied a frame building west of Main between Third and Fourth as a synagogue. The Congregation of the Children of Israel, Reformed, which now occupies the Mound Street Temple, was organized in 1830. In 1834 the Synagogue was located on Fourth between Sycamore and Broadway and two years later adjoined the southeast corner of Sixth and Broadway. Joseph Jonas seems to have presided.

The First Congregational Church was organized some time in 1829 in a meeting at the city council chamber and a charter was obtained the following year by Elisha Brigham, Jesse Smith, Nathan Guilford, George Carlisle and William Greene, January 21, 1830. Some of the prominent citizens who took an active interest in the movement were: Micajah T. Williams, Timothy Flint, James H. Perkins, Charles Stetson, William Goodman and John C. Vaughan. The first sermons were preached by Rev. Charles Briggs of the American Unitarian Association in various churches loaned to the congregation. On May 23, 1830, a building was dedicated at the southwest corner of Fourth and Race. (The Directory of 1834 gives the Unitarian Church at the corner of Vine and Fourth streets.) The first pastor was Rev. E. B. Hall of Providence, who came in September, 1830. In 1832 he was succeeded by Ephraim Peabody, who also joined Mr. Perkins and others in the publication of the *Western Messenger*, a monthly magazine. He resigned and then came a succession of giants in the intellectual history of the city and country. The first was Rev. Aaron Bancroft, father of the historian, a "Minute Man" at Lexington and Bunker Hill, a graduate of Harvard and a leading man in the Congregational Church throughout his life. He was also president of the American Unitarian Association. Before coming to this city he had already published a number of sermons in defense of religious liberty, a eulogy of Washington and a life of Washington, which were republished in England, and numerous vol-

umes of sermons on other subjects. He was succeeded for a short time by an even better known man, Cyrus Augustus Bartol, who was for three-quarters of a century a leader in religious thought. His successor was Samuel Osgood, also distinguished both in his church and in literature. He was for a time editor of the *Western Messenger*. The next in this list of great men was James Freeman Clarke, whose fame as a preacher and as a writer is not surpassed by that of any American. Dr. Clarke also took his turn at editing the *Western Messenger*. This magazine, which started in June, 1835, under the patronage of the Unitarians of the West with Ephraim Peabody as editor, removed in its second year to Louisville, but afterwards was brought back to Cincinnati so that Dr. W. H. Channing could take charge of it. It is apparent that these ministers alternated in their preaching between Cincinnati and Louisville. Dr. Clarke was succeeded by the poet-painter, Christopher Pearse Cranch. Most of these gentlemen, Dr. Bartol, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Osgood and Mr. Cranch, lived to a very old age and many now living have had the pleasure of their acquaintance. In August, 1837, Rev. Mr. Huntoon became pastor for a time but resigned the following year. He was succeeded by another distinguished clergyman, Henry Whitney Bellows, who subsequently became very prominent in church circles, in journalism, in letters, and in public life, being the chief promoter and president of the United States Sanitary Commission. Dr. Bellows survived until 1882. He resigned after a short stay and was succeeded in the winter of 1838 by William Henry Channing, the distinguished nephew of a distinguished uncle. Dr. Channing resided in this city for a number of years, resigning his pastorate January, 1844; he died 40 years later.

Other churches mentioned in the Directory of 1836-37 were the two German Lutheran churches, —one on the north side of Sixth between Walnut and Vine, of which Rev. H. Lower was pastor, and the other north of Canal between Walnut and Vine, of which Rev. William Howser was pastor. The first is the church which had been founded in 1814 and of which Rev. L. H. Myer was so long in charge on Third between Broadway and Ludlow.

The Universalist Church was established some time in 1827. A Mr. Rogers was its pastor in 1836 and the church was on the west side of Walnut between Third and Fourth.

We have several references to the cause of religion generally in Cincinnati. In 1834 two Eastern clergyman, Rev. Dr. Reed and Rev. Dr. Mathieson, visited the city. While admitting that religion was in a low state here they thought that, considering the rapid increase of the people and the character of the increase, it was in a remarkably advanced state. "The population has grown at about one thousand per year, and this great influx has been nearly all of a worldly and unpromising nature. Yet there are twenty-one places of worship, and they are of good size and well attended."

Another visitor, in 1838, a clergyman named Buckingham, compares the city from a religious standpoint, as he found it, with Nottingham and found that Cincinnati, a city not yet 50 years old, whose site had been a dense forest in the memory of many of its inhabitants, with little more than half of the population of Nottingham, was possessed of as many ministers and churches and nearly twice the number of communicants.

Of the ministers of that day we are told by Rev. Timothy Flint that some were men of considerable talent and readiness, uniform in the habit of extemporaneous preaching, which gave a certain degree of effect even to ordinary matter. This is largely due to the preponderance of the Methodists and the more sensitive character of the people of the South. Discussion was not much affected. The declamatory prevailed. Their flights were elevated at times but not usually well sustained. The speaking on the whole was modeled in one form. They commenced a paragraph in a moderate tone, gradually elevating the voice with each period and closing it with the greatest exertion and the highest pitch of the voice. The voice was then let down to the original modulation in order to run it up to the same pitch again.

An incident of interest was the passage of a resolution by the congregation of what was then known as the Sixth Presbyterian Church, afterwards the Vine Street Congregational Church, in 1838, to the effect that no candidate applying for admission to the fellowship of the church would be received by the session who either held slaves or openly avowed his belief that the holding or using men as property was agreeable to

God. This congregation worshiped for a time in Wing's school house, where the Gazette Building (now the Hulbert Block) afterwards stood. At other times the Bazaar, the Cincinnati College Building, the Universalist Church on Walnut street, Burke's church and the Mechanics' Institute were used as places of worship. In 1836 the Baptist property on Sixth street was bought for $8,000. The first pastor was Rev. Asa Mahan, who served from 1831 to 1835. He was succeeded by H. Norton, 1835 to 1837, Artemus Bullard for a few months in 1837 and Jonathan Blanchard, March, 1838, to 1845. This church also took a strong stand in behalf of temperance and refused the admission of persons to the church who would not adopt the principle of entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits except for medicine.

The agitation against temperance was one of long continuance. Dr. Lyman Beecher had made a reputation by his powerful lectures against intemperance before coming here, especially in his lectures delivered in 1826 from his pulpit at Litchfield. The same year the American Temperance Society was formed and in six years there were no less than 6,000 societies containing a million of members. This movement undoubtedly had great influence on the people. There had been great abuses in the use of intoxicants, not only in the lower classes but in the highest ranks of society. The same condition was prevalent in England as well as in America and in the East as well as the West. As a result of the long continued agitation the custom of offering liquors on all occasions to all persons gradually died out. It must be remembered that in those days the liquors that were barred were the so-called spirituous liquors, such as whiskey, gin and brandy. Malt liquors were not assailed. In September, 1827, the matter of temperance was considered at a public meeting of the citizens held at the Court House, of which we have an account given by Mr. Mansfield.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—VII.

LAWYERS, DOCTORS, THEATRES, MUSEUMS, SOCIETIES AND CLUBS.

THE LAWYERS—THE DOCTORS—THE THEATRES—THE MUSEUMS—THE SOCIAL LIFE—DRAKE'S "BUCKEYE CLUB"—INVITATIONS—THE SEMI-COLON CLUB—THE SOCIETY FOR INVESTIGATION—THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY—THE CINCINNATI LYCEUM—THE INQUISITION—THE COLLEGE OF TEACHERS—THE CINCINNATI LITERARY SOCIETY—EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—MEDICAL SOCIETIES—CINCINNATI SHOOTING CLUB—CINCINNATI ANGLING CLUB.

THE LAWYERS.

The attorneys of Cincinnati in 1819 were given in the directory as follows: William Corry, Nicholas Longworth, James W. Gazlay, Benjamin M. Piatt, David K. Este, David Wade, Stephen Sedgwick, Daniel Roe, William M. Worthington, David Shepherd, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Q. Richardson, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, Richard S. Wheatley, Joseph S. Benham, John Lee Williams, Nathan Guilford, Bellamy Storer, Thomas Clark, Francis A. Blake, Elisha Hotchkiss, Samuel Todd, Chauncy Whittelsey, Thomas P. Eskridge and Hugh McDougal. Six years later (Directory of 1825) the names of Blake, Clark, Eskridge, Hotchkiss, Richardson, Sedgwick, Todd, Wheatley, Whittelsey, Williams and Worthington disappear from the list, although many of these were actually at the bar at that time. The new names are: William Brackenridge, Moses Brooks, Edward L. Drake, Samuel Findlay, Charles Fox, William Greene, E. S. Haines, Charles Hammond, Elijah Hayward, William H. Harrison, John Henderson, Jesse Kimball, Samuel Lewis, J. S. Lytle, Jacob Madeira, Samuel R. Miller, Jacob W. Piatt, Benjamin F. Powers, Arthur St. Clair, Dan Stone, Daniel Van Matre, Elmore W. Williams, Isaiah Wing and John G. Worthington. Some of these whose names appear for the first time in this directory, notably Arthur St. Clair (Junior), were residents long before the time of the appearance of the earlier directory. St. Calir practiced for a time at Hamilton.

A docket entry in the Court of Common Pleas of February 20, 1827, occasioned by a tax of $5 per head which had just been imposed upon attorneys includes 32 names, of whom Mr. Cist mentions but 10 as still practicing as late as 1844. In 1831, 58 names are included on the roll, of whom four were living as late as 1880,—Charles Fox, Judge Woodruff, Henry E. Spencer and S. Y. At Lee.

The list of attorneys in 1827 given by Mr. Cist was as follows: David K. Este, Bellamy Storer, Joseph S. Benham, Nathaniel Wright, David Wade, William Greene, William Corry, Charles Hammond, Samuel R. Miller, Nicholas Longworth, Thomas Hammond, Samuel Lewis, Daniel Stone, Charles Fox, Elijah Hayward, Jesse Kimball, John S. Lytle, J. W. Piatt, N. G. Pendleton, E. S. Haines, J. G. Worthington, W. H. Harrison, Jr., Samuel Findlay, Moses

Brooks, J. Madeira, Daniel Van Matre, Isaiah Wing, Nathan Guilford, Benjamin F. Powers, James W. Gazlay, D. J. Caswell and Hugh McDougal. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 74.)

Of this list, Samuel Miller, Thomas Hammond, W. H. Harrison, Jr., J. Madeira, Nathan Guilford and Hugh McDougal had disappeared by 1831. The new names of that year were Jacob and Isaac G. Burnet, B. Ames, Henry Starr, Benjamin Drake, William R. Morris, Jephtha D. Garrard, Hugh Peters, J. Southgate, B. J. Fessenden, Vachel Worthington, Thomas Longworth, James F. Conover, Thomas J. Strait, S. P. Chase, D. H. Hawes, Thomas Morehead, Robert T. Lytle, R. Hodges, N. Riddle, Harvey Hall, H. S. Kyle, S. Y. At Lee, F. W. Thomas, Talbot Jones, Stephen Fales, E. Woodruff, H. E. Spencer, H. P. Gaines and Henry Orn. To these Judge Carter adds the names of Judge John M. Goodenow and Timothy Walker.

Nathaniel Wright began the practice of the law in 1817 and continued in it until his retirement in 1842. He was a graduate of Dartmouth and in his early days was a school teacher. After his arrival in Cincinnati he devoted himself entirely to the practice of the law, not allowing himself to be diverted into any other pursuits. As a result he became the type of the lawyer of the old school of the finest character. After 25 years' practice he retired from the active pursuit of his profession. He lived to enjoy a ripe old age and died in his 87th year in the year 1875. He was the father of Judge D. Thew Wright and grandfather of Judge Dan Thew Wright.

David Wade came of a family of pioneers, being the son of the pioneer David E. Wade. He was for 17 years prosecuting attorney of Hamilton County—from 1812 to 1829—and "performed the duties of that onerous and responsible position faithfully and diligently. He was a good man, a good lawyer, a good public prosecutor and a useful citizen." He married Mary Mansfield, a sister of John Mansfield, who at that time was living with the family of Jared Mansfield at the Bates place. (Mansfield's Memories, p. 42; Carter, pp. 39-50.)

Nicholas Longworth, although he continued to be a member of the bar, took no active part in practice during the years covered by this chapter.

Charles Fox was an active member of the bar until the time of his death in 1882, when he died at the age of 84 as a result of an accident. He was an Englishman who came to Cincinnati in 1818. He worked for a time as house carpenter and afterwards studied law with Nathaniel Wright. He was admitted to the bar in 1823. He was associated at different times with Judge Bellamy Storer, T. D. Lincoln and Ira D. French. He was judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati from 1862 to 1868. Judge Carter says of him that there was no lawyer who had had and had attained to more law business and that for a time he was always on one side or the other of every important case in court. He was regarded as a man of learning in the law and especially in points of practice and his long experience caused him to be sought frequently for advice and counsel by his fellow practitioners. (Carter, p. 88.)

Judge Burnet of course continued to be one of the most notable figures both at the bar and on the bench. He had retired from the practice in 1817 but in 1821 he accepted a position on the Supreme bench of the State. This he resigned in 1828 to accept an election to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of General Harrison, who had been appointed by President Adams, Minister to Columbia. Burnet's term in the Senate expired in 1833 and from that time until his death, 20 years later, although not actually engaged in practice, he was regarded as a leading figure at the bar.

Another of Cincinnati's most distinguished lawyers was Bellamy Storer, born in Maine in 1796. He studied at Bowdoin College and afterwards in Boston, where he was admitted to the bar in 1817. He shortly afterwards moved to Cincinnati, where he almost immediately took a position of prominence. He is said to have been one of the 25 editors associated with Samuel J. Browne in writing for the latter's paper, the *Crisis*. In 1834 he was elected by the Whigs to Congress, defeating the well known Gen. Robert T. Lytle, who was supported by the administration. While in Congress he won for himself a distinguished position. He was an ardent supporter of General Harrison, his warm personal friend, and did much towards his election to the presidency. He was presidential elector in 1844 and in 1854 was elected one of the judges of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, being associated with O. M. Spencer and William Y. Gholson, the three making up the most distinguished court in the county's history. He held this position for 18 years, at which time he resigned. He was for many years a professor in the Cincinnati Law School. Upon his retirement from the bench in 1872 he returned to the

practice of the law, associating himself with his son of the same name. He died June 1, 1875.

Storer, throughout his whole life, was one of the most conspicuous of Cincinnati's citizens, renowned for his ability as lawyer and judge, for his public spirit as a member of the community and for his wide learning and keen wit. Of no member of the bar have more anecdotes been told and no name stands higher in the list of Cincinnati lawyers. (Mansfield's Memories, pp. 163, 165, 166 and 286; Carter's "Old Court House," pp. 45-47.)

Joseph S. Benham has been frequently mentioned in this volume. As stated elsewhere, he was a Kentuckian of great eloquence and most imposing appearance. He it was who delivered the address on behalf of the citizens welcoming Lafayette and of him Judge Carter tells some of his most amusing stories. He figures in "Horace in Cincinnati" as follows:

> With person of gigantic size,
> With thund'ring voice, and piercing eyes,
> When great Stentorious deigns to rise,
>   Adjacent crowds assemble,
> To hear a sage the laws expound,
> In language strong, by reasoning sound,
> Till, though yet not guilty found,
>   The culprits fear and tremble.

He was one of the faculty of the Cinicnnati Law School in 1836 and afterwards. (Mansfield's Memories, pp. 164 and 288; Carter's "Old Court House," pp. 38-41.)

Samuel R. Miller was for a time associate judge and afterwards Speaker of the House of Representatives. Elijah Hayward, one of the old lawyers of Cincinnati, was appointed to the Supreme Court of the State in 1830. He is mentioned as a good lawyer and reputable judge but without any special prominence. He was obliged to resign on account of his poor health. Samuel Lewis was the friend of William Woodward and one of the trustees under his will. He was for a time in the clerk's office under Major Gano and was afterwards superintendent of the common schools of Ohio. He became distinguished in later life for his anti-slavery agitation and was a candidate of the Liberty party for Governor in 1846, 1851 and 1853 and the president of the National Liberty Convention at Buffalo in 1847.

William Greene was a well known attorney who came originally from Rhode Island, where he graduated at Brown. He was president for some years of the Common School Board, dean of the Law School of the Cincinnati College and a trustee of the McMicken fund. He afterwards

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years. Harvey Hall was the editor of the Directory of 1825. He was a rather eccentric old bachelor. Major Conover was the editor of the *Whig*. William R. Morris was successful as a lawyer and became a wealthy man. Judge Carter tells us that he was distinguished for his blue coat and brass buttons and ruffled shirt and large brilliant breastpin. Mr. Scarborough speaks of him as a man of energy and push, of high spirit and great manly beauty. He it was that drew up the first paper connected with the organization of the Law Library in 1846.

Vachel Worthington was one of the great lawyers of Cincinnati. He was born in Kentucky in 1802. He graduated from Transylvania University in 1822. He was admitted to the bar of Cincinnati in 1825 and after a few years' practice became associated with Nicholas Longworth and his nephew Thomas, of the firm name of Longworths & Worthington. After the retirement of Longworth, he took charge of the business of the firm and, after Mr. Longworth's death, of his estate, which he managed until 1870. He was for a number of years counsel of the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company and other leading banks and corporations of the city and throughout his long period of practice at the bar he stood among the leading members of his profession, particularly as a counselor. He was elected to the State Senate in 1873, where he rendered valuable service. He was the author of what is known as the Worthington bill, which requires cash payment in all city dealings. He was very vigorous in his opposition to the Southern Railway scheme.

A distinguished lawyer who came a little later was John C. Wright, who had been a judge of the Supreme Court and member of Congress. He came in 1834 and associated with him as partner Timothy Walker. He was much interested in politics and was called by his adversaries one of General Harrison's conscience keepers. This arose from the fact that he and Judge Burnet took charge of the General's correspondence. He subsequently, at the death of Charles Hammond, purchased an interest in the *Gazette* and became its editor. He was also editor of "Wright's Reports of Supreme Court Decisions." His son, Crafts J. Wright, came to Cincinnati with Judge Goodenow in 1832. Goodenow was soon elected to the bench and Wright became connected with the *Gazette*. Another of this family was Benjamin Tappan Wright, who was a successful young lawyer but died in his youth. Benjamin Fessenden was distinguished for his humor as well as his eloquence. He, too, is the hero of a number of Judge Carter's stories. (Carter's "Old Court House," pp. 97-108.)

Timothy Walker was another of Ohio's distinguished lawyers. He graduated at Harvard in 1820 and afterwards studied at the law school of that university. He moved to Cincinnati in 1831. With John C. Wright he established the Cincinnati Law School in 1833 and two years later, when it was united with the Cincinnati College, he took entire charge of the law department and was professor there until 1844. He was president judge in 1841, founded the *Western Law Journal* in 1843 and edited it for a number of years. He was given the degree of LL. D. by Harvard in 1854 and was the Phi Beta Kappa orator at that institution in 1850. His "Introduction to American Law" was for many years the most generally used text-book in this country, being regarded as indispensable as the "Commentaries" of Kent and Blackstone. He also wrote a number of other works on historical and legal subjects. He died in Cincinnati in 1856.

Henry Starr came to Cincinnati from the East. He was a lawyer of much ability. He was opposed to Timothy Walker in one of the most celebrated cases of that day, that in which the effort was made to break the will of Elmore Williams, one of the richest men of Cincinnati. Starr was for the will and was able to sustain it. Edward King, the son of the distinguished Federalist, Rufus King, who was the last candidate of the Federalist party for the presidency, practiced in Cincinnati the last years of his life from 1831 to 1836. He helped found the Cincinnati Law School, in which his son Rufus King was for so many years a professor and which the latter so generously endowed. Edward King married Sarah Worthington, the daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington, afterwards Mrs. Sarah Peter, one of the most distinguished women who ever lived in Cincinnati. James H. Perkins was a lawyer for a few years in the early "thirties." His fame, however, was principally that of a journalist, historian and minister. Robert T. Lytle, the son of Gen. William Lytle, has been referred to repeatedly in this book. Although he showed great legal ability, his principal activity was in the field of politics. He was Congressman twice and took an active part in the politics of the nation, being quite a favorite of President Jackson. As an orator he gained a national reputation. Gen. Samuel Findlay was also among the most prominent lawyers

of his time, but perhaps the feature of his life that will be longest remembered is the General Ross episode.

This amusing episode, fixed by Judge Carter in the year 1829, is the visit of one Gen. John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokees. General Lytle, one of the best known citizens, was coming down the river in a steamboat when a passenger introduced himself as General Ross, at that time a man of considerable national prominence. Ross had been educated at a school in Connecticut and produced a number of letters of introduction, one of which was to Lytle himself. Upon his arrival in the city he was introduced by Lytle and the social lights of the town entertained him very generally. Judges of the court waited upon him, distinguished members of the bar took him in charge and he attended the most aristocratic churches. A distinguished literary personage gave him a box party at the theatre and the young men of the city were particularly attentive to him. As he was a tall fine looking fellow about 23 years old, with straight black hair and coppery face, he became quite a social favorite and many parties were given in his honor. Particularly prominent in courtesies to him was Samuel Findlay, one of the young beaux of the time. It is said that Findlay became quite intimate with him and on several occasions had shared his room and bed in the Cincinnati Hotel on Broadway and Front street. Finally a party was given in his honor at Judge Este's residence on Ninth near Main street, but for some peculiar reason the guest of honor did not show up. Finally the host called his waiter boy and directed him to go to the hotel and see what delayed the "General." The darky, who was wiser than his master, revealed the secret that the so-called General Ross was a negro impersonating the Indian chief and that at that time, tired of his white friends, he was at a negro dance on Columbia street. Here he was found with his slippers off, dancing and playing the castanets to the edification of his colored friends. It was subsequently discovered that he was a runaway slave belonging in Arkansas.

Naturally the story became town property and the unfortunate Findlay and others who had been so generous in their attentions came in for the ridicule of the community. Findlay was made the occasion of many jokes and Peyton Symmes naturally exercised his punning art upon him. To Symmes is given credit for the story that Findlay was like the letter "C," because whenever prefixed to Ross he became cross. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 13; Mansfield's Memories, p. 197; Carter's "Old Court House," p. 86.)

An interesting member of the bar in the early days, who also cut a very important figure in the social life of the town, was Peyton Short Symmes, a grandnephew of Judge Symmes. He lived for many years in the stone house built by his father, Daniel Symmes, at the corner of Lawrence and Congress streets. He was for many years register of the Land Office and also was from time to time member of the Council, of the Board of Education and the Board of Health. He was also a trustee of the old college and took part in the transactions of the Western College of Teachers. He was a man of distinct literary quality and particularly careful with regard to the accurate printing of his productions. He contributed considerable poetry to the various periodicals of the day. He was also a great punster. A special form of amusement was the sketching of portraits, which were very likely to be caricatures. He could be seen in every gathering, at the corner of every street, in newspaper offices, in the theatre and at parties with a white card in his hand, on which he would take the portrait of some stranger. This peculiarity made him a striking personage in every assemblage. He is supposed to have had in preparation a biography of Judge Symmes, but as in other undertakings of his life he began much and completed but little. He lived until July 7, 1861, at which time he died on Mount Auburn at the residence of his son-in-law, Charles L. Colburn.

THE DOCTORS.

The names of the physicians who practiced in the city during this period are given to some extent in the chapter on this subject by Dr. Carson. In the various accounts of the medical institutions are given many names of prominent physicians. In fact a complete list of the teaching staff of the different medical institutions of the city is pretty likely to include all the reputable physicians of the time, for doctors much more than lawyers seem to feel the next step after receiving their education is to start others in the same professional path.

The physicians of Cincinnati in 1819 were given in the directory as follows: John Selman, Daniel Drake, John Cranmer, Coleman Rogers, Daniel Dyer, William Barnes, Oliver B. Baldwin, Thomas Morehead, Daniel Slayback, John A. Hallam, Josiah Whitman, Samuel Ramsay, Isaac Hough, Edward Y. Kemper, John Doug-

lass, Ithiel Smead, John Woolley, Truman Bishop, Ebenezer H. Pierson, Jonathan Easton, Charles V. Barbour and Vincent C. Marshall.

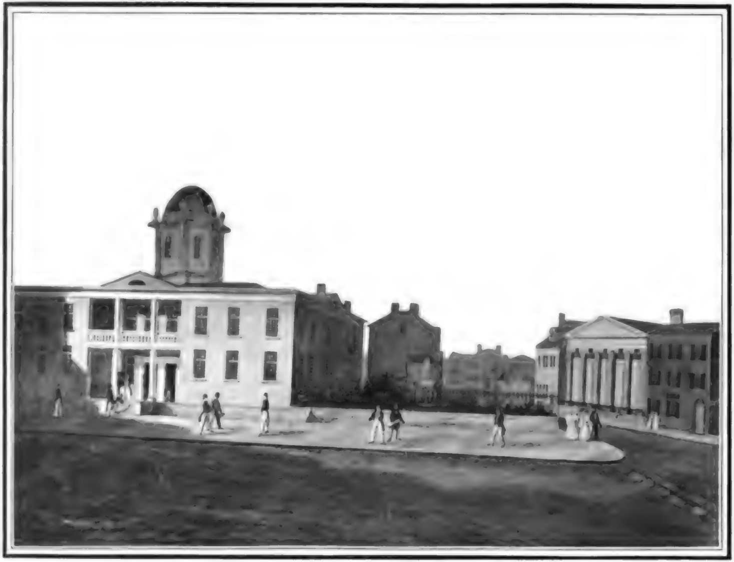
Six years later a dozen of these names disappear from the pages of the directory. The most prominent of these is of course Dr. Daniel Drake, who was at Lexington on one of his many absences from the city. The others were Drs. Rogers, Dyer, Baldwin, Thomas Morehead, Daniel Slayback, Hallam, Kemper, Douglass, Smead, Easton and Barbour. The new names are Jedediah Cobb, Addison Dashiell, George W. Dashiell, John Morehead, Samuel Nixon, Jesse Smith, Guy W. Wright and George T. Ratrie. All of these had the degree of doctor of medicine and Ratrie was a dentist as well. The licentiates added to the list of physicians were John E. Bush, Oliver Fairchild, Lorenzo Lawrence and Abel Slayback. Others in the list but without degrees were James M. Ludlum, Edward H. Stall, Michael Wolf and Daniel P. Robbins.

According to the docket entry of the Court of Common Pleas of February 20, 1827, reciting the physicians and surgeons who had paid the tax at that time required by law, the following 20 were licensed at that time to practice: Samuel Ramsay, E. H. Pierson, Jesse Smith, V. C. Marshall, Guy M. Wright, John Woolley, Lorenzo Lawrence, J. W. Hagerman, Jedediah Cobb, Josiah Whitman, Beverly Smith, Isaac Hough, C. W. Barbour, John Cranmer, John Morehead, John Selman, James W. Mason, Abel Slayback, F. C. Oberdorf, J. M. Ludlum, E. Y. Kemper, C. Munroe, Edward H. Stall, J. E. Smith, Daniel Drake and William Barnes.

In the Directory of 1831 there appear 47 names of physicians, members of the Medical Society, as membership in this society was obligatory upon those who desired to practice; it is safe to assume that this is a representative list, yet strangely enough there are only about a dozen of the names given in the above entry which appear in 1831. These dozen include Hough, Barnes, Woolley, Whitman, Mason, John Morehead, Ludlum, Smith, Marshall, Cobb, Slayback and Daniel Drake. Of the 47 contained in this Directory of 1831, 21 reappear in the Directory of 1836. They are William Barnes, Hugh Bonner, Jedediah Cobb, Daniel Drake, R. P. Hayes, James Killough, Lorenzo Lawrence, R. S. Lawson, James M. Ludlum, John and Robert Morehead, V. C. Marshall, James M. Mason, Joseph N. McDowell, M. Rogers, Wolcott Richards, William S. Ridgely, L. C. Rives, John T. Shotwell, Josiah Whitman and Charles N. Woodward. Other names in the Directory of 1836, many of which are names of physicians who subsequently became prominent, are as follows: Stephen Bonner, Isaac Colby, E. W. Crittenden, J. S. Dodge, John Eberle, Richard Eberle, M. Flagg, F. G. Fore, S. D. Gross, Charles Higbee, Otho M. Herron, William Judkins, James Lakey, Thomas Mitchell, Ezra Read, Charles Reed, Alban G. Smith, John Stone, R. P. Simmons, Henry Schultz, William M. Sanderson, William Ehrelkeld, F. Augustus Waldo and William Wood.

Of course Dr. Drake continued to be not only one of the leading figures of Cincinnati life but also of his profession during this period. His services in connection with the educational institutions of the city and the hospital have been mentioned elsewhere. After his expulsion from the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio he accepted an invitation to a chair in the Transylvania University, where he remained about four years, returning in 1827 to Cincinnati. During the year following his return he founded the Cincinnati Eye Infirmary and then began his editorship of the *Western Medical and Physical Journal*, of which he was in charge for many years. He also published a work in relation to the cholera and took an active part in the various canal and railway schemes of the time. The subject of medical practitioners is discussed in a separate chapter of this work.

The faculty of the Medical College of Ohio after its reorganization in 1825 included a number of well known physicians. Jedediah Cobb appears in 1825 as professor of the institutes and practice of medicine. In 1829 he held the chair of anatomy and physiology while in 1836 he appears as professor of surgery. Elijah Slack, the president of the college, was professor of chemistry and pharmacy for a number of years. This chair appears to have passed to Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell by 1834 and in 1836 it was held by Dr. John Locke. Dr. John Morehead was identified with the institution for many years. He appears first in 1825 as professor of materia medica and medical obstetrics, in 1829 of the theory and practice of medicine and again as professor of obstetrics in 1834 and later. Dr. Jesse Smith in 1825 was professor of anatomy and surgery. His last appearance in the faculty is in the Directory of 1831. In 1829 Dr. Josiah Whitman was professor of obstetrics and Charles F. Pearson of materia medica. Whitman appears again as holding the same chair in 1831. Pearson is also given as holding the chair of materia medica



CINCINNATI COLLEGE AND CORNER FOURTH AND WALNUT IN THE "THIRTIES."

in 1831 and 1834, being succeeded in 1836 by Dr. James C. Cross. Dr. Alban G. Smith is given in 1834 as professor of surgery. Dr. John Eberle in this year appears as professor of the theory and practice of medicine, which chair he held also in 1836. Dr. Samuel D. Gross was demonstrator of anatomy in 1834. In 1836 Dr. John T. Shotwell appears as adjunct professor of anatomy.

The faculty of the Medical College of Ohio in 1839 consisted of John T. Shotwell, dean and professor of anatomy and physiology; John Locke, professor of chemistry and pharmacy; Reuben D. Mussey, professor of surgery; M. B. Wright, professor of materia medica and therapeutics; John Morehead, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children, and Jared P. Kirtland, professor of the theory and practice of medicine. The number of students at that time was given as 120. The college had moved into its own quarters on the south side of Sixth street between Vine and Race in the fall of 1826. The ground is said to have been purchased at the cost of $15 a front foot. The building built at this time was occupied until 1851, when the new building, the one so familiar to Cincinnatians, was erected. This remained the quarters of the Medical College of Ohio until its removal in 1890 to the buildings formerly occupied by the University.

The proposed faculty of the medical department of the Miami University, organized as stated above in 1830, consisted of Daniel Drake as dean and professor of the institutes and practice of medicine; George McClellan, professor of anatomy and physiology; John Eberle, professor of materia medica and botany; James M. Staughton, professor of surgery; John F. Henry, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; Thomas D. Mitchell, professor of chemistry and pharmacy; and Joseph M. McDowell, adjunct professor of anatomy and physiology. The lectures of the department were delivered in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute on Walnut street.

The Academy of Medicine, organized in the summer of 1831 to furnish a summer school, was composed of the following gentlemen who lectured on the subjects affixed to their names: James M. Staughton, institutes of surgery; Isaac Hough, operative surgery; Joseph M. McDowell, anatomy; Wolcott Richards, physiology; Landon C. Rives, institutes of medicine and medical jurisprudence; Daniel Drake, practice of physic and materia medica; John F. Henry, obstetrics; and Thomas D. Mitchell, chemistry and pharmacy. (Directory of 1831, p. 193.)

The medical faculty of the Cincinnati College included Daniel Drake, dean and professor of the theory and practice of medicine; John P. Harrison, materia medica; James B. Rogers, chemistry and pharmacy; Landon C. Rives, obstetrics; Horatio G. Jameson, surgery; Samuel D. Gross, general and pathological anatomy, physiology and medical jurisprudence; Joseph M. McDowell, special and surgical anatomy; John L. Liddell, chemistry and botany; and J. S. Dodge, dissector. The statement is made in the Directory of 1836 that at the end of the first session just completed the degree of Doctor of Medicine had been conferred on 18 alumni of the institution and that there had been in attendance 66 students who arrived from 13 States.

In 1839 there were a few changes in the faculty. The chair of surgery was in charge of Dr. Willard Parker and Drs. Liddell and Dodge were no longer in the faculty. The dissections were in charge of Carey A. Trimble and clinical instruction in the Cincinnati Hospital was given by Drs. Drake, Parker and Rives.

In 1836 the law faculty of the Cincinnati College was composed of John C. Wright, professor of practice, pleading, evidence and criminal law; Joseph S. Benham, professor of commercial law and the law of personal property; Timothy Walker, professor of constitutional law and the law of real estate. This department during the year had 25 students in attendance and was about to confer the degree of Bachelor of Laws upon five members of the class. (Directory of 1836, pp. 227-228.)

In 1839 the law department was under the exclusive direction of Timothy Walker.

In the academic department of the college there had been by 1839 practically no change. James B. Rogers of the medical department was professor in chemistry in its application to the arts, agriculture, mineralogy and meteorology. Timothy B. Mason was in charge of vocal music and Sauvere Bonfis was professor of modern languages and literature. The engineering department was under the care of Prof. Ormsby M. Mitchel. The number of the students in the institution is given as 134. ("Cincinnati Almanac," 1839 and 1840.)

The president of the board of trustees of the Cincinnati College in 1836 was William R. Morris; Peyton S. Symmes was secretary and J. Smith Armstrong was treasurer.

Among the most distinguished men that ever

lived in Cincinnati was Dr. Samuel David Gross. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1805 and graduated at Jefferson Medical College in 1828. In 1833 he came to Cincinnati to become a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio. Here he delivered the first systematic course of lectures on morbid anatomy ever given in the United States. Five years later he became professor of surgery in the university at Louisville and afterwards returned to Philadelphia to become professor of surgery in the college where he had received his degree. This position he occupied almost until the time of his death, which occurred in 1884. Dr. Gross, during his residence in Cincinnati, made a number of experiments of a medical nature which, afterwards incorporated in his works, added much to the knowledge of his profession. He was one of the most prolific of medical writers.

Dr. John Eberle was born in Pennsylvania in 1787 and was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. He served as surgeon of militia in the War of 1812. He was one of the founders of Jefferson Medical College in 1822 and was a member of its faculty until 1831, when he was called to Cincinnati to accept a professorship in the Medical College of Ohio. He left Cincinnati in 1837 to become a member of the faculty of Transylvania University at Lexington. There he died in 1838. Dr. Eberle was one of the best known writers on medical subjects of his time and during his residence in the city his name, in addition to that of Dr. Gross and Drake, made the medical profession of Cincinnati well known throughout the country.

Dr. Jared Potter Kirtland, another distinguished physician, was born in Connecticut in 1793. He was educated in the academies of his native State and became an expert in the cultivation of fruits and flowers and a close student of botany. He subsequently attended the medical lectures in Edinburgh and afterwards at Yale, where he graduated in 1815. Some years later he removed to Poland, Ohio, and served three terms in the Ohio Legislature. In 1837 he was called to the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio and remained here five years. He also served as assistant in the geological survey of Ohio and made a report on the zoology of Ohio. He moved in 1841 to Cleveland, where he became very prominent. His contributions to the study of natural history made him well known throughout the country and he became a member of many scientific organizations. He was one of the founders of the Cleveland Academy of Science in 1845 and was its first and only president as in 1865 it became the Kirtland Society of Natural History. He is said to have been a man of great learning and peculiar personal magnetism and his influence in improving agriculture and horticulture and diffusing a love of natural history was felt throughout all the Northwestern States. He died in Cleveland in 1877.

Dr. John Morehead (Moorhead) was born in Ireland in 1784. He was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and afterwards was in the medical survey of the regular British Army. He came to Cincinnati in 1820. He was connected with the Medical College of Ohio for many years, in fact until 1845. At this time his father, who was a member of the nobility and proprietor of a large estate, died and Dr. Morehead returned to Ireland to assume the title of Sir John Morehead. He died in 1873.

Dr. John P. Harrison was born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1796. He studied medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. After his graduation he returned to his native city. In 1835 he came to Cincinnati as a professor in the Cincinnati College and remained in that school for the four years of the existence of the medical department. He subsequently became a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio, which position he held until the time of his death from cholera in 1849. He was an officer of many medical associations and one of the editors of the *Western Journal of Medicine* and afterwards of the *Western Lancet*. He published several works on medical subjects, particularly one on the subject of materia medica.

Another well known physician of this time, who was a student under Dr. Goforth, was Edward Young Kemper.

The earliest German physician is said to have been Dr. Mondhenck, who came here in 1815 and left about the time of the birth of the city. In 1819 came Dr. F. J. C. Oberdorf, a native of Heidelberg and a resident of Cincinnati for 37 years. Dr. Frederick Bunte was here for a short time and during the 10 years after 1830 there settled here Drs. Schneider, Tellcampf, Huber, Paul, Topp, Wilhelm, Wocher, Emert and Homberg.

The position of health officer was created in 1821 and in 1826 a smallpox scare caused an establishment of a Board of Health of five members, of which the mayor was one. The board increased a little, to seven members, and continued to render excellent service for some years.

THE THEATRES.

The controversy about the theatre, mentioned in an earlier chapter, did not seem to discourage the manager, Alexander Drake, and in April, 1819, he intimated his willingness to take charge of a permanent establishment devoted to amusements. This of course reopened the discussion and a storm of attack burst upon those favorable to the new idea. A meeting of citizens, however, was held at the Reading Room, where a company was formed in which were included as stockholders a number of prominent citizens and where Mr. Drake pledged himself to preserve the purity and morality of the stage. A subscription paper was circulated and its success was indicated by the paragraph in the directory of that year, where the theatre calls for the following comment:

"Until within a short period, there have been no successful attempts to introduce the drama here on a permanent footing. An edifice for the purpose is now, however, commenced on Second street, between Main and Sycamore, to be finished in a style of neatness and elegance. It is to be constructed of brick; the dimensions ninety-two by forty feet—the front to be ornamented by a pediment supported by pillars. It is contemplated the building will be so far completed as to admit of performances by the first of March ensuing, when it is to be opened under the management of Messrs. Collins and Jones with a full and respectable corps of comedians."

The building was finished in the spring of the following year. It contained a pit, two tiers of boxes and a gallery and could accommodate almost 800 people. From the pit there was a door that opened to the alley running from Second to Front streets which was on the west side of the theatre. A proscenium arch was on each side and a panel door from which the actor or the manager could, if he desired, address the audience. The stage itself was of good size and was furnished with footlights lighted by sperm oil. In the auditorium was a chandelier of lamps and there were lamps running about the balustrade of the second tier of boxes. The theater had for its motto, placed over the green curtain, "To Hold, As 'Twere, The Mirror Up To Nature."

This building was regarded as the best structure of the kind in the West and from the descriptions that have been handed down it must have been quite attractive in appearance and well adapted for its purpose. It seems to have gone by the name of the Columbia Street Theatre, although at other times it was called the Globe Theatre. The management of the theatre was under the control, as stated, of Messrs. Collins and Jones, who owned half of the stock. Several years after its erection a drop curtain containing a view of Cincinnati from Covington was painted by a man of the latter town, named Lucas. This was regarded as a work of great beauty and added materially to the attractiveness of the little playhouse.

Mansfield tells us that this theatre was of a better character than many others. Here he heard Booth, the elder, in "Richard III" and there particularly was he delighted by Alex. Drake, who with his wife, a superior woman, was famous in the Western country. "I had seen 'Old Barnes,' as he was called, in New York, and many years after, Burton. Aleck Drake, totally unlike either, was, in the spirit of comedy, equal to them. He was superior to Barnes, but not equal to Burton, in gentlemanly bearing. In the power to make fun, without coarseness, Drake was unrivaled. His wife was superior to him—not so much on the stage as in mind and character. I once saw a little incident showing what an energetic, spirited woman she was.

"A fire broke out on Main street, and at that time there were no fire-engines, and the only mode of carrying water was by fire-buckets, filled at the river, and handed from hand to hand. So a line was formed from the fire to the river. In that line, among the men, was Mrs. Aleck Drake, handing buckets vigorously. She was a person of mind and character, and always a great favorite with the public. I saw her once in the character of 'Meg Merrilies,' which she looked and acted as thoroughly as Meg herself must have done in her wild freaks among the Gypsies, and in her character as prophetess announcing:

> And Bertram's right and Bertram's might
> Shall meet on Ellengowan Height.

"Drake died while she was yet in her prime, and she married Captain Cutter, the poet. He was author of the 'Song of Steam,' a noted piece in its day. Cutter was very intemperate, and great efforts were made by his friends to save him, but in vain. This marriage was an unhappy one. They were separated, and in a few years both were dead." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 192.)

Of this same theatre Mrs. Trollope speaks in her book:

"The theatre at Cincinnati is small, and not very brilliant in decoration; but in the absence of any other amusement our young men frequently attended it, and in the bright, clear nights of autumn and winter the mile and a half of distance was not enough to prevent the less enterprising members of the family from sometimes accompanying them. The great inducement to this was the excellent acting of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Drake, the managers. Nothing could be more distinct than their line of acting, but the great versatility of their powers enabled them often to appear together. Her cast was the highest walk of tragedy, and his the broadest comedy; but yet, as Goldsmith says of his sister heroines, I have known them change characters for a whole evening together, and have wept with him and laughed with her, as it was their will and pleasure to ordain. * * * His comic songs might have set the gravity of the judges and bishops together at defiance. Liston is great, but Alexander Drake was greater. * * *

"Her talent is decidedly first-rate. Deep and genuine feeling, correct judgment, and the most perfect good taste, distinguished her play in every character. Her last act of Belvidera is superior in tragic effect to anything I ever saw on the stage, the one great exception to all comparison, Mrs. Siddons, being set aside.

"It was painful to see these excellent performers playing to a miserable house, not a third full, and the audience probably not including half a dozen persons who would prefer their playing to that of the vilest strollers. In proof of this, I saw them as managers give place to paltry third-rate actors, from London, who would immediately draw crowded houses, and be overwhelmed with applause.* * *

"The theatre was really not a bad one, though the very poor receipts rendered it impossible to keep it in high order."

Another actor who subsequently became a favorite in Cincinnati appeared here in 1822 and 1823. This was Edwin Forrest, then a youth of 16, who was at that time beginning his career with a strolling dramatic company. His performance of "Jaffier" in "Venice Preserved," on July 4, 1823, was for the benefit of Cargill and his newly made bride, an actress well known at the time—Amelia Seymour. The company was one which had been organized for engagements alternately at Pittsburg, Lexington and Cincinnati. Forrest had already attracted the attention of the discerning, but had not as yet achieved any popularity. We know that his pay at this time was but eight dollars a week and that the circuit involved hardships utterly unknown at the present day. For instance, in Pittsburg the theatre was so leaky that umbrellas were needed on rainy nights. The company traveled down the Ohio River on a flat-boat taking five days for the trip to Maysville, where a performance was given. From there they went to Lexington and from that place to Cincinnati. They traveled across the country, with men on horseback and the women in covered wagons, and the whole cavalcade was such as to leave but little of the illusions of stage splendor. In Cincinnati in addition to the performance already mentioned Forrest acted in tragedy, danced, sang comic songs, tried the part of "Richard III" and even distinguished himself as the daughter of a broken-down soldier who comes on the stage to the fiddling of her father as he wails:

Oh, cruel was my parients as tored my love from me;
And cruel was the great big ship as took him off to sea;
And cruel was the capitaine, and the bo'sain, and the men,
As didn't care a shillin' if we never met again.

The Cincinnati season, however was not successful and the company stranded here. Forrest and others undertook a barn storming expedition, traveling from town to town in a couple of ramshackle wagons each drawn by a superannuated horse. At a later time they appeared again in Cincinnati and Forrest played the part of "Young Norval" in the play of "Douglas," "Sir Edward Mortimer" in the "Iron Chest" and at one time that of a plantation negro. Even this versatility however could not charm the dollars from the Cincinnati pockets and the theatre was obliged to close and Forrest and others had to obtain food by stealing the corn from the fields and having it cooked for them by some kindly negro washerwoman. (Robins' Twelve Great Actors.)

The theatre was opened on March 8, 1820, with quite imposing ceremonies. Mr. Garner acted in "Devil's Bridge" a little later. Mrs. Belinda Groshon, who according to *Liberty Hall* took "precedence in rank of all other actresses of the West," acted in "Meg Merrilies," "Abaelino," "Pizarro," "Richard III" (with Mr. Collins), "The Apostate," "Macbeth," and "The Stranger." After the coming of Mr. Drake's company, she divided the honors with Mrs. Drake, appearing with her in such plays as "The West Indian," "George Barnwell," and "Alexander the Great." Mrs. Groshon died rather unexpectedly on January 31, 1822, and was buried from the house of

Mrs. Junge on Sycamore street near Lower Market. Mr. Henderson's benefit in "Columbus or The Discovery of America" announced for the following day was postponed for three days by reason of this sad event.

A few weeks later in May, Messrs. Collins and Jones announced the engagement of the distinguished tragedian, Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, then one of the leading actors on the English speaking stage. For this engagement the box seats were sold at auction. Cooper appeared as "Othello" and "Macbeth" and in other, well known plays. He was supported by Mrs. Drake and the company. The discriminating frontier critics thought his "Macbeth" inferior to that of Kean.

Among the theatrical announcements in the first volume of the *Independent Press* which started July 4, 1822, we find the advertisement of the Pavilion Theatre where Messrs. Dumilieu and Charles announce a number of feats in natural philosophy and apparent necromancy. The same theatre on July 19th offers the favorite French comedy "Matrimony or the Mutual Surprise." At Mr. Cargill's benefit on July 26th was given the first performance of "The Spectre Bridegroom" followed by the farce "The Prize." The newspaper states that Mr. Cargill "is a man of irreproachable character in private life and is to say the least a very respectable performer." Firing at a target with a six-pounder in a field a little east of the Court House is another form of amusement announced at the same time. At Miss Seymour's benefit the comedy "Twenty Years Ago" was given. Another melodrama given in August of the same year (1822) was "The Forest of Bonday or Dog of Montargis." A theatrical notice of a different sort was the announcement of the marriage by Adam Hurdus of Austin Cargill to Amelia Seymour, the recipients of the benefit performances referred to. Miss Seymour's name appears as Mrs. Cargill for the first time on August 22, 1822, as one of the cast of Monk Lewis' "Castle Spectre" and the farce "The Village Lawyers or Justice and Mutton." In the museum Mr. Letton announced a very large alligator ten feet four inches in length. "The Blind Boy," "The Prize," "Each for Himself or The Rival Candidates" (the last named on election evening) were the plays given during the fall of 1822. On March 6, 1823, the theatre which had remained closed for several months reopened with a number of new performers said to be first class. Among those who made their first appearance on this evening were Mr. Pellig, Mr. Forrest, Mrs. and Miss Riddle, Mr. Eberle and Miss Fenton. The play given was "The Soldier's Daughter" followed by a favorite ballet called "Little Red Riding Hood" and the farce "Ella Rosenberg." Mr. Forrest took the part of "Young Malfort" in the comedy. Other plays announced for the season were "Damon and Pythias," the melodrama of "The Wandering Boys," the historical drama of "Marion or the Hero of Lake George," the farce "Too Late for Dinner" and the dramatic romance of "The Vampire." Cooper the celebrated tragedian passed through the town on the same day but was unable to remain long enough to give a performance. A performance of "Richard III" given on March 22nd of that year was the occasion of a great triumph of Mr. Forrest. A writer of the *Press* says that although a mere boy of 18 years of age (he was in fact but 16) he was a most promising actor and asks for a repetition of the play to give the town further opportunity of seeing a performance of the character of Richard which was better given than any heretofore on this side of the mountains. "He rose as he advanced with grandeur and sublimity—his first burst upon the feelings and sensibility of his auditory was in the scene with Lady Ann, where he portrayed the character as drawn by the great bard in a manner which drew forth spontaneous bursts of applause from his beholders. From this he marched forward with astonishing vigor and increase of conception of the character. * * * The manner and readings in some measure were new to us; however there were so much grandeur and elegance of acting that we were rivited with astonishment and gratification. * * * The audience expressed their gratification by the most unbounded plaudits.' Mr. Forrest's success was so great as to call for special editorial mention.

The Columbia Street Theatre after a number of alterations was opened as a summer theatre under the name of the Globe Theatre—Vauxhall in May, 1823. It was at this time that the scenic view of Cincinnati painted by Mr. Lucas was added. The warm weather made the attendance small but the play "How to Die for Love" was performed with spirit and correctness. The theatre itself was well lighted and the scenery not inferior to that of the city theatre. Better order was preserved than seems to have been the case the summer before. "Virginius," "The Castle Spectre" (this time with Forrest in the cast), "The Innkeeper's Daughter," "Abaelino" and "Brutus" are among other plays advertised

as given during the early part of this summer (1823) at the Globe Theatre. The advertisements do not include all the plays given, however, for the news columns of the papers frequently refer to others. For instance, "Othello" with Forrest in the title rôle was given June 17th. This it is said was his first attempt in the character and was not quite regarded as so successful as his "Richard." The jealous scenes however were particularly well acted. Mr. Cargill's "Iago" was the principal success of the evening. The critic finds fault with the costumes, saying with justice that a man dressed in a nightgown sitting by a lady's workstand with another man with a soldier's coat by his side did not give a fair presentation of the Duke and Senate of Venice assembled on business.

A different form of amusement was an exhibition of ventriloquism given this spring at the Cincinnati Hotel by a Mr. Nichols.

An actor who seems to have aroused the especial ire of the editor of the *Press* was a young man named Yeatman who appeared under the name of Courtney. He seems to have been cast in most of the plays given during the spring of 1823 but if the sarcastic account contained in the paper of his performance in the play of "Richard III" can be credited he must have made a ridiculous spectacle of himself. The inference was that he mistook the applause given to Forrest as intended for himself and as a result drew upon himself the ridicule of the audience.

The columns of the *Press* for the summer and fall of 1822 make a number of references to musical matters. A music school which is regularly advertised is that of Messrs. Thomas and Matthews. The *Press* speaks rather severely of a concert consisting of singing and dancing which was given at the Cincinnati Theatre in the presence of about 20 persons by a Mr. and Mrs. Smith formerly Miss O'Neal. Mr. Smith is said to have acted the clown and to have been beastly drunk while the lady was not much better off. They were advised to leave town.

The Handel Society publishes frequent notices of their meetings. In October, 1822, they announce the purchase of a fine large tone organ with seven stops and 68 keys in the hope that the citizens would lend a helping hand in paying for the same. The society, which had been organized for about three years, gave its concerts in the Episcopal Church on Sixth street and here was held the first performance on the new organ. This performance which was given on December 19, 1822, included a so-called "Select Oratorio" which in fact was made up from selections of a number of oratories concluding with Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." The performance was so successful as to call for a repetition and the entire text of the songs and choruses is given in the paper. Another musical entertainment was brought about by the visit of the well known singer, Philips. It included the comic opera of Thomas Moore called "M. P. or the Blue Stocking." Another opera given a little later was "The Mountaineers." The Euterpian Society with George Warren as secretary also appears to have been meeting regularly at this time.

Another concert given in Mack's ball room at the hotel seems to have included the whole family of Mr. Lewis. His five children, the oldest twelve years old and the youngest but four years old, all took part. Two of them gave a grand overture on the piano with a cello accompaniment. The piano was played by a young girl of eight years of age. Two others played a duet on violins while the four-year-old not only played on the piano but gave a performance on the violin. Unfortunately the paper does not contain an account of this performance.

An oratorical exhibition given by Mr. Dwyer at Colonel Mack's Hotel in November, 1822, included recitations from Addison, Spenser, Shakespeare, Swift, Coleman and Campbell and concluded with Dryden's ode "Alexander's Feast." A number of lectures are announced from time to time on such subjects.

The Columbia Street Theatre was not successful enough to pay expenses and in 1825 it passed by public sale into the hands of two private individuals. Not the least interesting of the points connected with its history were the rules and regulations which printed as a poster for the benefit of the patrons on May 1, 1830, read as follows:

I. Gentlemen will be particular in not disturbing the audience by loud talking in the Bar-Room, nor by personal altercations in any part of the house.

II. Gentlemen in the boxes and in the pit are expected not to wear their hats nor to stand nor sit on the railing, during the performance; as they will thereby prevent the company behind, and in the lobby, from seeing the stage. Those in the side boxes will endeavor to avoid leaning forward as, from the construction of the house, the protection of one person's head must intercept the view of several others on the same line of seats.

III. The practice of cracking nuts now abandoned in all well regulated Theatres should be entirely avoided during the time the curtain is up; as it must necessarily interfere with the pleasure of those who feel disposed to attend to the performance.

IV. Persons in the upper Boxes and Gallery will be careful to avoid the uncourteous habit of throwing nut-

shells, apples, etc., into the Pit; and those in the Pit are cautioned against clambering over the balustrade into the Boxes, either during or at the end of the Performance.

V. Persons in the Gallery are requested not to disturb the harmony of the House by boisterous conduct, either in language or by striking with sticks on the seats or bannisters, etc. The same decorum will be expected and enforced from that part of the audience as from any other.

VI. As both manager and performers are disconcerted by the presence of spectators during the hours of Rehearsal from 10 to 2, it is found necessary to prohibit the entrance of visitors, on such occasions, further than the outer lobby or Box-office. Intrusions behind the scenes, on nights of performance, are also prohibited—except in urgent cases. Messages from the audience to the manager can be conveyed, whether by direct calls or through the agency of the Door-keeper.

VII. The Box-Office (on the left side of the vestibule) will be open from 10 to 1, and from 3 to 6, every day, where seats may be taken and secured in either tier, until the opening of the 2d Act. Gentlemen will, of course, leave unoccupied those seats which are marked as engaged by others, until the stipulated time; as the interruption, on the arrival of the proper owners, must be unpleasant to all parties.

VIII. The prices of admission will continue as usual, viz: 1st Tier of Boxes, and Pit, 75 cents;—2d Tier, 50 cents;—Gallery, 25 cents. Colored persons will occupy the Gallery Slips on the East side. On occasions of great attraction, it may be found expedient to unite the upper and lower Boxes, according to the original plan.

IX. When side Benches are placed in the lobbies, it is proper to remember that they are intended to enable the second row of standing spectators to overlook the first;—an object which is entirely frustrated by dragging them out from the wall and impeding the passage to the boxes.

X. For the purpose of accommodating those who may be prevented from an earlier attendance, the Manager will, on ordinary occasions, allow a deduction in the price of admission after the Fourth act—or first half of the performance.

XI. Checks are only receivable the same evening they are issued, and from the persons who originally obtained them.

XII. Smoking is altogether prohibited, as a practice at once dangerous and offensive.

The Manager being resolved to render the theatre worthy of the patronage of an enlightened and refined community, respectfully submits to the friends of the drama the foregoing rules adopted for their protection; and has only to hope that he may rarely have occasion to call to his aid the authority employed for enforcing them.

After 14 years of varying success this first of Cincinnati's houses of amusement was destroyed by fire on the night of April 4, 1834.

On July 4, 1832, another theatre opened its doors to the public. The originator of this enterprise was James H. Caldwell, who if living today would be called the magnate of a theatrical syndicate. He managed theatres in Louisville, St. Louis, Natchez, New Orleans, Mobile and arranged for tours of the principal actors of the day which should take in these different establishments. At the opening performance Mr. Caldwell delivered an address written by Mrs. Hentz for which a prize of $50 had been awarded and an essay in support of the drama written by Isaac A. Jewett which had won a $100 prize. In this theatre which lasted but two years appeared some of the most distinguished actors of the time. Shortly after the opening, Edwin Forrest and Mrs. Roe appeared in a benefit in the parts of "Lear" and "Cordelia." Another well known actress, Mrs. Knight, took part in "Perfection" and also in "Invincible or the Little Cup." On the 25th day of October, 1836, the theatre after a short but brilliant life was burned to the ground. The stage carpenter, John Martin, who lived in the building was unable to escape from the flames and was the first of those who have lost their lives in Cincinnati's theatres. This theatre was a very pretentious affair for its time. A description has been given by Judge A. G. W. Carter as follows:

"This theatre was two stories high on Third street, and on account of the descent from Third to Lower Market street, was five stories high on the latter street, extending as it did from street to street. It was an imposing structure, built of brick, about seventy feet on Third and Lower Market, and one hundred and twenty feet from street to street. The front was adorned with a pediment supported by flattened columns, and a flight of steps extending across the whole front led up to the doors. The interior had a most beautiful blue-colored cloth curtain, trimmed in gold, which opened in and drew up from the middle. The orchestra place was very large, and then there was a large pit and three tiers of boxes, the upper one being the gallery, where the 'gods and goddesses' used to assemble on days, or rather nights of yore. The stage was adorned with the most beautifully-painted scenery of any theatre then in this country, the scenic artist being the then celebrated Italian painter Mondelli." (Carter's "Old Court House.")

Another theatre, for many years the most prominent in the city and the most complete perhaps in its equipment and arrangement in the United States, began its long career just at the close of the city's half century. The destruction of the Columbia Street Theatre in 1834 and of the Third Street Theatre in 1836 left the city for a time without any regular home for the drama. In 1837 a number of citizens became interested

in a plan to erect a building which should surpass all its predecessors. The enterprise for a time seemed likely to fail and finally John Bates the owner of the Exchange Bank took the matter in his own hands and erected on the east side of Sycamore street between Third and Fourth the structure which still stands there and which for many years, known as the National Theatre, was regarded as among the most important houses of amusement in America. A remarkable circumstance about the erection of the building was the fact that it was erected and opened to the public in less than two months. The first performance was on July 3, 1837, and the plays given are familiar to the stage-goers of to-day: "The Honeymoon" and "Raising the Wind." The managers were Scott and Thorne and the latter, the elder of that distinguished name, appeared in both the plays. As was the custom, the theatre was opened with a recitation, a prize address written by F. W. Thomas and recited by Mrs. Mason. The lot upon which was built the National Theatre had a frontage of 100 feet and a depth of 206 feet which made it possible to erect a stage of unusually large size. From the fact that this was larger than the well known stage of Drury Lane, the National for many years passed under the title of "Old Drury." For many years this theatre was the home of the legitimate drama in Cincinnati and it is to the performances given here by the greatest actors of the world that the old theatre-goers of to-day look back with the kindliest memories. A stone front was added to the house in 1850 and in the remodeled shape the theatre so far as its exterior is concerned stands to-day. It is now occupied as a warehouse.

In addition to the regular theatrical performances, other forms of amusement attracted the citizens of this city. We are told of a traveling museum shown at Harlow's Tavern at No. 11 West Front street in the year 1823. This included wax works and transparencies and other similar objects of interest in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Manly and under the management of Messrs. Jerome and Clark. There was a Vauxhall Garden in General Gano's orchard on the east side of Main street above Fifth in the year 1823, kept by two Frenchmen, the brothers Dumilliez—Charles and Vincent.

The circus came to town on the 4th of July, 1824, a grand, "pantregal" affair of Pepin and Barnes. This collection of wonders included musical instruments 24 feet long and 13 life-size automata which played on trumpets. Six years later at the celebration held on the 5th of July, 1830, there appeared the wandering show of Macomber & Company at the corner of Sixth and Walnut. This organization included a small menagerie with a polar bear, a spotted leopard and a striped tiger. In the evening Herr Cline wheeled a barrow up a rope wire.

The Fourth of July seems to have been celebrated at all times by entertainments of various characters. In 1819 Mrs. Belinda Groshon gave a performance of "Isabella."

THE MUSEUMS.

Included in the places of amusement must be the museums. The first suggestion of an institution of this character came from William Steele who proposed to Dr. Drake and others the founding of a public museum. At the very time when Drake's mind was occupied with the founding of the Lancaster Seminary, the Medical College, the Poor House and Hospital, he took up this subject of amusement and instruction. A public meeting was held and a large sum of money subscribed. Drake's idea was that it should be a complete school for natural history in which would be concentrated the choicest natural and artificial curiosities in the Western country. An account of this institution as the Western Museum has already been given in the extracts from Drake's and Mansfield's book. In 1834 at which time it was kept at the corner of Pearl and Main streets it included, in addition to specimens of natural history, Egyptian and American antiquities, a large number of microscopic designs, cosmoramic, optical and prismoramic views of American scenery and buildings and specimens of the fine arts such as paintings, models in wax, plaster and the like.

We are told that "Not the least interesting portion of the Western Museum is the 'Infernal Regions.' This is a very splendid representation of Hell prepared by Mr. Hiram Powers of this city, a young artist of uncommon genius. The taste and mechanical skill displayed by him in the preparation and arrangement of this novel and striking scene are of the highest order and should claim the patronage of the public. The Infernal Regions are kept in the same building with the Western Museum and are open every night for the accommodation of those who may wish to make a call upon his Satanic Majesty who is always ready to see company." (Directory of 1834.)

So striking an exhibition as this, which it is said is wrongfully attributed to Powers, would

naturally attract comment from the observant Mrs. Trollope, who says that Mr. Dorfeuille "has constructed a pandemonium in an upper story of his museum, in which he has congregated all the images of horror that his fertile fancy could devise; dwarfs, that by machinery grow into giants before the eyes of the spectator; imps of ebony with eyes of flame; monstrous reptiles devouring youth and beauty; lakes of fire and mountains of ice; in short, wax, paint, and springs have done wonders. To give the scheme some more effect, he makes it visible only through a grate of massive iron bars, among which are arranged wires connected with an electrical machine in a neighboring chamber; should any daring hand or foot obtrude itself within the bars, it receives a smart shock, that often passes through many of the crowd, and, the cause being unknown, the effect is exceedingly comic; terror, astonishment, curiosity, are all set in action, and all contribute to make Dorfeuille's Hell one of the most amusing exhibitions imaginable."

Michel Chevalier in his "Travels" tells us that the young girls resorted to these "Infernal Regions" "in quest of excitement which a comfortable and peaceful, but cold and monotonous manner of life denies them. This strange spectacle seems to afford a delicate agitation to their nerves, and is the principal source of revenue to the museum."

Another interesting feature was a sawmill operated by two bears and Harriet Martineau tells us of "a mermaid not very cleverly constructed, and some bad wax figures, posted like sentinels among the cases of geological and entomological specimens." She found also a very complete collection of the currency of the country from its earliest days and of other countries as well. Upon the death of Dorfeuille, the museum came into the possession of Frederick Franks the artist who removed it to the corner of Third and Sycamore. A stage was added where plays were given at times. In front of the structure was erected Schafer's wooden statue of Minerva. On March 31, 1840, the flames of the "Infernal Regions" spread to the rest of the building and the entire structure, including the collections in it, was consumed. Franks reestablished his museum, however, and continued it at the same place for 10 years longer, after which time it passed into the charge of Frank Franks who continued it as late as 1853, at No. 78 Sycamore street.

Another museum also mentioned was that of Letton and Willet begun in 1818 and occupying the upper story of a building at Main and Upper Market streets. By 1826 Willet had dropped out and it was known as Letton's Museum. It was then in two spacious halls on the second and third story of the brick building at Fourth and Main streets. In addition to the articles already described by Drake and Mansfield, special mention is made at a later time of the equestrian statues of General Jackson and Black Hawk and a single oyster shell which weighed 130 pounds. The most interesting feature was a gallery of paintings in which were 50 portraits of citizens of the place. In 1830 the museum was transferred to the northwest corner of Fifth and Main. No mention of Letton's Museum is made in the Directory of 1840.

Another place designed for amusement met with a tragic end before it was opened to the public. David A. Lippincott, a wealthy stableman and dealer in horses, conceived the idea of erecting a great brick building on the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore for use as a circus building, to be known as "Lippincott's Amphitheatre." It was especially designed for equestrian performances to be given by Bancker and Nichols who had already successfully given performances in a frame structure where afterwards the National Theatre was built. The large building of Mr. Lippincott was to include a circus space and a stage for other performances. The building was entirely completed and the opening performance by the troupe was announced for January 31, 1824, when on the 29th the building took fire and burned to the ground, destroying a large number of very valuable, trained horses which had been stabled in the building. Not one animal in the whole troupe was saved. This misfortune preyed on Mr. Lippincott's mind and very shortly afterwards he became insane and hanged himself.

Not the least interesting place of entertainment of the time was the Bazaar erected by Mrs. Trollope. A description of this historic building as contained in the Directory of 1829 is given elsewhere.

In 1828 was opened a gallery of fine arts by Frederick Franks. This was on the southwest corner of Main and Upper Market or Fifth streets above the drug store of Allen & Sonntag. Franks had in his gallery paintings of "Napoleon Crossing the Alps," of the "Battle of Bunker Hill and the Death of General Warren," Trumbull's "Declaration of Independence" presenting a full length portrait of each of the signers of that instrument and to him is attribu-

ted by some authorities the "Infernal Regions" of Dorfeuille. In Franks' gallery were also several cosmoramic tableaux and a crystalomancy representing the business and bustle of the streets and markets of Cincinnati.

Frederick Eckstein's "New Academy of Fine Arts," established in the year 1830, was also a place of resort for those in search of amusement of a high type. This was on Main street between Third and Fourth streets. Eckstein was from Berlin, a son of a distinguished artist who flourished in Prussia under the patronage of Frederick the Great. He brought with him to this city a crayon portrait of that monarch taken after death by his father. He had also brought with him busts and other works of art which were the nucleus of his academy, the first of its kind in the city. Of course such an undertaking as this called for comment from Mrs. Trollope and she cites the affair of the academy as an evidence of the little appreciation of art in the city at that time. "Perhaps the clearest proof of the little feeling for art that existed at that time in Cincinnati, may be drawn from the result of an experiment originated by a German, who taught drawing there. He conceived the project of forming a chartered academy of fine arts; and he succeeded in the beginning to his utmost wish, or rather 'they fooled him to the top of his bent.' Three thousand dollars were subscribed—that is to say, names were written against different sums to that amount, a house was chosen, and finally application was made to the Government and the charter obtained, rehearsing formally the names of the subscribing members, the professors, and the officers. So far did the stream of their zeal impel them, but at this point it was let off; the affair stood still, and I never heard the academy of fine arts mentioned afterwards."

The academy started with a considerable collection from the works of the local artists as well as such works of merit as could be borrowed from the private houses. Eckstein was appointed curator and the board of directors displayed considerable energy. The time was not ripe, however, for such an institution and it very soon languished and died.

THE SOCIAL LIFE

Mrs. Trollope in her extraordinary account of life in Cincinnati tells us that she "never saw any people who appeared to live so much without amusement as the Cincinnatians. Billiards are forbidden by law; so are cards. To sell a pack of cards in Ohio subjects the seller to a penalty of fifty dollars. They have no public balls, excepting, I think, six during the Christmas holidays. They have a theatre, which is, in fact, the only public amusement of this little town; but they seem to care very little about it, and, either from economy or distaste, it is very poorly attended. Ladies are rarely seen there, and by far the larger proportion of females deem it an offense to religion to witness the representation of a play. * * * There are no public gardens or lounging shops of fashionable resort, and were it not for public worship and private tea-drinkings, all the ladies of Cincinnati would be in danger of becoming perfect recluses."

However disappointed Mrs. Trollope was with her life and surroundings, she did her share towards entertaining her acquaintances. Her house called "Giano Lodge" owned by Daniel Giano, was frequently a scene of gayety. An account of one of these occasions is given by the old musician Tosso who tells us something of her son Henry a gay young fellow who spoke seven languages, was the "Invisible Lady" in Dorfeuille's Museum, and played the part of "Falstaff" in "The Merry Wives of Windsor." One night Tosso tells us in an interview published in the *Gazette* that "Mrs. Trollope gave a party to about a hundred guests, and a handsome one it was. First we had 'Les Deux Amis' in French, and then 'The Merry Wives of Windsor.' The 'Deux Amis' went off very well. Mrs. Trollope spoke excellent French. So did Dr. Price, Mr. Morgan Neville, Mrs. Anneling, and Henry Trollope. But when the 'Merry Wives' came on, Falstaff's good, round belly was found to be lined with sack instead of capon, and the play was incredibly funny, for he was very drunk, and had a small feather-bed tucked under his waistcoat. 'How was the music?' Fine. I played first violin; Morgan Neville, second fiddle, and John Douglass, 'cello. After the play came supper, and then the dancing till daylight."

Captain Marryat who visited the city a few years later gives us an explanation of Mrs. Trollope's criticisms on the social life which certainly has the appearance of plausibility. The principal portion of Captain Marryat's statement has appeared in a preceding chapter of this work, and we will give here but his concluding remarks:

"The fact is, that Mrs. Trollope's representation of the manners and customs of Cincinnati, at the period when she wrote, was probably more correct than the present inhabitants of the city will allow; that it would be a libel upon the Cin-

cinnatians of the present day is certain; whether it was one at the time she wrote, and the city was, comparatively speaking, in its infancy, is quite another affair. However, one thing is certain, which is, that the Americans have quite forgiven Mrs. Trollope, and if she were again to cross the water, I think she would be well received. Her book made them laugh, though at their own expense; and the Americans, although appearances are certainly very much against it, are really, at the bottom, a very good tempered people." (Marryat's Diary in America, pp. 238-239.)

Alfred Bushnell Hart thinks that Mrs. Trollope much misrepresented the social life of the city: "However accurately that author described the life which she saw, the diaries and letters of Chase, then living in the city, show that there was much which she did not see. To the mind of the cultivated Englishwoman, dirty streets, tobacco chewing, and the coarseness of a frontier town seemed incompatible with refined society; but such a society there was, and Chase at once found a share in it. In a few months he was the welcome friend of the Burnets and the Longworths, the social leaders of the city." Life of Chase, p. 16.)

The character of the society in those days is referred to in the most complimentary terms by the English visitor of 1835, C. A. Murray, who says:

"I have been in company with ten or twelve of the resident families, and have not seen one single instance of rudeness, vulgarity, or incivility; while the shortness of the invitations and absence of constraint and display render the society more agreeable, in some respects, than that of more fashionable cities. If the proposition stated is merely this, 'that the manners of Cincinnati are not so polished as those of the best circles of London, Paris, or Berlin; that her business, whether culinary or displayed in carriages, houses, or amusements, are also of a lower caste,' I suppose none would be so absurd as to deny it. I hope few would be weak enough gravely to inform the world of so self-evident a truth; but I will, without fear of contradiction, assert that the history of the world does not produce a parallel to Cincinnati in rapid growth of wealth and population. Of all the cities that have been founded by mighty sovereigns or nations, with an express view to their becoming the capitals of empires, there is not one that, in twenty-seven years from its foundation, could show such a mass of manufacture, enterprise, population, wealth, and social comfort, as that of which I have given a short and imperfect outline in the last two or three pages, and which owes its magnitude to no adscititous favor or encouragement, but to the judgment with which the situation was chosen, and to the admirable use which its inhabitants have made thereof." (Travels in North America.)

DRAKE'S "BUCKEYE CLUB."

No better account of the social life of the city in the best circles can be given than that of Mr. Mansfield in his descriptions of the social and literary reunions at the house of Dr. Drake. These reunions were instituted about the year 1833 and possessed to those who frequented them all the charms of information, genius, wit and kindness. These were formed primarily for the benefit of Dr. Drake's two daughters but must have constituted a very important element in the social life of the community. Dr. Drake at this time was living on Vine street at the corner of Baker and the reunions were held in the parlor of the house. Here gathered at regular intervals some of the most interesting people of the city. The "plan of entertainment and instruction was peculiar. It was to avoid the rigidity and awkwardness of a mere literary party, and yet to keep the mind of the company occupied with questions for discussion, or topics for reading and composition. Thus the conversation never degenerated into mere gossip, nor was it ever forced into an unpleasant and unwilling gravity. We used to assemble early—about half-past seven—and when fully collected, the Doctor, who was the acknowledged chairman, rung his little bell for general attention. This caused no constraint, but simply brought us to a common point, which was to be the topic of the evening. Sometimes this was appointed beforehand, sometimes it arose out of what was said or proposed on the occasion. Some evenings compositions were read, on topics selected at the last meeting. On other evenings nothing was read, and the time was passed in a general discussion of some interesting question. Occasionally a piece of poetry or a story came in, to diversify and enliven the conversation. These, however, were rather interludes, than parts of the general plan, whose main object was the discussion of interesting questions belonging to society, literature, education and religion.

"The subjects were always of the suggestive or problematical kind, so that the ideas were fresh, the debate animated, and the utterance of opinions frank and spontaneous. There, in that

little circle of ladies and gentlemen, I have heard many of the questions which have since occupied the public mind, talked over with an ability and a fullness of information which is seldom possessed by larger and more authoritative bodies. To the member of that circle, these meetings and discussions were invaluable. They were excited to think deeply of what the many think but superficially. They heard the ring of the Doctor's bell with the pleasure of those who delight in the communion of spirits, and revel in intellectual wealth. Nor was that meeting an unimportant affair; for nothing can be unimportant which directs minds whose influence spreads over a country; and such were here. I do not say what impressions they received; but I know that persons were assembled there, in pleasant converse, such as seldom meet in one place, and who since, going out into the world, have signalized their names in the annals of letters, science, and benevolence. I shall violate no propriety by naming some of them, for those whom I shall name have been long known to the public. Dr. Drake was himself the head of the circle, whose suggestive mind furnished topics for others, and was ever ready to incite their energies and enliven the flagging conversation. General Edward King was another, who, in spirit, manners, and elocution, was a superior man, having the dignity of the old school, with the life of the new. * * * He was a son of Rufus King, one of the early and able statesmen of our country who did much to form our constitutions, and whose name will live in the annals of history. Gen. King was bred a lawyer, and came out to Ohio, as many aspiring young men did, to found his fortunes in what was then the New West. He married a daughter of Governor Worthington, practiced law at Chillicothe, and became Speaker of the Ohio Legislature. Removing to Cincinnati, he became a member of our literary circle—both witty and entertaining. His wife, since known as Mrs. Peter, has become more widely known than her husband, for her great and active benevolence, and as the founder of institutions, and a leader in society. She had read a great deal, had a strong memory, and was remarkable for the fullness of her information. She wrote several essays for our circle, and was a most instructive member. The activity, energy, and benevolence of her mind accomplished in the next forty years probably more of real work for the benefit of society, than any one person, and that work has made her widely known both at home and abroad. * * * Judge James Hall, then editor of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, whose name is known in both Europe and America, was also there. Professor Stowe, unsurpased in Biblical learning, contributed his share to the conversation. Miss Harriet Beecher, now Mrs. Stowe, was just beginning to be known for her literary articles, and about that time contributed several of her best stories to the press. She was not a ready talker, but when she spoke or wrote showed both the strength and the power of her mind. Her sister, Miss Catharine Beecher, so well known for her labors and usefulness in the cause of female education, was a more easy and fluent conversationalist. Indeed, few people have more talent to entertain a company or keep the ball of conversation going, than Miss Beecher; and she was as willing as she was able. Conspicuous, in both person and manners, was Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, whom none saw without admiring. She was what the world calls charming, and, though since better known as an authoress, was personally quite remarkable. She and her highly educated husband—a man on some subjects quite learned, but of such retiring habits as hid him from the public view—were then keeping a popular female seminary in Cincinnati. They were among the most active and interesting members of our coterie.

"I might name others whose wit or information contributed to the charms of our intercourse; but I should want the apology which public fame has given to the mention of these. In the current of private life, it often happens that those unknown to the public are the most genial and inspiring spirits of the social circle. Like the little stream which flows among the lofty hills, they sparkle as they flow, and shine in the shade. We had more than one such; and while memory sees first the fame covered hill, it dwells longest and closest with those who cast sunshine on our path and made life happy as it was bright." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 225; Memories, p. 224.)

Although this gathering had no regular organization, it was called familiarly the "Buckeye Club" from the name of the house where it met, which Dr. Drake delighted to call "Buckeye Hall." (Col. G. B. Nicholson.)

Mr. Mansfield also tells us of a party at Martin Baum's house on Pike street the only one he gave there which was given on a summer's afternoon in 1825. Another party that he attended in the same house was a very large one given a few years later by Mr. Longworth. At that time he says there was not in Cincinnati the means to make a party as rich and ornamental

as now. "Even oysters were not seen at a party until 1827. Nor could the beautiful array of cut flowers be exhibited then as they are now." There was an excess of good things to eat and drink and with them a large share of good humor and good conversation. There was no distinction of old and young, fashionable or unfashionable, married or unmarried; but while the party like a family was mixed in different proportions it was always composed of the well-to-do, the respectable and the intellectual. The distinctive marks of pioneer hospitality had not yet wholly departed. The frank manners, the warm reception, the bon ami and the recognition of the pioneer favorites had not yet gone.

"I remember one party, which was a fair type of parties in general at this time. It was at the house of Col. C., on Third street, near Main street, where many good families then lived, and a large square house, the best rooms of which were on the second floor, and the whole suite were thrown open for the reception and supper rooms. Col. C. had been rather profuse in his invitations. I think there were more than two hundred persons present, and the house crowded. In the front room the ladies and gentlemen were engaged in conversation, as usual, and the gentlemen paying no more attention to young than to old ladies, but mingling in general conversation, and all making themselves agreeable. There was no regular set supper-table. But, as was customary at that day, there were in the back rooms tables for gentlemen, covered with the most solid dishes of meat and game, while the waiters carried to the ladies the best of cakes and confections, with whatever else they desired. With them remained the young gentlemen, who had then even more gallantry than they have now in commending themselves to the graces of the ladies. But with the old, sedate, and unfashionable gentlemen the back room was the charm. There stood the tables, with ham and beef, and venison, turkey, and quails, with bottles of brandy and wine, and there were cards for those who wanted to kill time. Nevertheless, in those rooms were many a charming woman and many an intellectual man." (Mansfield's Memories, pp. 187, 188.)

Mr. Mansfield particularly mentions the wedding of Miss Graham and Dr. Ridgely who were married at a two-story frame house on Third street, that of Mr. Graham the paper manufacturer whose mill was at the foot of John street. Among the young ladies just entering society who were at that wedding he mentions Miss Mary Longworth "at that time quite a belle, handsome and interesting" who afterwards married Dr. Stettinius. Another was Miss Mary Ann Burnet who married Vachel Worthington, and a third Miss Elizabeth A. Lytle, the daughter of General Lytle, and sister of William and Robert Lytle. She had been quite a belle and to her "Horace in Cincinnati" addressed one of his odes. Mr. Mansfield also gives an account of the notorious General Ross whose failure to make his appearance at a great party given by Judge Este at his residence on Ninth near Main led to the discovery that he was an impostor.

INVITATIONS.

One phase of the social life of the time is indicated by the cards of invitation several of which preserved by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio are reproduced here:

CITY ASSEMBLIES.

The honor of _____
Company is requested for the SEASON

CINCINNATI 1826

MANAGERS.

Morgan Neville,	Archibald Irwin,
David Kilgour,	Alfred Hayden,
William Greene,	William R. Foster,
Bellamy Storer,	Thomas M. Carman.

MILITARY BALL.

The honor of Miss Morris
company is requested, at the Cincinnati Hotel, on
Monday Evening, 8th January, 1827.
Colonel Francis Carr.

MANAGERS.

Colonel S. Borden,	William Oliver,
Col. W. H. Harrison,	Lewis Whiteman,
Major S. Scott,	J. G. Worthington,
Capt. J. C. Morsell,	William M. Walker,
S. Burrows,	George Graham, Jun.

The pleasure of Miss Morris's

company is respectfully solicited to a Dancing Party on
New Years Eve, at
the Cincinnati Hotel.

MANAGERS.

John C. Spencer,	Charles Duffield,
James Brown,	R. Montgomery,
Thomas M. Page,	R. H. Brice.

December 24, 1827.

Among the managers of the Buckeye Ball, held on April 6, 1838, at the Bazaar, appear the

names of S. W. Davies, Maj. Daniel Gano, Daniel Drake, R. Buchanan, James McCandless, Henry E. Spencer, Samuel Fosdick, S. H. Davies, W. M. Corry, George W. Burnet, N. Reeder, Henry Wood, W. V. Barr, Joseph Longworth, B. T. Wright and D. A. Sanders.

THE SEMI-COLON CLUB.

Another organization which contributed largely to the intellectual and social life of the city was the famous Semi-Colon Club of which an account is given in John P. Foote's memoir of his brother Samuel E. Foote. This club met usually at the fine residence of Mr. Foote on the northeast corner of Third and Vine which is shown in one of the pictures of the period reproduced in this volume. This until the fatal commercial crisis of 1837 was the center of a liberal hospitality. The Semi-Colon Club took its name from that of the great discoverer, Christopher Columbus or Colon. It was worked out on the theory that he who provides a new pleasure is entitled to half the praise accorded to a discoverer of a new continent; therefore this club, providing the pleasure of social and intellectual life, was entitled to half of the praise of Colon, the discoverer of America. This may be a little involved, but it certainly is ingenious. The sessions of the club were held alternately in the three houses at the corner mentioned, the other two being those of Charles Stetson and William Greene. The meetings attracted a number of persons of both sexes of the highest order of intellect and cultivation, assembled for social relaxation and rational amusement. Literary contributions were read which were followed by discussions; music also formed a feature of entertainment. Among those who assisted in founding the club were Rev. E. B. Hall and wife, Judge Timothy Walker, James H. Perkins, Nathan Guilford, Harriet Beecher (who afterward as Mrs. Stowe collected her papers under the title "The Mayflower" and dedicated them to the club), Judge Hall, Catharine Beecher, Professor Hentz and wife, Professor Stowe, E. P. Cranch, U. T. Howe, Ormsby M. Mitchel, Charles W. Elliott the historian of New England, Dr. Drake, Edward D. and his brother Mansfield, Prof. James W. Ward, Davis B. Lawler, James F. Meline, Judge Charles B. James, Dr. Wolcott Richards, D. Thew Wright, Joseph Longworth, J. Newton Perkins, Edward King, Charles Stetson, T. D. Lincoln, William P. Steele, George C. Davis, William Greene, Dr. Drake's son Charles, C. B. Brush and the three Misses Blackwell. The sessions began and terminated at early hours and the refreshments were very simple. Visitors to the city were frequent guests. Among them was that curious genius, Charles Fenno Hoffman. The club continued in existence for some years but the panic of 1837 which inflicted such serious loss upon many of its members practically ended its existence.

THE SOCIETY FOR INVESTIGATION,

Which apparently met regularly on Monday evenings during the summer of 1822 took very serious subjects for discussion. The first one mentioned is the old question "Is the Human Soul Immortal?" This was followed the next week by "Are Ideas Innate or the Effect of Education?" The discussion on the immortality of the soul called for a communication charging the society with being a club of atheists associated for the purpose of "retailing to each other Tom Paine's scurrility." The next subject was equally deep,—"Is Nature Self Existent or the Effect of a Cause?" Despite the charges of infidelity comes the question "Are Sunday Schools Calculated to Benefit the Rising Generation?" which was followed by "Is There Any Such a Creature or Thing as a Devil—that is to say Separate From and Independent of Man?" a rather hot topic for August 5th. Another question for discussion was "Is It Reasonable or Consistent with the Attributes of Deity that Faith Alone Should Secure to Man Immortal Happiness?"

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY,

Organized in 1825, had during its five years of existence a membership of over 100. Among the members were such men as William M. Corry the editor of the *Commoner*, Milo G. Williams, Charles D. Drake, W. D. Gallagher and Judge Woodruff. The exercises of this society consisted of debates, compositions and criticisms.

An important feature of the social as well as literary and educational life of the time was the Ohio Mechanics' Institute which as a result of a suggestion of Dr. John D. Craig, made in 1828, was founded during the following year. The association passed through many changes and vicissitudes during its early years, but the public lectures which formed an important part of its work were given by the most competent men of the city and were largely attended for a time.

THE CINCINNATI LYCEUM.

In October, 1830, the Cincinnati Lyceum was founded and it was incorporated during the win-

ter. This was a scientific and literary association for mutual improvement with one of its objects the foundation of a public library. During the winter a number of the members delivered lectures in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute. In 1831 its president was Morgan Neville and vice-presidents, Timothy Flint, William Greene and Henry Starr. Salmon P. Chase was the secretary, Timothy Walker, corresponding secretary and H. H. Goodman, treasurer. Other members of the executive committee were Nathan Guilford, J. W. Gazlay, John Locke, M. G. Williams and Calvin Fletcher. In 1834 Guilford appears to have been the president and William Greene, vice-president. The secretary was H. S. Edmunds; treasurer, L. V. Hubbard; and librarian, E. P. Cranch. The managers were Salmon P. Chase and Elwood Fisher. Lectures were given every Thursday evening in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute on Walnut street. Chase delivered four of these lectures.

THE INQUISITION.

Another literary organization existing in 1834 was the Inquisition, a society that discussed publicly questions and papers submitted by its members. Its meetings were held at the Institute once a week and the members presided in alphabetical succession. The officers were a secretary who also was treasurer and two others who with him constituted the committee on questions. The secretary was Elwood Fisher and the committee were Timothy Walker and W. M. Corry.

THE COLLEGE OF TEACHERS.

During this period, about the year 1833, was established one of the most remarkable institutions in the history of the city and one which lasting for 10 years was of great utility and wide influence. This was known as the College of Teachers, an organization professional and popular intended to unite and improve teachers and commend the cause of education to the public mind. To accomplish this object not only were professional teachers brought into its membership but men of science and reputation who had weight in the community were also connected with it. This organization which was for a time the nucleus of the intellectual life of the community grew out of an association of teachers organized in 1829 under the name of the Western Literary Institute and Board of Education. In its membership of 20 were such men as Albert Picket, Alexander Kinmont, C. B. McKee, Stephen Wheeler, Nathaniel Holley, Caleb Kemper, Cyrus Davenport, Thomas J. Matthews and the two Talbotts. The first president was Elijah Slack and corresponding secretary, Milo G. Williams. At one of the monthly meetings held in June, 1831, Mr. Williams suggested a convention of the teachers of the West and South. This suggestion was adopted and in October, 1832, the convention was held and was attended by professional teachers throughout the Mississippi Valley. The object of the convention was to organize the profession in the West and to promote the interest of education. A complete organization was effected under the name of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers whose meetings were to be held annually in Cincinnati in the second week of October. The officers of the institute in 1834 were Albert Picket, president; Thomas J. Matthews, corresponding secretary; David L. Talbott, recording secretary; and Timothy Hammond, treasurer. Thomas H. Quinan was also a member of the local executive committee. The proceedings of this college for the years 1834 to 1840 have been published in six volumes but the college continued to meet for some years after it ceased to publish its proceedings. Its sessions of 1843 and 1844 were held at Louisville. Its meetings were attended by delegates from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin. Its daily sessions, which were held in the largest churches, were crowded by the people of Cincinnati who listened with interest to the essays and lectures delivered before it.

The principal work of organization and publication fell upon the teachers of Cincinnati but the addresses were delivered by men in every vocation of life. Mr. Mansfield gives us a vivid account of some of its members, among whom were included not only those mentioned but also Dr. Drake, Joshua L. Wilson, James H. Perkins, Professor Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Dr. Alexander Campbell, Hon. Thomas Smith Grimke, Bishop Purcell, President McGuffey, Dr. Aydelott, E. D. Mansfield, Mrs. Sigourney and Mrs. Hentz. His characterizations of several have already been quoted. He specially mentions James H. Perkins a New England man of high education who came out to Cincinnati as a lawyer, edited the *Chronicle* for a year or two, and finally became a minister of the Unitarian Church where he made a strong impression. He was a graceful and easy writer and his principal work "West-

ern Annals," from which frequent quotations have been made in this volume, is of great value. Dr. Beecher at one time entered into a discussion on the question whether the excitement of emulation was an admissible means of education. He with a majority of the committee was against the admission of emulation in any form. A counter report was made by Dr. Drake, Mr. Picket and President McGuffey.

Dr. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Campbellite Baptist Church, was interesting in discussion and conversation. He was a man of learning, keen intellect and an instructive speaker.

A very remarkable man was Thomas Smith Grimke of South Carolina who had very decided theories about education. He was a very religious man and held that the classics, being the literature of heathenism, inculcated false principles and should not be taught. The study of Homer he said had given the heroic character to the leading men of South Carolina so that they dwelt in the ideality of a false heroism rather than in the plain, practical, Christian sentiment of America. Hence he said sprang the duel, dissatisfaction with the Union and the outbreak of nullification which seemed rather hard on Homer. He also opposed mathematics, thinking it unnecessary to give so much time to the study of abstract science when it could be far better employed on the Bible, literature and political institutions. Another ultra idea, especially for that time, was that the language should be spelled according to the sound "after the example," says Mansfield, "of that monstrous barbarism called phonetic." Accordingly when his discourse at Oxford was published it came disfigured in the most awful manner with capitals out of place and words misspelled so that the address which was a most beautiful one was read by few.

Another discussion that occupied the attention of the college concerned the teaching of the Bible in the common schools and was participated in by Dr. Wilson, Bishop Purcell, Dr. Alexander Campbell, Professor Stowe and Mr. Kinmont. This institution brought about many reforms in ideas of education and had a positive influence throughout the country. It gave birth in 1841 to the Cincinnati Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge from which survived the astronomical department under Professor Mitchel.

THE CINCINNATI LITERARY SOCIETY

Held regular meetings every Friday evening in 1834 at their hall on Pearl street and two years later in the College Building. During the first mentioned year James F. Conover was president; Isaac Baker, vice-president; James C. Hall, prosecutor; S. P. Hall, secretary; G. B. Walker, treasurer; and Samuel Yorke At Lee, librarian. Two years later I. D. Wheeler was president; W. Parry, vice-president; J. W. Yost, treasurer; H. L. Reeder, secretary; R. Whetstone, assistant secretary; and A. S. Reeder, librarian and mineralogist. The directors were W. S. Groesbeck, H. S. Groesbeck, J. Trevor, G. B. Walker and L. M. Gwynne. The minute book of this club is in the possession of the Literary Club of Cincinnati.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The teachers had a number of organizations which although not primarily for social purposes added to the social life of the city. In 1831 was formed the Western Academic Institute and Board of Education intended to promote mutual improvement, harmony and energy among teachers, cooperation in parents and ambition and application amongst scholars. Its president was Elijah Slack and among the other officers were the most prominent teachers of the town. In 1834 its president was Thomas J. Matthews.

The Teachers' Association was another organization where weekly lectures on educational subjects were delivered. Its president in 1834 was A. M. Bolton. The Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers offered great opportunities of enjoyment as well as culture while the Western Academy of Natural Sciences organized in 1835 with its natural history specimens kept in the southwest wing of the Cincinnati College Building was an institution of which the citizens were quite proud. Its president was Robert Buchanan and other officers included John P. Foote, George Graham, Drs. William Wood, S. D. Gross, John Locke, and J. L. Liddell as well as J. Dorfeuille and J. M. Perkins.

MEDICAL SOCIETIES.

The doctors despite their controversies of course had a number of societies. The Ohio Medical Lyceum for instance, a society for discussing medical subjects, held its meetings in the Medical College building. Its president was Dr. John Eberle and vice-presidents were Drs. Samuel D. Gross and Isaac Colby. Its orator for 1834

was Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. The Cincinnati Medical Society was incorporated in the winter of 1832-33 and had for its president Dr. Landon C. Rives. It finally had a herbarium and a cabinet as well as a library, for the names curator and librarian are given in the list of officers.

CINCINNATI SHOOTING CLUB.

Not the least interesting social organization of this period was the Cincinnati Shooting Club No. 1, organized on the 28th of June, 1831, at a meeting at which John J. Wright presided and George W. Neff acted as secretary. This club included in its membership the distinguished sportsmen of the time and its contests were highly exciting. Its first president was the well known citizen, Robert Buchanan and its secretary, Caleb Jones. Others of its members were J. D. Garrard, N. G. Pendleton, Th. D. Carneal, Jacob Strader, M. L. Harbeson, W. H. H. Taylor, George Graham, Francis Read, B. B. Fessenden, G. K. Shoenberger, Joseph Longworth, Kirkbride Yardley, R. Somerby, M. N. McLean, William Tift, James Gibson, W. P. Noble, Jedediah Cobb, Jacob Aumack and Thomas Winter. The club indulged in frequent dinners at which was served the game killed by the members.

A regular scale of scoring was adopted by which a deer scored 50 points. There seems to have been no record of any one achieving this score. Wild geese scored 30 points, wild turkeys 20 points, pheasants and grouse each 15 points, Spanish curlews 10 points, woodcocks, canvas back, black and mallard ducks five points each. Wood-ducks and baldheads four points, teal and other ducks fit for table three points, rabbits, plover, snipe two points and quail or partridge and rails each one point. The reports made to the club of the shoots seem to have been very frequent and the members were quite successful, the first score return counting up 333 points for one day's sport; most of these represented snipe, quail and teal duck. The scoring was afterwards simplified.

The minutes of the club show that the meetings and dinners which must have been most delightful continued for about seven years. The dinners were held usually at Corbin's at Sportsman's Hall "on the Turnpike 3 miles east of Cincinnati," and were enlivened by speeches and songs. The last dinner was in the fall of 1838, but the entry recording it was not made until 25 years later at which time, December 9, 1863, Robert Buchanan closed the record of the club with the list of the members then surviving and their ages. As they were all well known citizens, the list is worthy of preservation. It included Jacob Aumack, age 74; George Graham, 66; William Corbin, 69; J. S. Armstrong, 65; E. J. Miller, 57; G. K. Shoenberger, 57; R. Buchanan, 67; C. Schyke, 58; William Tift, 73; M. L. Harbeson, 58; Caleb Jones, 64; Ira Athearn, 64; W. H. H. Taylor, 57; J. Wheelwright, 53; Joseph Longworth, 51; and Thomas Winter, 70,—16 in all surviving of the 42 original members.

CINCINNATI ANGLING CLUB.

Another club of somewhat similar character was the Cincinnati Angling Club, a society organized by Robert Buchanan and others about 1829 or 1830. In a letter written to Mr. Mansfield in 1869 Mr. Buchanan states that he was the secretary at the time of its organization and still remained such after a lapse of 40 years. At that time, of the 25 members who originally belonged to it but four were living, William Greene who had then returned to Rhode Island, A. L. Moore, George Graham and Robert Buchanan.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—I.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

A Formative Period, 1839-1861 — The City Government — The Mayors — The Council — The Annexations and Ward Changes — The Volunteer Fire Department — The Paid Fire Department — The Police Department — The City Water Works — The Courts — The "Old Court House" and Its Successors — The United States Courts — The Post Office — Federal Offices.

The two decades that intervened between the semi-centennial celebration of the settling of the place and the beginning of the great war between the sections were in many respects the most important in the history of the city. During these years came a great number of changes which have influenced very materially the destinies of the Queen City for all time.

Within this period the constitution of the State was changed and as a result Cincinnati from that time has been governed by the general laws of the State with relation to municipal corporations. It is true that the Legislature and the courts for a long time so distorted the constitution as almost to nullify its plain purpose but this has been a restraining influence and although at times it has been irksome it has been in the main in the line of conservatism and has been for the good of the community.

Our system of city government as it is administered to-day practically dates from this period. The same is true of our courts and it was also within these years that the Federal courts moved into our midst. Then too began the series of annexations that has continued to this day and bids fair to continue for years to come. The City Water Works, as a public institution, the present fire and police departments, our gas lighting system and the street railways all had their birth in that eventful period. Then too came the steam railroads and the telegraph.

The first decade of this period, too, showed the greatest development of population and building within the history of the city. Many of our public institutions date from that time and even those that were founded before those days received a new birth that made their continued existence possible.

All in all, it was a most fruitful and interesting period and one most complex in its nature and for that reason most difficult to describe.

THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

The charter of 1834 as already stated was frequently amended. In the report of George W. Allen, Jonah Martin and William Bromwell, law committee to the City Council, made in 1850 the charter is said to include the act of 1834 and some forty odd amendments which are printed in the report. Many of these amendments are unimportant while others refer to such matters as

elections, schools, the water works, the night and day watch, burials within the city, taxes and licenses and a loan of $100,000 to the Little Miami Railroad Company and $400,000 for the completion of the water works and subscription to the capital stock of the Cincinnati & Hillsboro Railroad Company, the loan of $100,000 for the purchase of public grounds and a million dollars for the purchase of stock of railroads terminating in Cincinnati, the erection of the House of Correction, the Poor House, market houses, improvement of roads, the annexation of Fulton and the numbering of the lots of the city. The charter of 1834 however was practically the basis of the city government until the passage of the general act of 1852.

By the constitution of 1851 the General Assembly was prohibited from passing any special act conferring corporate powers and it provided that corporations should be formed under general laws. The General Assembly was directed to "provide for the organization of cities, and incorporated villages by general laws and to restrict their power of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, contracting debts and loaning their credit so as to prevent the abuse of such power." The date when this constitution went into effect was September 1, 1851. Until the present time Cincinnati has been governed by the general laws of the State except that the laws in force at that time continued until repealed.

On May 3, 1852 (50 O. L. 225) was passed an act providing for the organization of cities and incorporated villages. All existing corporations were continued under the general classification; those which had been denominated as cities were continued as cities and divided into the cities of the first and cities of the second class. The cities, having at the last Federal census, that of 1850, a population exceeding 20,000 were classified under the first head. Corporate power was vested in a mayor and a board of trustees to be denominated as the City Council together with other officers mentioned in the act or created under its authority. Two trustees were to be elected from each ward on the first Monday of the following April. These should serve one from each ward for one year and one for two years and thereafter at each election one trustee should be selected to serve for two years. The mayor was to be elected biennially. The duties and powers of the mayor and Council were prescribed by different sections of the act. All legislative power was vested in the Council, which was given power to establish a Board of Health and control the streets, alleys, wharves, docks, ferries and the like. The mayors of cities of the first class were directed to report to the City Council concerning the municipal affairs of the city. The mayor was to appoint one chief of police and subordinate officers and watchmen and to have the jurisdiction, in criminal cases, of a justice of the peace, although he was not required to sit in hearing of criminal cases except in cases of urgency or necessity. The voters were to elect the city marshal (with duties similar to those of a sheriff), a city civil engineer, a city fire engineer, a city treasurer, a city auditor, a city solicitor, a police judge and a superintendent of markets. A board of three city commissioners was provided who with the mayor of the city and the city civil engineer should constitute a board of city improvements. This board was to enforce the ordinances of the city, superintend the cleaning and improvement and the lighting of the streets, lanes, alleys, market places, commons, bridges, sewers and landings and perform such other duties as the City Council might by ordinance prescribe. The board was to have charge of the public works of the city. Water works trustees were also provided for. A sinking fund to be created by a tax of not more than one-half a mill was also provided. The first Monday of April was selected as the regular annual period for the election of municipal officers and any person qualified to vote for county officers resident in the municipality was made a qualified voter at the election of municipal officers.

The year later began the long series of amendments of the general acts relating to the organization of cities. The first of these acts passed March 11, 1853 (51 O. L. 301), provided for water works and other bonds and regulated taxation and the location and narrowing of streets, and other details. It also empowered the City Council to regulate by ordinance the price of gas furnished by gas and coke companies and in default of said companies conforming to the regulation of Council, the Council was directed to select gas works and preclude the gas companies from the use of the streets. Cincinnati township (indirectly) was abolished and the duties of township trustees were imposed upon the City Infirmary directors. The act of 1853 with the almost innumerable amendments constituted the charter of the city for 17 years.

THE MAYORS.

During the period beginning with the open-

ing of the second half century of the city's existence and closing with the opening of the war, Cincinnati had seven mayors. Samuel W. Davies who had been elected in 1833 held the office for 10 consecutive years until the year 1843, in which year his death occurred on December 22nd. Davies was throughout his life one of the most prominent citizens of Cincinnati and had occupied many offices. He had been president of the Council, recorder of the town and to him the city was indebted for its water works system. He was a man of great intelligence and strict integrity and in appearance being nearly six feet high with a smooth shaven face and old-fashioned queue was a most striking figure. Davies was a Whig and an Episcopalian and most zealous in both religion and politics. He was an Englishman by birth.

Another prominent citizen, Henry E. Spencer, succeeded Mr. Davies and held the office for four terms to the satisfaction of all parties. He was a man of great integrity, fine abilities and very spirited. He too of course was a Whig at this time, although some years later he became a Democrat.

Henry E. Spencer was a son of the well known Oliver M. Spencer, the pioneer boy captured by the Indians, and a brother of Judge O. M. Spencer. He was born at Columbia but in early life became a prominent citizen of Cincinnati. He was for a number of years member of the City Council prior to his election as mayor. In business life he was president of the Firemen's Insurance Company, which institution he made very prosperous. He married Henrietta Halstead, the sister of the celebrated Chancellor Halstead of New Jersey by whom he had 10 children. His brother, the Judge, had married a daughter of Chancellor Halstead.

Spencer was succeeded as mayor in 1851 by Mark P. Taylor. Spencer was a Whig and Taylor a Democrat and as the latter party was at that time in the ascendency, the defeat of Spencer was not in any way chargeable to dissatisfaction with his administration. Mayor Taylor was at the time of his election and for the rest of his life confined to his bed and as a result he did not succeed in impressing his personality upon the city to any great extent. He had been a very satisfactory magistrate before his election to the mayoralty.

Mayor Taylor was succeeded in 1853 by David T. Snelbaker. Mayor Snelbaker was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1804. He came to Cincinnati in 1833 where he formed a partnership with Alexander Dalzell under the firm name of Snelbaker & Dalzell in the cooperage business. This establishment was for a time the largest of its class in the city. He served as a member of the Council for several years and afterwards as magistrate, which position he held until the time he was elected mayor in 1853. At the expiration of his term he engaged in the practice of the law which he continued until the time of his death in 1857. He was the father of Thomas Edward Snelbaker, subsequently chief of police in this city. He gave way in 1855 to Mayor J. J. Faran. His administration was a very turbulent one and gave great dissatisfaction, much of which was unjustified.

James J. Faran was born in the city in 1809 and graduated at Miami in 1832. He studied law under Judge O. M. Spencer. In 1835 he was elected by the Democrats to the General Assembly where he remained for several terms, finally becoming Speaker of the House. He subsequently represented the city in the State Senate for two terms becoming the presiding officer of that body. In 1844 he was elected to Congress where he served two terms. After his term of mayor had expired he was appointed postmaster at Cincinnati by President Buchanan from which position he was finally removed for political considerations. Although Mr. Faran was a lawyer, his principal interest was in journalism. He was an editor of a campaign paper which was published in 1834 at the time of the contest bteween Lytle and Storer for Congress. In 1844 he became one of the proprietors of the *Enquirer* with which paper he was connected for the largest part of the remainder of his life. He was a man of the highest character and was universally respected by citizens of all parties. He died in 1893.

Mayor Faran was succeeded as mayor in 1857 by Nicholas W. Thomas. Mayor Thomas was for many years one of Cincinnati's most prominent and useful citizens. He was born near Philadelphia of Quaker ancestry but came to Cincinnati while still quite young, acting at first as a clerk for R. W. Lee, the pork packer. He soon went into the produce business for himself where as in all his undertakings he was quite successful. During his active life he held almost every office within the gift of the people of the city and at the same time escaped the charge of being an office-seeker. He was president of the Miami Exporting Company's bank, trustee of the water works, city recorder, president of the

City Council and in fact interested in every phase of the city life. He was a most conscientious officer and was universally respected.

Mayor Thomas gave way to Mayor Bishop in 1859.

Richard M. Bishop was a native of Kentucky, of Virginia parentage. He was born in 1812 and carried on business for some years in his native State. In 1848 he came to Cincinnati where he commenced the wholesale grocery business on the Public Landing under the style of Bishop, Wells & Company, afterwards R. M. Bishop & Company. In 1857 he became a councilman and the year later, president of the Council. He declined the renomination in 1861 for the mayoralty. It was during his term that the Prince of Wales at his invitation visited the city. Although a Democrat Mr. Bishop was very loyal to the Union. He made the address of welcome to the legislatures of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee who visited the city in 1860 and also to President Lincoln when passing through the city on the way to his inauguration. He presided at a great Union meeting held during the first year of the war. He subsequently became Governor of the State of Ohio, in which position he served during the years 1878 and 1879.

George Hatch succeeded Bishop as mayor just at the outbreak of the war.

THE COUNCIL.

During the period from 1839 to the opening of the war, the presiding officers of the City Council were Edward Woodruff, Samuel Trevor, Timothy Walker, Septimus Hazen, D. E. A. Strong, Joseph G. Rust, Nicholas W. Thomas, W. P. Stratton, Daniel F. Meader, J. B. Warren, William B. Cassilly, Andrew Giffin, James Cooper, Charles F. Wilstach, Tom O. Edwards, R. M. Bishop, Benjamin Eggleston, and John F. Torrence. Judge Woodruff served three years as did Judge Warren, the latter in 1850 and in 1856-57. A complete list of all city officers up to the time of publication appears in Williams' "Laws and General Ordinances of Cincinnati," published in 1854. Mr. Henderson calls attention to the fact that Christopher Van Seggern, still a practicing member of the bar, is probably the oldest living member of the Council. Born in Oldenburg, Germany, in 1827, he was brought to this city in 1830, and he has resided here ever since, ever a much respected member of the community. He still takes pleasure in recalling the time when he swam from the site of the Mount Adams Inclined Plane to the Ohio River. In 1851 and later he with Judge J. B. Warren and Herman Kleine represented the Ninth Ward in the City Council.

The Council continued to meet in the room over the engine house on the north side of Fourth street on the First Presbyterian Society's lot until June, 1846, when a move was made to temporary quarters in the rear part of the first floor of the Cincinnati College Building. In 1850, the Burnet lot on Eighth and Plum (203 feet on Plum to Ninth and 273 to Craven alley) was bought for $60,000, and in September of the following year the contract was let for the building of a one-story building on the alley, running from Eighth to Ninth at a cost of $9,065. The Council moved into this building on February 27, 1852. A second story was subsequently added and this continued to be the City Building until 1888. (Henderson's City Hall, p. 7.)

The mayor's office continued during the early "forties" in Carr's Building on the north side of Third between Main and Sycamore. At a later time it was on the south side of Sixth between the same streets but finally became established in the City Building. An interesting picture of the original buildings erected on the site of the present fine structure can be seen in the Directory of 1853. St. Peter's Cathedral is also shown in the picture as well as elsewhere in the book, which contains a large number of most interesting cuts.

THE ANNEXATIONS AND WARD CHANGES.

In 1839 the city was divided into seven wards. The First Ward was bounded by the north corporation line, Main, Third and Symmes streets; the Second ran west of Main between Sixth and Third streets as far as Western row; the Third lay south and east of the First, being bounded by the river, the corporation line, Symmes and Main streets; the Fourth lay south of the Second, running from Main to Western row between the river and Third streets; the Fifth ran north from Sixth street to the north corporation line between Plum and Main streets; the Sixth was the river ward, lying west of Western row and south of Sixth as far as Mill creek; the Seventh included the rest of the city being the territory north of Sixth and west of Plum to the north corporation line and Mill creek.

By ordinance of March 27, 1840, the boundaries of wards one to four were changed. The line between the First and Third wards ran from Main east on Fourth to Pike, thence to Symmes, thence to High to the reservoir of the

City Water Works, thence north 16 degrees east to the line of Fulton township. That between the Second and Fourth wards ran from Main along Fourth to Walnut, thence on Walnut to Baker, thence along Burnet street, Wright alley, McFarland and Ruffner streets to Western row.

In 1843 the city was divided into nine wards. The First Ward included all north of Third, Symmes and High east of Main and south of Sixth; the Second and Third wards were changed back to the boundaries of 1839; the Fourth Ward extended one square further west to John street; the Fifth ran from Sixth street to the corporation line between Main and Race streets being the eastern part of the former Fifth; the Sixth lay west of the Second and the Fourth between Sixth street and the river; the Seventh was made up of the western part of the old Fifth and the eastern part of the old Seventh running from Sixth to the corporation line between Race and John; the Eighth Ward included the remainder of the western part of the city, that is the part north of Sixth street and west of John; and the Ninth Ward included all between Main street and the corporation line and the line of the First Ward, that is the part lying northeast of Sixth and Main. (Directory of 1843, p. 7; Act Feb. 6, 1843.)

In 1846 there were 10 wards. The first three wards remained practically unchanged; the Fourth Ward was also practically unchanged with its northern boundary line at Third street; the Fifth Ward was the former Fifth as far north as the Miami Canal; north of the canal as far as Liberty street, and between Plum and Main was the 10th; the Sixth remained unchanged; the Seventh was bounded on the north by Liberty, on the east by Plum from Sixth to the canal, and by the canal to Liberty, on the south by Sixth and on the west by John; the Eighth and Ninth remained unchanged.

By act of February 18, 1848, provision was made for annexation to the city of the special road district of Mill Creek township, which lay north of the city between Mill creek and the Lebanon turnpike (Reading road), extending to the section line one mile north of Liberty to McMillan street.

By virtue of an act passed March 22, 1850 (48 O. L. 305), the fraction of section seven in the third township and second fractional range between the corporation lines of the city and the town of Fulton was added to the city and township of Cincinnati. This lay just east of the Lebanon turnpike and the newly acquired special road district. By this addition the corporate limits of the city were established as follows: "Commencing at the northeast corner of said section number seven; thence west along the sections numbers seven, thirteen, nineteen and twenty-five, in said third township, to Mill creek; thence down Mill creek with its meanders to the Ohio River, thence eastwardly up the Ohio River, with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio to the east corner of fractional section number twelve in the first fractional range; thence west with the south line of the town of Fulton to the southwest corner thereof; thence northeastwardly with the west line of said town of Fulton to the place of beginning."

These two annexations constituted the first additions to the city territory since the town's incorporation in 1802.

By the terms of the annexation of the special road district of Mill Creek township, which were confirmed by ordinance April 14, 1849, the newly acquired territory was to be erected into a ward known as the 11th Ward. This division of the city shown on the map of the city by R. H. Rickey, published in 1850, lasted but a short time. This map shows Elm street as the boundary line between the Fifth and Seventh wards. After the addition of the part of section seven lying east of Lebanon turnpike, the city was again divided in 1850 into 12 wards, the 11th and 12th being the part north of Liberty, that lying east of Vine being the 11th and that to the west the 12th.

This arrangement did not last long, however, for by ordinance of March 5, 1851, the city was divided into 16 wards. The First Ward began as before at Third and Main and ran east between Third and its prolongations on the south and Sixth on the north to the old corporation line; the Second Ward lay west of the First and was included between Seventh, Main, Race and with Third, Walnut and Pearl streets on the south; the Third Ward lay south of the First and east of Main; just west of it along the river extended the Fourth as far as John; the northern boundary of the Fourth was Third street except at the eastern end where the boundary line between it and the Second as already described ran down for a block as far as Pearl street; north of the First and east of Main as far north as Hunt street and the Lebanon turnpike and to the old corporation line was the 13th Ward; north of the 13th between Hunt street, Main and Liberty was the Ninth; the 10th included the territory west of Main above the

canal as far as Liberty and east of Race; the canal and a line (Grandin street) continuing it west to Western row also formed the southern boundary of the Seventh, which lay directly west of the 10th, extended west to Western row, and north to Liberty; the Eighth was on the other side of Western row running as far as Baymiller and from Liberty down to Catherine street; the Fifth had the 13th (Main street) on its east, the Seventh and the 10th (the canal) on the north, Seventh street on the south and Western row on the west; the Sixth was the river ward, enclosed by the river and John, Third, Smith and Fifth; the 11th and 12th remained as before north of Liberty street divided by Vine street road as it was called; the 14th lay directly west of the Second (Race street) and north of the Fourth (Third street); its western and northern boundaries were a little irregular being Smith, Sixth, John and Seventh; the 15th lay on the other side of this irregular boundary west of Western row, south of Catherine and east of Baymiller with the White Water Canal; at its southwest corner the 16th ran clear from the river to Liberty street and west as far as Mill creek, its eastern boundary being the Sixth, 15th and Eighth wards.

By ordinance of August 23, 1854 the proposition to annex the incorporated village of Fulton was submitted to the vote of the citizens at the October election. The annexation proposition carried by a vote of 5,073 to 1,318.

By ordinance of December 27, 1854, the newly annexed territory of Fulton, a single long street between the hills and the river east of the original city, was erected as the 17th Ward. This took effect January 1, 1855.

THE VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT.

At the beginning of Cincinnati's second half century the fire department was still conducted on the old volunteer plan but it was regarded in view of the conditions necessarily attaching to such a service, as having attained a high stage of efficiency and its fame had spread throughout the country. There were at that time 14 engine companies, seven hose companies, a hook and ladder company, a company of fire guards, one protection company and the fire wardens. Enrolled in the ranks were many of the most prominent citizens, a list of whose names occupies seven closely printed pages of Mr. Cist's "Cincinnati in 1841." At this time the president of the Protection Society was G. P. Torrence with E. Hinman as vice-president, B. Smith, secretary, W. Schillinger, treasurer, and E. Poor, chief director. Among the presidents of the different companies were M. P. Taylor, Josiah J. Stratton, Miles Greenwood, Samuel H. Taft, A. Trowbridge, Fenton Lawson, David Griffey and James Lowden.

A new company organized in 1841, the Western Hose Company No. 3, had as its president Nathaniel Hubbell. Among the presidents of this company afterwards famous in the annals of the Cincinnati Fire Department were Lewis Wisbey, subsequently chief of the Cincinnati Fire Department, and William H. Stockell, afterwards chief of the Nashville Fire Department.

A terrible fire of 1843 was that at Pugh & Alvord's packing house, referred to elsewhere.

In 1844 the rivalry between the companies and the excitement of the fires made it necessary for the Cincinnati Fire Association to adopt stringent regulations for the government of fire companies while on duty. These regulations were to prevent the obstruction of one company by another, the running of the apparatus on the sidewalk or any conflict upon arrival at the fire. The first engine had the choice of position at the cistern, but had to leave fair room for the others that came later. If the cistern should become exhausted, or if it was necessary to move for any other cause the last engine to arrive had to go first. Racing on the return from fires or alarms was strictly prohibited. The company starting first in the race was fined $10, and the other, $5. As a matter of fact this small penalty acted but as a slight deterrent to the ambitious firemen. This same year, on November 26th, resolutions were adopted for distributing the labor of watching the fires. The city was divided into 12 districts. Each of the 10 wards formed a district by itself, except the Ninth, which divided by the canal formed two; the first district was all the city east of Deer creek. Upon an alarm of fire the company first hearing it was to ring the alarm, pause and strike the number of district strokes, continuing the alarm and signal alternately until all the companies had arrived at the fire.

The Cincinnati College Building burned at eleven o'clock on January 19, 1845. The building at that time was occupied by the Cincinnati College Dispensary, Mercantile Library, Sons of Temperance and various library societies. Most of the books and other property, including portraits of William Henry Harrison and Charles Hammond, were saved. The building which replaced the one burned in 1845 was burned October 20, 1869.

In May, 1845, a new company became a member of the fire department; this was the Queen City Hook and Ladder Company, of which H. Schrieffer was president and C. F. Monkoff, secretary. The city was somewhat slow in providing a building on the company's lot, as a result of which on September 3, 1846, a procession headed by a band of music and composed of the members and the usual crowds that attend on such occasions marched to the ground and emulating the deeds of the pioneers at house raisings erected a rough one-story board structure. This, called "Rough and Ready Hall," was occupied for a year, after which the city assisted the company in building a proper home.

In the year 1848 a Louisville fire company visited Cincinnati for the purpose of engaging in a contest as to the efficiency of their engine as compared with the best engines in Cincinnati. The challenge was accepted by the "Flat Iron" Company and the contest took place in front of Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar at the corner of Third and Broadway. The Louisville engine threw water to a height of 201½ feet, but the old "Deluge" of the Cincinnati company won the victory by throwing 210 feet. As a result of the victory the Cincinnati firemen took their visitors to Billy Holmes', a popular resort in those days, and entertained them lavishly. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 81.)

In 1851 there were 18 companies of firemen belonging to the fire department. These included the following engine companies numbering in order from one to nine: Washington, on Vine, between Front and Columbia; the Relief, on George between Plum and Western row; Independence, on Fourth between Walnut and Vine; Franklin, on Sixth and Sycamore; Invincible, on Vine between Court and Canal; Eastern, on Front and Parsons; Northern, on Webster between Main and Sycamore; Marion, on Cutter between Hopkins and Laurel; and Union, on Race between Third and Fourth. There were also three hose companies—Independent, on Fourth between Broadway and Sycamore; Deluge, at Ludlow and Symmes; and Western on Fifth between Mound and Carroll. A hook and ladder company was located on the corner of Race and Longworth. During the year five new engine companies were added to the service, the Deluge, Eagle, Mohawk, Brighton and Western. Each of the engine companies was provided with a fire and suction engine, and hose reels so that every company possessed the full apparatus to extinguish fires without depending on the aid of any other independent company to furnish any part of the apparatus on the ground. There were thus 45 carriages of the best construction and materials dispersed all over the city, and as many always in attendance as could work to advantage. Including the hook and ladder companies and fire guards the force at this time, which was the high water mark of the old volunteer fire department and the eve of its death, included 1,800 members, a large share of whom were young unmarried men. There were 79 fire plugs and 83 public cisterns employed for the extinguishing of fires exclusively. (Cincinnati in 1851, p. 168; and Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 98.)

The great rivalry between the companies which at this time had become great centers of political power led to many street quarrels. One of the fiercest and most disgraceful of these occurred in 1851 at a fire on the corner of John and Augusta streets. The principal participants were the Western Hose Company No. 3 and Washington Company No. 1, but finally 10 companies lined up in the fight which continued until the building, a planing mill, was permitted to burn to the ground. The mayor, Mark P. Taylor, read the riot act to the contestants, but without result, as the battle continued until daybreak. An incident of this contest, the hastening of the Covington Fire Company to the aid of Washington Company No. 1, led to the passage of a resolution that no Covington company should appear at a Cincinnati fire except upon request of the proper authorities. The old system, however, was doomed. The city had grown too large for a volunteer system; and it could not be expected that fire wardens, many of whom were among the most prominent citizens, would take the time from their business to give proper attention to their duties. Mr. Cist in his "Miscellany" as early as September, 1845, comments on the complaints in the daily prints of the inactivity of the fire wardens: "What can persons expect from such men as Judge Torrence or Councilman Stephenson, two of the best among them? Do they imagine they can neglect their own business and spend six days of the week examining whether the houses of a large city such as ours are exposed to taking fire from the carelessness of neighbors? The whole system is deficient and defective. There are thirty-two fire wardens, about three to a ward, having general jurisdiction wherever they please to exercise it—which, of course, is nowhere.

"If we desire to have any good result from the appointment of such officers, let the institution

be remodeled. Let each block in the city have its own fire warden, who will then be interested in taking care of the block; and fine him five dollars for every fire which results from his neglect to remove all undue exposedness to it." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II., p. 116.)

THE PAID FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The result of the dissatisfaction coming at a time when the progress of invention first brought steam fire engines into use was the abandonment of the volunteer system and the inauguration of a paid department. The first annual report of the chief engineer of the department, issued on April 1, 1854, has as a frontispiece the first steam fire engine, the "Uncle Joe Ross," the first to be used in Cincinnati and except one which had been used for a short time in New York the first used anywhere in America. This pioneer apparatus had been built according to the plan of A. B. Latta of the firm of Shawk and Latta in the shops of John H. McGowan in the years 1852-53. It is described as being peculiar in its method of construction: "It had a square fire-box, like that of a locomotive boiler, with a furnace open at the top, upon which was placed the chimney. The upper part of the furnace was occupied by a continuous coil of tubes opening into the steam-chamber above, while the lower end was carried through the fire-box, and connected with a force-pump, by which the water was to be forced continually through the tubes throughout the entire coil. When the fire was commenced the tubes were empty, but when they became sufficiently heated, the force-pump was worked by hand and water was forced into them, generating steam, which was almost instantly produced from the contact of the water with the hot pipes. Until sufficient steam was generated to work the engine regularly, the force-pump was continuously operated by hand, and a supply of water kept up. By this means the time occupied in generating steam was only five or ten minutes; but the objections to this heating the pipes empty and then introducing water into them are too well known to be insisted upon.

"The engines built upon this pattern were complicated and heavy, but were efficacious, and led to their introduction in other cities, and also to a quite general establishment in cities of a paid fire department in place of the voluntary one, which had theretofore prevailed."

In spite of its great weight, the lightest one weighing 10,000 pounds, it was regarded as a great improvement over the engines that had hitherto been used by reason of the great distance it was able to throw water. It is said to have played 210 feet through a thousand feet of hose, getting its supply from a cistern and afterwards when taken to New York on exhibition in 1859 it threw 375 gallons a minute, playing about 237 feet through a nozzle measuring an inch and a quarter and getting its supply through a hydrant. It was the invention of this engine as well as the abuses that always seem to attend a volunteer fire department that brought about a change of so much importance in the history of the city. For this particular reform the city is especially indebted to Jacob Wykoff Piatt, Miles Greenwood, James H. Walker and Joseph S. Ross.

Piatt was born in Kentucky in 1801 and was the son of Benjamin M. Piatt, the elder brother of the prominent banker, John H. Piatt. He was a successful lawyer and had been very fortunate in his real estate investments and held a commanding influence in politics. He with James H. Walker, both at that time councilmen, became convinced that the abuses of the volunteer system should be corrected by substituting a paid department. The older members of the fire companies by the lapse of years and for other reasons had passed out of service and in their places were many younger or less public spirited men who regarded a fire as simply an occasion for starting a riot. The engine houses had become loafing places for the members and their friends and the firemen a gang of political parasites controlled by the lowest class of politicians. Mr. Piatt and Mr. Walker found that their proposition would not have easy sailing. At the time the matter first came up in the Council, the chamber was crowded with roughs who by their noisy demonstrations showed their opposition to the change. The proposers of the reform were persistent however and time after time presented their ordinance, each time to see it voted down by decreasing majorities. The opposition was so bitter that it became necessary for Piatt to attend the meetings of the Council surrounded by a guard of his Irish constituents and on one occasion a mob assembled in front of his residence and amidst groans, hisses, howls and yells he was burned in effigy.

Finally the invention of the Latta engine made in this city by Abel Shawk brought about the success of the movement. This engine known as "Uncle Joe Ross" was tested by a commission of experts and finally accepted. It was felt that

to turn it over to the volunteers would insure its immediate destruction and it was determined to organize a paid company. A committee including Messrs. Piatt, Timothy Walker and Benjamin Loder was appointed to organize such a company. As the story goes, Mr. Piatt suggested as the head of the company, Miles Greenwood, who had been connected with the fire department since 1829 and had been president of the volunteer association several times. As he was recognized as the idol of the volunteers, this suggestion of Mr. Piatt was ridiculed but Piatt insisted and Greenwood was sent for. The ordinance was passed on March 16, 1853. By its terms and the terms of the amendatory ordinances, the members of the company were to receive $60 each per annum; each lieutenant, $100; captains, $150; pipemen and drivers, $365; assistant engineers, $300; and chief engineers, $1,000. Mr. Greenwood accepted the appointment and for a time employed another person to attend to his regular business while he served without pay. It was well understood that the first occasion upon which the paid department would be called out would probably result in a riot. The first fire was a serious one on Sycamore above Fourth street. When the bells struck, an enormous crowd gathered around the engine at Greenwood's shop. No one was willing to drive the team and finally Greenwood himself took charge of the engine and swung out into the street followed by his new firemen in their splendid uniforms. With him came the men of his great foundry and work shops and Jacob W. Piatt surrounded by 255 of his Irish retainers. The expected fight came off but lasted but a short time. Greenwood with his bright helmet and big trumpet was the leader in the fray and after about 30 minutes loss of time and the smashing of a few heads the volunteer companies were driven off and left with no weapons but their own engines. With these they tried to show greater efficiency than their new opponents, but failed. Two other fires occurred that night and the success of the new engine was so great as to end the opposition to the paid department. Within less than a month all the fire companies were clamoring for the new invention, reorganization and pay. Greenwood took the greatest interest in the reorganized department and at one time furnished $15,000 of his own money and obtained $15,000 more from private citizens and insurance companies to insure the success of the scheme. He moved his family to Avondale previous to the contest and for 18 months slept at home but six nights. From his house on the corner of Ninth and Race he answered every tap of the alarm bell. He paid $1,500 for a man to take charge of his business and the $1,000 allowed him by the Council he donated to the Mechanics' Institute. Eventually the steam fire engine and the paid fire department became fixed facts in the city life and Greenwood returned to his own business. A deputation from Baltimore who were examining the workings of the system were given the points of difference between the paid and volunteer system by Mr. Greenwood as follows: "First, it never gets drunk; second, it never throws brick bats; its only drawback is that it cannot vote."

Miles Greenwood was born in Jersey City, March 19, 1807. In 1831 he started an iron foundry in Cincinnati, which subsequently became an immense establishment. He was one of the most public spirited men in the city and State. He was a man of immense physique, great endurance and fierce determination and whatever he undertook he carried through to a successful issue. He was most prominent in the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and in the organization of the fire department both during the days of the volunteer system and those of its successor. In 1861 he turned his foundry into an arsenal where he employed over 700 hands. Here were turned out 200 bronze cannon, the first made in the West, hundreds of caissons and gun carriages and a sea-going monitor. Forty thousand Springfield muskets were turned into rifles and the Greenwood rifle although of great kicking powers rendered effective service. He died in 1885.

James H. Walker and Alexander Bonner Latta are entitled to share with Piatt and Greenwood the credit of inaugurating the paid fire department. Walker was at the time a trustee of the City Council from the Fifth Ward and was most influential in holding his associates to the new plan. Every possible influence was brought to bear to perpetuate the objectionable volunteer system. As is frequently the case, a reform which was unquestionably for the benefit of the city at large was violently opposed by the political element from whom it threatened to move a part of their vocation. After the change had been determined upon, new difficulties arose in the matter of adjustment of the pecuniary interests of the city and the respective companies. Mr. Walker took a most active part in these negotiations and personally effected a settlement

between the city and each company which in the end proved satisfactory to all parties.

Latta the inventor was a native of Ross County, where he was born June 11, 1821. His first experience was in a cotton factory and afterwards in the Washington Navy Yard. He finally settled in Cincinnati as an expert mechanic and became foreman of a machine shop. He constructed the first iron-planing machine used in the city and built for the Little Miami Railroad the first locomotive, the "Bull of the Woods," constructed west of the Alleghanies. It was in 1852 when he was but little over 30 years of age that he built the first steam fire engine. This work occupied nine months and the engine was tested on January 1, 1853. In October of that year he constructed a second which received a gold medal at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute Fair in 1854. During the following eight years he built no less than 30 engines which became part of the paid fire departments of the principal cities of the Union. After this time he devoted himself to the manufacture of aerated bread, having turned his mechanical business over to the firm of Lane & Bodley and afterwards the Ahrens Manufacturing Company, from which concerns he received royalties on his inventions for a number of years. He died in Ludlow, Kentucky, April 28, 1865.

Joseph S. Ross was another Jerseyman, born at Brunswick March 5, 1803, and from his third year a resident in Cincinnati. During his early manhood he was a carpenter in the employ of Jonathan W. Lyon and afterwards on his own account. In 1832 he opened a feed store at Seventh street and Central avenue. At this time he became a prominent member of the City Council. Seven years later he built the steamboat "Relief" and engaged in the steamboat trade on the Red River for four years. There he had the misfortune to lose his boat with all he possessed and returned to Cincinnati in 1844. He was reelected to the Council and began the livery stable business in company with Higdon at the southwest corner of Seventh street and Central avenue where he continued for seven years. He was chairman of the committee on fire department and having become impressed with the efficacy of steam as applied to fire engines he closed a contract with Latta and Shawk for the first steam fire engine. This was named in his honor "Uncle Joe Ross." He organized the Miami Valley Insurance Company in 1860 and was its president for 11 years. During his term in the Council, he was particularly active in attempting to induce the city to purchase the tract from Eighth to Court street and Central avenue to Plum street, which Judge Burnet offered the city for $60,000. Through the change of the vote of one member, the ordinance was lost by a tie and two years later the city gave the same price for less than half of the tract. Mr. Ross is credited with changing the name Western row to Central avenue. It was thought at the time that this change gave an impetus to the western movement of the city. He was a candidate for mayor of the city in 1853 but was defeated by David T. Snelbaker. He died at Glendale July 6, 1875.

The new department as already stated actually came into the control of the protection of the city from fire on April 1, 1853. In Mr. Greenwood's first annual report, that of April 1, 1854, he recommended the purchase of the lot then vacant on the south side of Sixth street between Vine and Race, urging its convenience to the lookout and alarm bell which it was expected would be placed on the adjoining Mechanics' Institute building. This purchase was made and at this point, from that time until 1903, has been located the headquarters of the department including the fire alarm telegraph.

For many years the one fire tower in the city stood on top of the Mechanics' Institute building at Sixth and Vine streets. At this point the lines dividing the city into four fire districts intersected. The tower contained glass windows from which a clear view could be had of every part of the city and two watchmen remained on duty there night and day, relieving each other every six hours. In the center of the tower was a large wooden cylinder resembling the mast of a ship through which by means of machinery worked four glass globes covered with red flannel cloth and fastened upon a shaft. During the day they appeared at a distance like solid balls but at night when illuminated they were brilliant red. Upon the discovery of a fire, the watchmen immediately hoisted one, two, three or four balls above the tower according to the district where the fire was located. Without leaving his place, with the aid of a lever he also struck an alarm upon a mammoth bell weighing 6,549 pounds placed at the further end of the roof of the Institute building. Next to the Institute building where the Gifts' Engine House now stands was the frame building of the Fourth District Engine House. A speaking tube connected the tower with the engine house and through this the watchmen announced the location of the fire to the firemen below. The other engines as they

passed the engine house also learned where they were needed. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 101.)

In the same report Mr. Greenwood gave an extensive account of the condition of the department, in which he says the utmost harmony prevailed. Among the different companies no other rivalry existed than that of trying to excel each other in faithfully discharging their several duties. Within six months all the property and apparatus of the different independent companies were in the possession of the city, except that of the Independent Company No. 2 at the corner of Symmes and Lawrence. This was shortly afterwards acquired by the city and the first report contains a complete inventory of the department. The satisfaction given by the first engine induced the purchase of a second known as the "Citizens Gift." In 1853 the department had 14 companies, a hose company, a hook and ladder company and 529 men, including officers. These companies were provided with 28 engines and 29 hose carriages and 24,750 feet of hose. To the two steam engines already owned was added a third in 1854. These three engines were able to throw 2,400 gallons of water a minute and upon pressure this quantity could be increased to 3,000 gallons. The department had 50 horses and its expenditures for that year aggregated $78,440.04.

The names of the officers of the department during its year of existence are worthy of permanent record. Miles Greenwood was the chief engineer and his two assistants were Ferguson Clements and John Doran. The clerk was Lewis Guelich. The office of the department was at that time at No. 65 Fourth street between Walnut and Vine in the building so long occupied by the Independence Company No. 3 and afterwards by the bookstore of The Robert Clarke Company.

During the year 1854 two new steam engines were added to the service with the necessary reels and hose. The public trial of the new steam fire engine the "Citizens Gift" took place on July 27th and was made the occasion of general rejoicing. The first serious calamity to the new department occurred at a fire in the rectifying house on Seventh street west of Sycamore during this same year. On this occasion one of the firemen, William Videll of the Washington Company, was killed and another, John Crawley, badly injured. This company came from the east side of Vine street between Columbia and Front and still used the old engines, the "Ohio" and "Pat Lyon." Four new engines were contracted for the year 1855 at the cost of $22,000. One of these the "Washington" was assigned to the Washington Company on Vine street just referred to; the "F. Clements" went to the Deluge Company at Third and Lawrence; the "Miles Greenwood" was located at the Mohawk Fire Engine House on Vine and Hamilton road and the "Marion" at the Marion Engine House on Cutter between Laurel and Betts. It was necessary to alter most of these engine houses for the purpose of receiving the new apparatus. In this year Mr. Greenwood felt that his services were no longer necessary to the success of the department and he retired with the thanks of the Council and the citizens, after "bringing order out of confusion and saving property and life by systematized and well defined rules and regulations and a personal supervision highly honorable to him and immensely valuable to this city." A handsome souvenir was presented to him by the officers of the department as a tribute of respect and esteem for his efficient services as fireman, his bearing as officer, and exemplary character as citizen. The inscription on the souvenir also modestly stated that the department was the best the world could boast of. Ferguson Clements was appointed chief engineer with Enoch G. Megrue as assistant.

Several serious accidents happened during this same year. One of these, caused by the explosion of one of the steam fire engines during the trial before a committee of the Chicago Council, resulted in the death of three firemen. Another fireman was killed by the falling in of a building on Sycamore street between Main and Sycamore streets and the third met his death by being run over by an engine. A most disastrous fire was that of October 15, 1855, which started in the carpenter establishment of Hinkle & Guild on Water street almost opposite the gas works. The origin of the fire which was most destructive could never be ascertained and it was generally attributed to incendiary origin. The building, which was five stories high packed with inflammable materials, burned to the ground with a loss of over $100,000. Another fire also attributed to incendiary origin broke out the following day at the ropewalk of Charles S. Jacob near Seventh and Harriet streets.

In 1857 Mr. Clements was succeeded by Enoch G. Megrue with Lewis Wisbey as assistant. Mr. Megrue remained in charge of the fire department in Cincinnati for over 20 years, during which time he earned the everlasting gratitude of the citizens and the envious admiration of all the small boys.

An interesting incident in the history of the department was the procession given on June 3, 1857, in honor of the opening of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad in which the most conspicuous feature as of many processions to follow was the Cincinnati Fire Department, at that time consisting of seven steam engines, 14 hose carts and a hook and ladder company. The department was escorted by a fine body of soldiers and paraded the streets for several hours when suddenly the bell was tapped and the engines started off at full speed for the Sixth street market place. Steam was gotten up upon the giving of the signal just as if the engines were starting off for a fire. The engines took their places at the cisterns in the neighborhood and the hose was brought into the square. At a given signal the water started from seven pipes which were held in such position as to cause the different streams to unite high in the air above the spectators. "The glistening drops sparkled like so many diamonds in the air and the vast crowd assembled gave expression to their admiration by stentorian vivas."

An interesting picture of this scene shows one of the old-fashioned steam fire engines, the seven ascending streams, the old market house and the buildings surrounding it and the vast concourse of people with their quaint costumes. The men were mainly attired in the straight stovepipe hats, peg-top trousers and clawhammer coats and the women rejoiced in the close fitting bonnets, large shawls and enormous hoop skirts. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 127.)

A serious fire of this year was that in the furniture factory of Meader, Johnson & Company on Smith and Front streets, which occurred July 2, 1857. This fire was one of the largest known in the history of the city and owing to the inflammable character of the material in the building and in the lumber yards the heat was so intense that the firemen could not approach close enough to render much service. The five-story brick of the furniture factory, the four-story brick and two-story frame adjoining it, as well as lumber in the yard, were entirely consumed as well as the Resor Stove Foundry on the southwest corner of Front and Smith which was a five-story brick building over 200 feet front, extending from Front to Water street, and the largest establishment of the kind in the West. Other buildings that were injured were the Coolidge and Closterman furniture establishments and the Mechanics' Hotel on the southeast corner of Front and Smith. The loss was about a quarter of a million dollars as well as the throwing out of employment of some 300 mechanics. Two days later the celebration of the glorious Fourth resulted in a fire in the so-called Clinton Buildings at the northwest corner of Western row and Clinton street. These buildings were occupied by eight firms many of which sustained considerable loss.

In 1858 the department consisted of eight steam engine companies, three active hand engine companies and four outside or neighborhood companies. So rapid had been the development in the manufacture of engines that four of the steam engines were already rated as second class and this year the pioneer "Uncle Joe Ross" was placed out of service as being too heavy. The governing board of the department at that time was a board of supervisors consisting of the chief engineer and his assistants and the fire department committee of the City Council and according to the report of the chief the system was not a complete success by reason of the inability of the council committee to devote sufficient time to their duties. The hand companies practically disappeared from the service during the following year and arrangements were made for two fire engines to take their places, one of which was to be stationed at Ninth and Freeman for the purpose of protecting the extreme western and southwestern parts of the city. As a result of the changes, the department consisted this year of 10 engines, a hook and ladder truck, a hose company, 60 horses and 142 men with but seven hand engines still in use. A large fire of this year was that of August 11, 1859, in which the wholesale liquor house of Stephen Boyle & Company at No. 53 Second street, consisting of four large stores, two of them five-story brick buildings all stored with liquor, was destroyed. Other concerns suffering loss were those of Crane, Breed & Company and G. Henshaw at Nos. 26 and 28 Sycamore street. Three firemen were badly injured and a colored woman watching the fire inhaled the flames and subsequently died. This fire was a most spectacular one rendered so by the brilliancy of the flames and the repeated explosions of the casks of liquor.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

In 1840 the organization of the police force was again changed. Before that time the watch had been appointed by the Council but by act of March 19, 1840, provision was made for the election of the night watch by wards in such numbers for each ward as the Council should direct. The watchmen were elected at the elections held

for City Council and were required to live in the wards from which they were elected. They were not permitted to receive fees as witnesses when called upon to testify for the city. The first elected under this provision were James Ewan, Peter Early, John Redhead, Robert Cappin, Jesse B. Baldwin, Aaron G. Dodd and John Cordeman. Ira A. Butterfield was captain of the watch and James Wise, lieutenant. These officers were of course under the authority of the marshal. It must be remembered that this was a night watch and that no provision for day police in the city of Cincinnati was made until 1842 when on May 27th the Council created a day watch to consist of two persons selected by themselves who were to receive a compensation of $1.25 a day. The 10-years term of Mayor Davies ended in 1843 at which time he was succeeded by Henry E. Spencer who like Davies was a Whig although he became a Democrat in 1850. He served as mayor for eight years, during part of which time the position of marshal lost much of its influence by reason of the control of the watch being put directly under the mayor. The immediate command was placed in the hands of a captain and during Mayor Spencer's term of 10 years the captains were William Small and Jacob Jacobs. In 1844 an ordinance was passed increasing the police force by permitting the mayor and marshal, in case of riot or otherwise when necessary, to detail any number of persons not to exceed 10 from each ward who should be sworn in as deputy marshals and act in concert with and under the direction and control of the mayor and marshal for the preservation of the public peace. Two years later provision was made for the employment of private watchmen for the merchants of Pearl street or any other street in the city, which watchmen were to be paid by the merchants but to have the power of the other watchmen of the city. James Saffin, who had been the marshal since 1835, was succeeded in 1847 by Ebenezer Hulse, who served but one term, at the conclusion of which James L. Ruffin became marshal. Ruffin was a son of William Ruffin the former city clerk and was born in the city December 22, 1813. It is said that his early life and associates were of such a character as to give him large experience with people likely to come within the pale of the law and in fact his name seems to have been connected with a gang of toughs called the "Fly Market Rangers." He was afterwards a clerk in a mercantile house, then on a river steamer, again a bookbinder and finally deputy in the county clerk's office under William Henry Harrison. Early in the "forties" he became a constable and the work seemed to be to his liking. He subsequently was chosen marshal in which position he was very successful and years afterwards he acted as chief of police for several terms.

In 1849 the captain of the watch was given the munificent pay of $1.75 a night while the two lieutenants received $1.50 and the watchmen, $1.35.

A reorganization of the force took place in the following year. At the last meeting in March, 1850, the Council provided for the election of six watchmen from each of the wards of the city at the following April election a few days later. These watchmen were to have the same terms as those of the night watch. A month later the Council passed an ordinance providing for a chief of police and six lieutenants of the watch to be appointed by the Council, each for the term of a year. The duties of these officers were prescribed by the ordinance, that of the chief being of course supervisory. Four of the lieutenants designated by the committee on the watch were to be assigned for night duty and two for day duty and five of the watchmen in each ward were to act at night while but one was on duty in the daytime. The chief lieutenants and the night watch were required to assemble at the city watch house every night precisely one hour after sunset for roll call. The night lieutenants and watchmen remained on duty until sunrise, at which time the whole force headed by the chief once more assembled for roll call. A day force then went on duty and continued to act until sunset. There seems to have been no provision for the hour between sunset and roll call of the night force. The force seems to have been directly under charge of a council committee on the watch which made the regulations necessary for its government. The salaries of the officers were as stated above and no one of them was permitted to be employed in other business except by written permission, granted by the committee on the watch. This ordinance we are told was not put into effect until 1853 at which time David T. Snelbaker became mayor. It will be remembered that Mark P. Taylor had succeeded Mayor Spencer in 1851 and as mayor was the head of the force. His captains of the watch were Peter Early, David Hoke and John C. Coutch. By ordinance of June 25, 1851, the number of lieutenants was reduced to one with three assistants. Provision was made at the same time for the appointment of a sergeant of police for each ward.

The appointment of the first chief of police and the first organization of the department that in any way foreshadowed the present organization took place under Mayor Snelbaker in 1853, at which time Jacob Kiefer was made chief. His lieutenants were John Dunker, Joseph Cassidy, William Phillips, Simeon Rouse, Xavier Cramer and F. Housman. There were at that time 96 watchmen, six for each of the 16 wards. In addition there were six river watchmen (among whom was L. M. Hazen), two canal watchmen, two watch-house keepers and two keepers each for the Hammond street and Bremen street station houses. The offices of the new department were in the new City Hall at Eighth and Plum which was occupied for the first time early in the year 1852. (Directory of 1853, p. 42.)

Kiefer served but a few weeks and was succeeded by Thomas Looken. Looken's term was brought to a conclusion towards the end of the year as a result of the Bedini riots. As stated in the account of that disturbance the police force headed by the chief attempted to stop the rioters at the corner of Eighth and Plum. It was not until one of the policemen had been mortally wounded that the chief commanded his men to take the offensive, as a result of which came the clubbing which at this day seems entirely justified. A number of citizens were seriously injured and one of the rioters died as a result of his wounds. His funeral was one of the largest ever witnessed in the city and the feeling against the police was intensified by handbills distributed at the time denouncing them as brutal and tyrannical. As a result of the popular indignation Mayor Snelbaker was obliged to dismiss his chief who had simply done his duty. He became an object of general reprobation for a time and the words of his order "pitch in" were perpetuated in song and verse. We are told that popular music called the "Pitch In Waltz" was played by every brass band in the city. The result of such lawless sentiment showed itself a few weeks later, even after Father Bedini had left the city, when on the 15th of January, 1851, another mob several thousand strong marched to the Archbishop's residence and burned an effigy of the Nuncio. Marshal James L. Ruffin with several officers attempted to quell this disturbance and as a result was knocked down and clubbed while Deputy Sheriff Thomas Higdon was stabbed to death. Looken was succeeded as chief by David Hoke who had been captain of the watch under Mayor Taylor. He too had his experience with rioters, at the time of the municipal elections in April, 1855, when the so-called Know Nothing riot took place. In a struggle in the 11th Ward for the possession of the ballot box, the foreman of Link's Brewery was shot to death by one of the Know Nothings named William Brown. The riot that followed made necessary the calling out of the police under Chief Hoke who finally succeeded in restoring order.

As a result of this election, James J. Faran was elected mayor and William Craven, city marshal. Edward H. Hopkins became chief of police. The name of Benjamin P. Churchill appears as a deputy and the lieutenants were Benjamin Ertel, William S. Hudson, L. M. Hazen, L. Parker and G. W. Rose. This was the first connection of the celebrated chief of detectives, Lawrence M. Hazen, as an officer of the Cincinnati police force. The Directory of 1856 gives the names of 72 watchmen as well as those of the six watch-house keepers located at that time at the Ninth, Pearl and Hammond street stations. The total police force at the time is said to have numbered 101. At the election of 1857 at which time Nicholas W. Thomas became mayor, Benjamin Robinson a Democrat slipped into office as city marshal as a result of the split in the Republican party. The famous James L. Ruffin became Mayor Thomas' chief of the police force which had at this time been cut down to 90 in number. Both of these men, Nicholas W. Thomas and James L. Ruffin, won for themselves lasting places as most efficient officers in the memory of Cincinnatians. Richard M. Bishop, so well known as "Uncle Richard," succeeded Thomas as mayor and with him was elected as city marshal John S. Gano, the last to hold this office. Lewis Wilson was Mayor Bishop's chief.

At this time came a reorganization of the police force as a result of an act of the Legislature passed March 14, 1859. This act provided for the appointment of four persons by the mayor, police judge and city auditor, which four with the mayor were to constitute the Board of Police Commissioners. The board was to appoint a chief, lieutenants, the necessary number of watchmen and station house keepers and to formulate rules and regulations for the force. They were to receive no compensation for their services. The office of city marshal was abolished and its duties given to the chief who was to receive $1,500 from the city and $500 from the county. The city prison work house and superintendent of the same were also provided for. Considerable excitement prevailed as a result of the passage of this act known as the "Dobmeyer Act."

Mayor Thomas was a Whig but Judge A. J. Pruden of the Police Court and City Auditor S. S. McGibbons were Democrats. The two latter appointed the commissioners, naming Charles Rule, Dr. Joseph S. Unzicker, Elbert Marsh and William P. Hulbert. In the spring election of 1859 D. P. Lowe had been elected to the Police Court bench and Emanuel Wassenich had been made city auditor. These were both Whigs. Mr. Hulbert and his associates were induced to resign their positions as commissioners on the theory that the law creating the commission was unconstitutional and that they would be individually responsible for the salary of the police. (Roe's Our Police, p. 41.) At any rate as a result of these resignations, there were four vacancies to be filled. Judge Pruden had but one day more to serve when Mayor Thomas brought into court the newly elected Judge Lowe and introduced him. The presiding judge at once ordered the marshal to open court which was done. Thereupon Judge Pruden the retiring judge and the retiring auditor with one day more to serve announced the appointment of four new commissioners, George Hatch, Charles W. West, George C. Sargeant and Francis Beresford. When the commission attempted to meet at the mayor's office on April 7th, they found the door closed and as a result they organized in the hall by electing Beresford chairman and Hatch secretary. Two days later they met in the office of the city marshal and appointed William S. Hudson as lieutenant of police. He was detailed by the newly appointed chief for service at the Police Court. Benjamin Robinson, the former marshal, was sworn in as chief and four deputy marshals were appointed policemen. The marshal-elect, John S. Gano, was refused the papers belonging to the marshal's office. In the meantime the new Police Court was organized with Judge Lowe on the bench and John S. Gano as marshal. Of course a contest followed in the courts. Mayor Bishop refused to act with the new commissioners and their officials were not able to obtain possession of the city prison. The District Court sustained the constitutionality and held that the office of city marshal had been abolished and that the first commission which had resigned was legal but that no power existed to reappoint a commission. Mayor Bishop remained at the head of the force, acting through his chief of police Lewis Wilson until the Legislature on March 8, 1860, repealed the act appointing the commission. The chief of police was allowed to remain at the head of the force. It was said that the office of marshal was abolished by reason of the enormous fees attaching to the office. (Roe's Our Police, p. 43.)

THE CITY WATER WORKS.

On June 25, 1839, the city took possession of the new water works although the old officers of the company operated the plant until September 15th. By the terms of purchase for the sum of $300,000 in six percent city bonds there were transferred to the city the tracts of land lying between Front and High streets east of the Kilgour line with the lot on the south side of Front street running to the river (where was the engine house), the reservoir on High street, the pumping house on Front street, the two pumping engines "Vesta" and "Betsy" and 19 miles of wooden and three and one-half miles of iron pipe. (Cincinnati Annual Reports—1880, pp. 490-491.) Free water was to be furnished to Colonel Davies and his wife and family during their lifetime.

The standing committee of the City Council constituting the special board of directors held its meeting in the council chamber on Saturday evening, September 7, 1839. This board included Edward Woodruff (president) and E. Hinman, Oliver Lovell, A. H. Ewing, N. S. Hubbell and Jonah Martin. Isaac Eveleth was elected secretary and Samuel H. Davies, engineer at salaries of $1,000 each and an office was rented at the northwest corners of Fourth and Walnut streets at $7 a month. The water rates for families were graded and ran from $10 to $16 a year while the charge for a bath was $3 and each hose, $1. The high price of fuel led to investigation by an engineer named N. Buford who submitted a report on the utilization of the water power in the Miami Canal as a substitute for the steam pumping system. The lessee of the canal power, Clark Williams, offered the privilege of water for the annual consideration of $6,000. The plan was submitted to the Council in August, 1840, but that body failed to accept it.

In April, 1842, S. L. Tatem was elected engineer of the water works. By virtue of an act of the Legislature, this office was made elective. This interference was resented by the Council who in the section prescribing his duties said that the only duties to be required of any engineer should be to cause the engines to be well greased or oiled, the flues to be swobbed out and the boiler to be heated up and his compensation should not exceed $50 per annum. Several changes were made by the ordinance which were not of long

FOURTH STREET LOOKING EAST FROM VINE IN THE "THIRTIES."

FOURTH STREET LOOKING WEST FROM VINE IN THE "THIRTIES."

duration but in 1846 the management was entrusted to three members of the Council. Those selected were Samuel Fosdick who declined and was replaced by Griffin Taylor, D. F. Meader and S. E. Foote. Other candidates were R. R. Springer and George Graham. This ordinance was almost immediately repealed and the management was placed in control of a board consisting of J. G. Rust, Nicholas W. Thomas, D. F. Meader, Griffin Taylor and A. Sawyer. A little later (1847) the Legislature placed the water works under the control of a board of trustees to be elected annually. The first board included Griffin Taylor, James C. Hall and Nicholas W. Thomas. Mr. Tatem had been succeeded as engineer in 1846 by T. R. Scowden. The secretaries had been in turn Isaac Eveleth and J. F. Irwin who each served a year and John F. Keys who served from 1841 continuously until 1850. The new board in 1847 selected E. Hinman as superintendent, the first to hold that title in connection with the water works system of the city. Mr. Scowden was continued as engineer. Mr. Hinman continued to hold his position until 1852 when he was succeeded by Lewis Warden who became also engineer the following year. James Cooper was superintendent from 1854 to 1857 when Mr. Warden who had continued as engineer again became superintendent. During the latter part of this year S. W. Irwin became superintendent and Americus Warden, engineer. These officers were succeeded in 1859 by R. C. Phillips and George Shield, respectively. Mr. Phillips served until 1861 when he was succeeded by John Earnshaw while Mr. Shield served until 1867. Other trustees prior to the war included such well known citizens as William McCammon, S. B. McLean, J. H. Gerard, C. W. West, George Keck and Charles Rule.

It was soon found, after the city had taken charge of the works, that the pumping power was not sufficient for the increased demand for water and in October, 1844, the directors accepted the proposition of Messrs. Yeatman and Shield for the construction of a new pumping power after the design of George Shield. The work was much delayed by a number of disputes between the contractors and the city. The "Vesta" engine was soon abandoned and the whole pumping duty placed on the "Betsy." This engine did the work very well until the high water of 1846 when it broke down and as a result for a time the city was entirely without water. The new Shield engines were finally completed in March, 1846, although for a time they did not work very successfully. High water in 1847 again suspended the operations of the plant. The Shield engines were repaired from time to time and finally for many years they were the most successful and economical engines in the service.

Nicholas Longworth in 1842 had urged the importance of a reservoir on higher ground and offered a site on Mount Adams for reservoir and promenade purposes for $500 an acre which he claimed was not one-fourth of its value. The proposition was rejected on the ground that the property was not worth more than half the price. Four years later the committee headed by Griffin Taylor again waited on Mr. Longworth who then offered to sell them the property for one-third less than he would to an individual. The committee again thought the price exorbitant and did not even make a report to the Council. It was said that they thought $1,400 an acre "for broken hill land too poor to raise 'sourkrout' on entirely too high." Mr. Longworth was indignant and proposed in writing to the Council that the city should take possession without any fixed price and pay no interest, but when he sold adjacent ground he should be allowed within $500 an acre of his private sale after deducting taxes. He claimed that in five years the property would be worth five times the sum asked and stated that at the expiration of the time he would report its value to the Council. Before three years the property was selling for from $10,000 to $14,000 an acre. He said the day was not far distant when the inquiry would be made why the Council had not acquired sites when the hills were of little value and that the statement would be made that he had urged the purchase at less than its real value to a committee of the Council "composed of the knowing ones of the city" who had been disgusted at what they thought was his pretended public spirit and had refused to recommend the purchase.

In 1849 a new reservoir was erected under the plans of Mr. Scowden. This, the only reservoir used in the city until 1875 was built above the ground entirely of selected and dressed limestone. A new engine was built during 1850 by Harkness & Son which had its first trial on February 17, 1851. This engine has done very satisfactory service. During the year 1853 under the direction of the board, Prof. John Locke made a comprehensive examination of the water of the Ohio and according to his report a gallon of this water contained but 70/1000 of a grain more solid matter than the

seats. The first judges of the Common Pleas Court to be elected under this constitution were A. G. W. Carter who served 10 years until 1862, Stanley Matthews who served less than a year at which time he resigned to become a member of the firm of Worthington & Matthews and Robert B. Warden who also served but a short time, resigning in April, 1852. These judges were all elected for a term of five years at a salary of $1,500 a year. Donn Piatt was appointed to succeed Warden in April, 1852, but also resigned in October of that year. John B. Stallo was appointed to succeed Matthews but he too resigned in May, 1854, and was succeeded by Nelson Cross who served until October, 1854. Washington Van Hamm succeeded Cross at this time. Edward Woodruff succeeded Piatt in November, 1852, but resigned in May, 1854, at which time he was succeeded by James Parker. This made the court consist of Carter, Parker and Cross in the early part of the year 1854, Van Hamm taking Cross' place in October of that year. At the next election in 1856 Judge Carter was reelected and his associates were Patrick Mallon and Melancthon W. Oliver, whose terms began in 1857. Judge Oliver resigned in October, 1859, and Governor Chase appointed W. M. Dickson to succeed him who served until November 7th of that year at which time Isaac C. Collins who had been elected in October succeeded him and served out the remainder of the term until February, 1862. This made the court at the beginning of the war consist of Carter, Mallon and Collins. At this time the salary was $2,000 per annum. The three judges of the Court of Common Pleas together with one judge of the Supreme Court constituted the old District Court,—a court of review. In fact the judge of the Supreme Court after the first few years very seldom sat in the District Court, as the three county judges constituted a quorum.

The new Superior Court of Cincinnati was established April 7, 1854, and had concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Common Pleas in civil cases arising or where one of the defendants resided in the city of Cincinnati. This court which has from its organization been the special pride of the bar of the city was organized in 1854 with Judges Oliver M. Spencer, William Y. Gholson and Bellamy Storer on the bench. By classification by lot among themselves, Judge Gholson received a commission for the full term of five years, Judge Spencer for four years and Judge Storer for three years. This court continued unchanged for five years at which time Judge Gholson retired. He was succeeded by another distinguished lawyer, George Hoadly. The second vacancy on the bench was caused by the death of Judge Spencer in 1861 and was filled by another celebrated lawyer, Stanley Matthews. Judge Storer served until 1872.

The constitution of 1851 provided especially for the establishment of a Probate Court in each county to which was transferred jurisdiction in probate and testamentary matters, the appointment of administrators and guardians, and the settlement of their accounts, the issuing of marriage licenses and other similar probate business.

The first Probate judge of Hamilton County was John B. Warren, who served from 1852 to 1855. He was succeeded by John Burgoyne who served until 1858, to be succeeded in turn by George H. Hilton who served until the early part of the war (1861.)

The municipal code of 1852 also provided for a Police Court in cities of the first class. The first judge of this court was William L. Spooner, who served from 1853 to 1855. He was followed by Andrew J. Pruden and D. P. Lowe, each serving a three-years term.

Another important office provided by the same municipal code was that of city solicitor. The first to hold this office was E. A. Ferguson, the celebrated "Father of the Southern Road." He was succeeded by Patrick McGroarty and afterwards by Samuel Hart. George Hoadly was the incumbent in 1856-57. In 1859 and 1860 Rutherford B. Hayes was the city's legal adviser. The newly established office of prosecuting attorney of the Police Court was held by some very eminent lawyers, beginning in 1853 with W. M. Dickson, who was followed by Thomas A. Logan, H. B. Brown and Edgar M. Johnson, who held this position at the outbreak of the war.

THE "OLD COURT HOUSE" AND ITS SUCCESSORS.

The "Old Court House," which had been the seat of justice since 1819, was burned to the ground on the afternoon of Monday, July 9, 1849. It caught fire from a neighboring pork-house conflagration "and soon roof, dome, cupola, spire and steeple were wreathed and enveloped in smoke and flames." In a short time nothing but its blackened walls were left and the circling pigeons driven from their nests in the cupola seemed most to grieve over its loss.

Temporary quarters for the courts, county offices and Law Library were soon secured in a large brick building on the northwest corner of

Court street and St. Clair alley, owned by James Wilson and afterwards used as the pork packing house of Wilson, Eggleston & Company. The second floor was devoted to offices; on the third were the rooms of the Supreme, Common Pleas, Superior and Commercial courts, and the Law Library. After 1852, the third floor was given up to the Common Pleas courts and the Superior Court was removed to a building across the alley on Court street. The two buildings were connected by a bridge.

In 1851, the county commissioners awarded the contract to M. H. Cook & Company, for the erection of a new Court House to be built according to the plans of Isaiah Rogers, the architect of the Burnet House. This was to be placed on the site of the old and the present Court House.

The authority of the commissioners was limited to the expenditure of $200,000. The bid was for $695,253.29; this was accepted over the protest of one of the commissioners and Cook proceeded with the work. Shortly afterwards Jesse Timanus who had favored the contract was elected commissioner and immediately experienced a change of view. He united with the dissenting commissioner and notice was given to the contractor to cease the work. Naturally litigation followed, resulting in many delays and changes. However, the work had proceeded so far that in 1852 the county commissioners ordered the removal of the courts to the rooms on the lower floor of the new building. They were small and poorly lighted and quite cold, not nearly so good as the rooms in the warehouse from which the courts had removed. Finally the courts refused to occupy them any longer and the sheriff, Gassaway Brashears, was ordered peremptorily to procure more suitable quarters. He thereupon rented from the attorney Henry Snow the large extensive building upon the northeast corner of Ninth and Walnut and here the courts sat until the court rooms in the upper stories of the new Court House were ready for occupancy. This well known building served its purpose for more than 30 years until it was destroyed by the mob in 1884. The jail was not built until 1861. Up to that time the old jail on the west side of Sycamore between Hunt and Abigail was used. This structure served the county for almost forty years. It was a brick building containing 14 rooms and was surrounded by a high brick wall.

THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

In March, 1855, as a result of the division of Ohio into two districts, by act of February 10, 1855, the United States courts for the Southern District of Ohio were moved from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. The judge of this court was Humphrey H. Leavitt, who had been United States District judge for the State of Ohio since 1834 and remained the judge for the Southern District until 1871, when he retired. Shortly after the organization of the court, it was installed in the new building at the corner of Fourth and Vine. Judge John McLean, the justice of the Supreme Court for this circuit, presided in many of the most important causes of this time.

THE POST OFFICE.

Up to the year 1841 there had been but five postmasters in Cincinnati—Abner M. Dunn, William Maxwell, Daniel Mayo, William Ruffin and William Burke. In 1839 the Post Office, on Third between Vine and Walnut, received each week about 80 mails.

After the accidental succession of John Tyler to the presidency in 1841, William Burke was removed and William H. H. Taylor, son-in-law of President Harrison, was appointed. Father Burke, as he was familiarly called, served under James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson's two terms, Van Buren and General Harrison until the last named President's death.

The *Gazette* of November 1, 1841, notes the completion of a new building on East Third street a few doors east of the Henrie House, between Main and Sycamore, built by R. L. L'Hommedieu expressly for the Post Office which was to be located on the lower floor. The second story was to be used for offices and on the third floor was a large hall for public meetings and concerts. On November 6th E. P. Langdon, the assistant postmaster in the absence of Postmaster W. H. H. Taylor, announced that the Post Office would be removed on that day. This building was afterwards celebrated under the name of the St. Charles.

Mr. Taylor was removed by President James K. Polk and George Crawford appointed in 1845, when the office was again removed, this time to the corner of Third and Walnut streets under the Masonic lodge room.

When Gen. Zachary Taylor was elected President, he removed George Crawford and Maj. William Oliver was appointed in 1849, he

removing the office to the Art Union Building, on the northwest corner of Sycamore and Fourth streets. The location of the office had been so frequently changed at the whim or to subserve the interest of the postmaster and the place selected was not thought suitable, as a result of which a large number of merchants expressed much indignation. They soon, however, became reconciled to the new state of affairs. Major Oliver died while in office and his son-in-law, James C. Hall, was appointed to the vacancy, serving the term out under President Fillmore.

Dr. John L. Vattier was appointed in 1853 under President Pierce and the office was then permanently located, as was supposed, in the new Government Building, corner of Fourth and Vine streets. The site of the old Post Office at Fourth and Vine, was purchased in September, 1851, by the government for $50,000 from Dr. Shotwell, Joseph Bates, the hatter, and Nathan Guilford, who resided on the premises. The construction of the building required seven years, at the end of which time the Post Office was removed from the northwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore streets. President James Buchanan removed Dr. Vattier and appointed J. J. Faran who was also removed during the same administration and Dr. Vattier again appointed on October 21, 1859, to serve to April 5, 1861.

FEDERAL OFFICES.

In 1839, and for some years later, the office of the Surveyor General of the United States was in the Lytle mansion on Lawrence street. The incumbent at that time was Ezekiel S. Haines, who had succeeded Robert T. Lytle in 1838. The Lytle family had held this office since 1829 (the date of the appointment of Gen. William Lytle) except for the years 1831 to 1834 when it was held by Micajah T. Williams. J. B. Warren was the surveyor of the port and depository of public moneys for the United States at this time.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—II.

THE CITY'S GROWTH.

THE CITY IN 1839-40—SHAFFER'S DIRECTORY—CINCINNATI IN 1841—GROWTH IN POPULATION—BUILDING IN THE "FORTIES"—CINCINNATI IN 1851—JUST BEFORE THE WAR.

THE CITY IN 1839-40.

The "Cincinnati Almanac" of 1839 published by Glezen & Shepard contains a small map of Cincinnati with a miniature picture of the landing and the town at the margin of the map. This gives the location of the principal buildings including the Court House, Post Office on the north side of Third street east of Walnut, the Cincinnati College, Woodward College, Medical College of Ohio on the south side of Sixth west of Vine, the Western Museum on the southwest corner of Main and Pearl streets, Pearl Street House at the northeast corner of Walnut and Pearl, Broadway Hotel at the southeast corner of Second and Broadway, Cincinnati Hotel at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway, Exchange Hotel on the Public Landing just west of Sycamore street, Dennison Hotel at Fifth and Main streets, Mansion House on the west side of Main street below the canal almost opposite North Court street. The map shows the Miami Canal clear to the river at the mouth of Deer creek and the White Water Canal south of Pearl street extending almost to Western row. The map is shaded to show the improved portions of the city. This in the main includes all the river front from Butler to John and extending back almost to the canal. The stretch west of Plum between Water and a line a little south of Fourth is almost entirely unimproved. The same is true of the section north of Symmes (East Third), and east of a line running north of Ludlow prolonged to the canal. The space between Elm, George and Western row is but slightly improved although west of Western row the improvements run as far north as Catherine and west to the section line (almost to Mound). The section north of 12th was almost bare of improvements. In the almanac for the following year (1840), called as was its predecessor "Picture of Cincinnati," is given a similar map. The changes are but few; the principal additions are the burying grounds, the Episcopal and Presbyterian lying above 12th and east of Elm and the Catholic, Methodist and Baptist on Catherine west of Fulton (Mound). The Hospital on 12th and Plum, and Orphan Asylum on 12th and Elm are also shown. These two little books which are quite interesting are very rare.

The general appearance of the city and the character of the streets are discussed by an Easterner, W. G. Lyford, who visited this city a few years before. This city struck him as a pretty place although its aspect had not much diversity. The public buildings carried in their external appearance generally the object for which they were created although the public school

houses he thought might be mistaken for churches. The streets were paved but not lighted and "some of the dwellings upon them occupying spacious lots surrounded by shrubbery and closed with iron railings, could be viewed with jealousy could they be seen by some of our Atlantic imitators of European extravagance." The writer was struck with the spacious brick houses elegantly finished outside and in, clean streets and swept sidewalks. Main street he found was to Cincinnati what Broadway was to New York. The warehouses were of vast capacity in depth and height, all of brick, many new, built in fashion of the most substantial manner. One, that of Messrs. Miller and Lee, was 150 feet deep by 75 feet wide. The enormous pork business of the place impressed him and he gives a graphic description of the process of slaying and preparing the hog in the packing houses. There were at that time slaughtered in Cincinnati and neighborhood, in the 20 houses engaged in pork packing, 125,000 hogs per year. This work was in charge of one man, John W. Coleman, who had gangs of operators at most of the slaughter houses. (Western Address Directory, p. 278-280.)

An English traveler, Rev. J. I. Buckingham, visited the city in 1840 and of it he says:

"The private dwellings of Cincinnati are in general quite as large and commodious as those of the Atlantic cities, with these advantages, that more of them are built of stone, and much fewer of wood, than in the older settlements; a greater number of them have pretty gardens, rich grass-plats, and ornamental shrubberies and flowers surrounding them, than in any of the Eastern cities; and, though there is not the same ostentatious display in the furniture of the private dwellings here, which is met with at New York especially, every comfort and convenience, mixed with a sufficient degree of elegance, is found in all the residences of the upper and middle classes; and it may be doubted whether there is any city in the Union in which there is a more general diffusion of competency in means and comfort in enjoyments, than in Cincinnati. The stores also are large, well filled, and many of them as elegant in appearance and as well supplied with English and French articles as in the largest cities on the coast, though somewhat dearer, of course. The hotels are numerous and good, and boarding-houses at all prices abundant. The Broadway Hotel, at which we remained, appeared to us one of the cleanest and most comfortable we had seen west of the Alleghanies."

Another visitor (July, 1840) was Mrs. Eliza R. Steele of New York. In a letter written from Cincinnati at this time she says:

"As much as we had heard of Cincinnati, we were astounded at its beauty and extent, and at the solidity of its buildings. It well merits the name bestowed upon it here—Queen of the West. We have explored it thoroughly by riding and walking, and pronounce it a wonderful city. * * * We spent the morning slowly driving up and down each street, along the Miami Canal, and in the environs of the city in every direction, and were quite astonished—not because we had never seen larger and finer cities, but that this should have arisen in what was so lately a wilderness. Its date, you know, is only thirty years back. The rows of stores and warehouses; the extensive and ornamented dwellings; the thirty churches, many of them very handsome, and other public buildings, excited our surprise. Main street is the principal business mart. While in the centre of this street, we mark it for a mile ascending the slope upon which the town is built, and in front it seems interminable; for, the river being low, we do not observe we are looking across it to the street of the opposite city of Covington, until a steamboat passing, tells us where the city ends. Broadway is another main artery of this city—not, however, devoted to business, but bounded upon each side by rows of handsome dwellings. Third, Fourth, Seventh, Vine, and many other streets, show private houses not surpassed by any city we had visited. They are generally extensive and surrounded by gardens, and almost concealed from view of the passers by groves of shade-trees and ornamental shrubbery. An accidental opening among the trees shows you a glimpse of a piazza or pavilion, where among groves and gardens, the air may be enjoyed by the children or ladies of the family." (A Summer Journey in the West.)

Mr. Dickens who visited the city a couple of years later was also impressed with its beauty at this time (1842):

"Cincinnati is a beautiful city; cheerful, thriving, and animated. I have not often seen a place that commends itself so favorably and pleasantly to a stranger at the first glance as this does, with its clean houses of red and white, its well-paved roads and footways of bright tile. Nor does it become less prepossessing on a closer acquaintance. The streets are broad and airy, the shops extremely good, the private residences remarkable for their elegance and neatness. There is something of invention and fancy in

the varying styles of these latter erections, which, after the dull company of the steamboat, is perfectly delightful, as conveying an assurance that there are such qualities still in existence. The disposition to ornament these pretty villas and render them attractive leads to the culture of trees and flowers, and the laying-out of well kept gardens, the sight of which, to those who walk along the streets, is inexpressibly refreshing and agreeable. I was quite charmed with the appearance of the town and its adjoining suburb Mount Auburn, from which the city, lying in an amphitheatre of hills, forms a picture of remarkable beauty and is seen to great advantage."

SHAFFER'S DIRECTORY.

The city's growing importance is evidenced by the appearance of the first directory of any real pretensions from a modern point of view. This is generally known as "Shaffer's Advertising Directory for 1839-40" and included not only Cincinnati but Covington, Newport and Fulton and comprised names of householders, heads of families and those engaged in business together with the State or country of their birth. There is also a directory of the colored population. It was compiled by David Henry Shaffer and was printed by J. B. & R. P. Donough of No. 100 Main street. From this volume and from that of Mr. Cist which appeared the following year can be obtained a fairly comprehensive impression of the city at that time. It is a book of over 500 pages and contains in addition to the ordinary list of names a brief history of the city and descriptions of its principal institutions and business. Not the least interesting feature of the book are the two views of Cincinnati included in it. In the body of the book is a lithographic reproduction said to have been taken from a picture in possession of the compiler of the directory representing Cincinnati in 1809 as drawn by Capt. E. Cutler. This picture has already been referred to. The frontispiece is a large folding lithographic view of Cincinnati in 1840. The view is taken from the river and shows but little more than the Public Landing. In the foreground on the river are a number of steamboats and in the back are encircling hills upon which there appear to be but one or two buildings. The Cincinnati Hotel at Front and Broadway, the Exchange Hotel on Front between Sycamore and Main and Franks' Museum on Front between Sycamore and Broadway are the most conspicuous buildings in the foreground. In the background are numerous church spires, the most prominent of which are those of Christ Church on the north side of Fourth between Sycamore and Broadway and the First Presbyterian Church, the two-horned church on the west side of Main above Fourth, and Wesley Chapel. The picture is very interesting but grossly inadequate.

In the directory appear many familiar names. Under the head of education are described the College of Teachers, Woodward College and High School, the Catholic Seminary and College, Lane Seminary, the public schools and the Medical College of Ohio. The benevolent organizations included the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges, the Young Men's Bible Society of which Salmon P. Chase was president, the American Sunday School Union, St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, St. Aloysius' Orphan House on Sixth between John and Western row, Cincinnati Orphan Asylum on Elm street, Cincinnati Franklin Typographical Society, Hibernian Benevolent Society, Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Society, Boatmen's Bethel, the House of Employment for Female Poor, the Home Missionary Society, Foreign Missionary Society, Western Education Society, Charitable Intelligence Office and the Apprentices' Library.

Under the caption "Scientific" are given the Western Academy of Natural Sciences which held its weekly meetings at the engine house on Fourth between Sycamore and Broadway and Franks' Museum and Gallery of Paintings so soon to be destroyed by fire. The literary organizations included the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association which had been organized some five years before and the Chamber of Commerce, organized October 22, 1839. Its president at that time was Griffin Taylor. Reference is also made to the Cincinnati and White Water Canal, the office of the surveyor general of public lands which was located at that time in the Lytle mansion on Lawrence between Symmes and Fourth streets and was in charge of Ezekiel S. Haines, surveyor general, who had succeeded Robert T. Lytle in 1838. Two institutions, the Cincinnati Rolling Mill on the river east of Deer creek and the Washington Brewery situated on the river near the water works, are also mentioned. In a note we are told that the ale of Schultz & Company who owned the brewery was considered by judges to be equal to the imported article. Mention is made of navigation on the Licking River which the State of Kentucky was designing to improve by a system of locks and dams. Another interesting piece of information is the statement

that during the preceding season 200,000 hogs averaging 175 pounds each had been slaughtered. The amount of money involved in this industry during that year was estimated as $100,000. A list of the periodicals published at that time includes the *Gazette* (daily, tri-weekly and weekly) and the *Republican* (daily and weekly) both of the Whig persuasion; and the *Journal and Advertiser* (daily and weekly) of Democratic politics. The daily and weekly *Chronicle* is denominated as literary while the *News* and *Morning Star*, both dailies, were devoted to "general intelligence." There was also the *Catholic Telegraph*, the *Western Christian Advocate*, and the *Philanthropist* (the abolition organ) among the weeklies. The monthlies included the *Western Temperance Journal*, the *Hesperian* and the *Rose of the Valley*, each literary, and the *Family Magazine* devoted to general miscellany. The German papers were the daily *Volksblatt*, the Catholic weekly, *Friend of Truth*, and the *Christian Apologist*.

In all the old directories, one of the most interesting features is that of the advertisements and Shaffer's Directory is not an exception; in fact it is particularly called an "advertising directory." From these pages we learn that Truman & Smith who were located upstairs on Main street between Fourth and Fifth had published 500,000 school books of the "Eclectic" series. Ephraim Morgan & Company at the old stand of Morgan & Sanxay on the west side of Main between Third and Fourth were publishing Bibles, the works of Josephus, and particularly a series of readers which had been adopted in the common schools of the city. Another publisher was George Conclin at No. 55 Main street, whose list of books for sale included Judge Hall's books and the lives of Boone and Black Hawk. At the sign of Franklin Head, No. 10 Lower Market street, Ely & Strong published school books and almanacs, the latter quite an important feature of the publishing business of those days. Well known names were those of the Cincinnati Type Foundry (N. Guilford, agent); J. G. Joseph, optician; F. Lawson & Brothers, No. 150 Main street, dealers in copper, tin and the like; Strader & Gorman, steamboat agents; Tosso & Doulas, musical instrument makers; G. W. & D. F. Goodhue, coal dealers at Plum and Water streets; John Britting, piano manufacturer on North Canal street two doors east of Vine; George C. Miller, coach maker, and U. P. James, publisher. It was evidently not considered unprofessional to advertise in those days for in the advertising pages we find notices of John Frazer whose residence was one mile northeast of town on the Lebanon turnpike; Vaughan & Cranch, McLean & Rankin, O. M. Spencer, Thomas J. Strait, S. P. Chase, Storer & Fox, Chase & Ball and Brown & McLean of the legal fraternity; the last named firm refers to Judge McLean and Judge Burnet among others. Of the medical and dental profession there are several advertisements. Dr. Charles Barnes advertises that he keeps constantly on hand his brother's remedies for the diseases common to the valley of the Mississippi and names a number of remedies. Dr. Augustin Rostang advertises himself as a surgeon dentist and manufacturer of mineral teeth. Other physicians are N. Allen, Dr. William Mulford and Dr. Norman. The latter, a dentist, offers to insert "Stockton's Porcelain Teeth" and to fill teeth with gold or "Munroe's Composition," "with no pain to the patient and saving the most sensitive tooth." Dr. William C. Lawrence refers to the mayor, Judge Storer, J. J. Faran and a number of doctors including Drs. Bonner, Woodward, Dodge, Judkins, Gross and Mason. Another dentist was Dr. N. Rogers, who offers to continue his superior operations on the teeth and invites examinations of his specimens of teeth which in point of beauty, durability and usefulness he believes inferior to none in the United States. Drs. Mussey and Worcester advertised that their office at No. 11 West Fourth street was open by day and night. Well known drug stores were those of W. S. and A. S. Merrell at the southeast corner of Western row and Sixth street; George S. Light on Sycamore between Front and Columbia; Caleb S. Burdsal at the northeast corner of Main and Fifth (sign of Dr. Rush); L. Rehfuss & Kolb at the northwest corner of Ninth and Main, Charles G. Shane & Company at the northwest corner of Fifth and Race and Thomas S. Butler, the last named a wholesale druggist.

A well known building is the Bank Exchange Hotel opposite the Lafayette and Franklin banks on Third street, where George Selves of pleasant memory offers to accommodate boarders man or horse by day, week, month or year. This well known hostelry was one of the most popular places in the city and his advertisement is certainly very appetizing. In addition to his regular supply in season of quails, woodcocks, wild ducks and other game as well as delicious fresh oysters from Baltimore, salmon and fresh fish from the rivers and lakes, he offers salt water fish from Boston and New York markets. His liquors are the choicest, his wines the purest that

money can purchase and the invitation to gentlemen who might by business or other causes be prevented from taking their meal at their regular eating place was accepted by a large number of the prominent citizens.

Another peculiar advertisement was that of John Bates, Cincinnati Exchange Bank, which catered particularly to industrious mechanics whose business was on too small a scale to enable them to have an account with any of the banking houses in the city. The bank received notes of all solvent banks in the Union at par and paid five per cent per annum on deposits.

An interesting illustration in the book is that of the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company at the southwest corner of Third and Main streets, an interesting temple-like structure fronting on Main street with four Ionic columns. On the opposite side of the street is shown one of the rows of horse posts which seem to have been quite frequent in those days. Another illustration is an engraving of a store of Platt Evens, mercer and draper at that time at No. 140 West Main street. Of this a traveler writing in 1837 says: "As in every other city there is a point more attracting than another—in this it is Mr. Platt Evens' lot to be distinguished—and the front of his store, with his large plates of French glass, through which may be viewed every article, almost, of Fancy, continues to attract crowds of men, women and boys from morning till night—when the day is pleasant, much to the annoyance of foot passengers." (W. G. Lyford in Western Address Directory, p. 279.)

CINCINNATI IN 1841.

In 1841 appeared the first of the invaluable books, so often referred to, contributed by Charles Cist to the history of the city. "Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects" gives a very complete conspectus of the city as it appeared at that time. It contains chapters on topography, history, the boundaries and divisions, climate, population with their occupations, the government, commerce and business relations, meteorology, geology, magnetism, means of transportation, publications, religious, charitable and benevolent institutions, as well as those of a scientific and educational character, fine arts, fire department, water works and in fact on the whole subject matter of the city. It also contains a number of extracts from early newspapers and a long letter from Judge Symmes referring to the history of the settlement and a series of census sketches giving general information ascertained by the writer while taking the census.

The population given in great detail is discussed elsewhere. The occupations, trades and pursuits were divided into four classes. The first included the professions together with literature, science and fine arts in which were 434 persons engaged. In commerce and navigation there were 2,226 while in manufactures and mechanic arts, 10,866; in the fourth class under the head of miscellaneous were included agents, barkeepers, barbers, boarding and eating house keepers, carters, cooks, draymen, gardeners, stage drivers—1,025 persons.

The capital invested in commercial houses in foreign trade and commission business was $5,200,000; that in retail dry goods, hardware, groceries and other stores, $12,877,000; and in the lumber business, $133,000. The Chamber of Commerce had been organized October 22, 1839, and met monthly at the Young Men's Mercantile Library rooms. Lewis Whiteman was president, Henry Rockey, secretary and B. W. Hewson, treasurer.

There were five incorporated and two unincorporated banks. Micajah T. Williams was still the president of the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company, which had been incorporated in 1834. The Franklin Bank incorporated the same year had for its president John H. Groesbeck; the president of the Lafayette Bank was Josiah Lawrence and of the Commercial Bank, James S. Armstrong. The first of these banks had a capital of two million and the others of a million each. G. R. Gilmore was president of the Bank of Cincinnati, N. W. Thomas of the Miami Exporting Company and E. D. John of the Mechanics' & Traders' Bank. A. Barnes was cashier of John Bates' Exchange Bank while Timothy Kirby was the agent of the United States Bank.

Seven insurance companies are enumerated. John P. Foote was president, William Goodman, treasurer and E. Robins, secretary of the General Board of Underwriters. The companies listed were the Cincinnati Insurance Company, John Young, president; the Firemen's Insurance Company, George W. Neff, president; Washington Insurance Company, William Goodman, president; Fire Department's Insurance Company, David T. Disney, president; Canal Insurance Company, R. Buchanan, president; Manufacturers' Insurance Company, James McCandless, president; and Equitable Insurance Company, George C. Miller, president. Of these seven

companies, five had offices on Front street, one on lower Main and one on Third street. Several had branches on the canal.

The capital invested in manufactures is given (from the census) as $14,541,842. The number of hands employed was 10,647 and the annual value of the product was $17,432,670.

The so-called works of interior communication included canals, railroads and turnpikes. The Miami Canal which had been finished in 1828 to Dayton had since been extended to Piqua and was in progress to Defiance where it was to join the Wabash Canal, making a continuous route from Cincinnati to Lake Erie. The White Water Canal, which was nearly finished and about 25 miles in length, connected Cincinnati with the White Water Canal of Indiana at Harrison on the State line. A number of locks were being constructed to open up the Licking River to navigation. The Little Miami Railroad was another important means of interior communication.

Under turnpikes or MacAdam roads, five are mentioned: The Cincinnati and Hamilton turnpike, the Harrison turnpike, the Lebanon and Springfield turnpike, the Cincinnati and Wooster turnpike and (across the river) the Covington, Georgetown and Lexington turnpike. A number of subsidiary turnpikes are also given which connect with the principal turnpikes at points a little distance from the city. In all, 1,125 miles of canal, railroad and turnpikes concentrating in Cincinnati had either been completed or were in process of completion.

Twenty-nine periodicals are given by Mr. Cist as published in Cincinnati at this time. The unpretentious character of these papers is shown by the circulation. Of the six daily newspapers printed in the English language, the *Times*, of which Edwin R. Campbell was editor and Calvin W. Starbuck printer and publisher, had the largest circulation, 1,500 copies. The *Public Ledger*, edited by C. H. Layton and published by Layton & Shannon, printed 1,400 copies a day. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette and Liberty Hall*, edited by John C. Wright and owned and printed by L'Hommedieu & Company, printed 900 copies daily, 400 tri-weekly and 2,800 weekly. The *Cincinnati Republican*, edited by Charles S. Todd and published by E. Graham and J. B. Russell, issued 700 daily, 300 tri-weekly and 800 weekly copies. The *Advertiser and Journal*, of which Moses Dawson was editor and Dawson & Fisher proprietors, printed 400 daily, 150 tri-weekly and 1,650 weekly issues. The *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Edward D. Mansfield's paper, owned and printed by A. Pugh, printed the modest number of 400 daily and 900 weekly copies. These papers we are told were devoted to politics and the supply of the current news. The *Gazette*, *Chronicle* and *Republican* were Whig and the *Advertiser*, Democratic; the *Times* and the *Ledger* professed to be neutral in politics and were "published on the cash system, being what are commonly called penny papers." The circulation of the six German papers was equally restricted in number. The *Volksblatt*, of which the distinguished Stephen Molitor was editor and proprietor, published 312 daily and 1,400 weekly copies. This was the only daily and was Democratic in politics. The other Democratic German paper, the *Unabhaengige Presse*, edited and owned by B. Boffinger, was a tri-weekly with a circulation of 250. The Whig paper which had been established in 1837 by Christian Burkhalter as the *Westlicher Merkur* had been changed during the year 1841 to *Der Deutsche Im Westen* and was published by Burkhalter & Holle (Hefley) each week with a circulation of 500. A Roman Catholic paper was the *Wahrheit's Freund*, published by the St. Aloysius Society and edited by Rev. J. M. Henni. Its circulation was 1,050 a week. A Methodist weekly with a circulation of 1,000 was the *Christliche Apologete*, edited by Rev. William Nast and published by Revs. J. F. Wright and Leroy Swormstedt. Molitor was the publisher and Edward Mühl the editor of the *Licht Freund* which was published as a semi-monthly with a circulation of 500, and supported Universalist principles. Wright and Swormstedt were also the publishers for Revs. Charles Elliott and L. L. Hamline of what was called an Episcopal Methodist paper well known to the present day as the *Western Christian Advocate*, with a weekly circulation of 14,000. The same publishers and editors were responsible for the monthly literary journal, publishing 7,000 copies, known as the *Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West*. Another journal of interest was the abolitionist weekly with a circulation of 3,000,—the *Philanthropist*, edited by G. Bailey, Jr., and printed by Samuel Alley. Rev. Edward Purcell at that time edited the *Catholic Telegraph* with a weekly circulation of 1,100, while another well known citizen, Rev. J. A. Gurley, was the editor and owner of the Universalist monthly with a circulation of 2,300, —*Star in the West*. Other weeklies were the *Cincinnati Observer*, *Western Episcopal Observer*, *Western Temperance Journal* and *Young Ladies' Museum*, while among the magazines

were the *Western Messenger, Christian Preacher, Precursor, Missionary Herald, Evangelist, Western Farmer and Gardener* and Rev. J. H. Perkins' *Family Magazine*. There was also a *Counterfeit Detector*.

The churches at this time were quite numerous. The Catholic St. Peter's Cathedral was still on the west side of Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh while the German Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity was on the south side of Fifth between Smith and Park. Christ Church and St. Paul's occupied the sites to which their names are still attached (St. Paul Building). Dr. J. L. Wilson was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, still on the west side of Main between Fourth and Fifth, which with the Fourth and Fifth belonged to the Old School General Assembly Presbyterian faith. The New School was represented by Dr. Lyman Beecher's church, the Second, on the south side of Fourth between Vine and Race, the Third, Sixth and African Presbyterian. There was also a Reformed Presbyterian and an Associate Presbyterian. The regular Baptist organizations were the Ninth Street, the First and the African Baptist churches. The Christian Disciples were led by Elder James Challen on the west side of Sycamore between Fifth and Sixth. There were seven Methodist Episcopal churches, headed by Wesley Chapel as well as a Methodist Protestant Church and an Independent Methodist Church. The Friends' meeting houses were two in number,—on the south side of Fifth between Western row and John street. Other churches were three of the New Jerusalem persuasion, Rev. W. H. Channing's Unitarian Church, Rev. John A. Gurley's Universalist Church and Restorationist Church, the United German, the United German Protestant, German Lutheran, United Brethren in Christ, two Jewish synagogues, two Welsh churches (one Calvinistic and the other Congregational) and Bethel Chapel. There was also the Bethel Society and various mission and religious educational societies.

Under the head of charitable institutions were included three orphan asylums,—St. Peter's at Third and Plum, St. Aloysius' at Sixth opposite John, and the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum on Elm near 13th. The first two were Catholic. Other charitable institutions especially mentioned are the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum of Ohio, the House of Employment for Female Poor and the Charitable Intelligence Office. The Masonic lodges included the old Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge, No. 2; Miami Lodge, No. 46; Lafayette Lodge, No. 81; Cincinnati Commandery of Knights Templar; Cincinnati Council, No. 2, of Royal and Select Masters, and the Cincinnati Royal Arch Chapter, No. 2. There was also a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Among other institutions of note was the Cincinnati Savings Institution, of which George W. Jones was president, and various benevolent societies, Caledonian, Scotch, Irish, temperance, anti-slavery, etc. The scientific and literary institutions included the Western Academy of Natural Sciences, Apprentices' Library, and Young Men's Mercantile Library Association.

The common schools at that time contained about 4,000 pupils and 60 teachers who were accommodated in nine school houses built of brick and containing four rooms each. An illustration is given of one of these school houses of the style of architecture familiar to all residents of the city. (This is reproduced in this work.) The Cincinnati College under the presidency of Rev. T. J. Biggs was once more making an effort to give instruction in classics and mathematics. Woodward College was under the charge of Rev. Dr. Aydelott while St. Xavier College was presided over by Rev. Mr. Elet. Although there was not in the proper sense any university, the various schools of the city to some extent supplied its place. These schools included Lane Seminary, Western Baptist Theological Institute in Covington, of both of which institutions engravings are given and St. Francis Xavier Theological Seminary. There was also the Cincinnati Law School in charge of Timothy Walker, the Medical College of Ohio and in the Ohio Mechanics' Institute were classes in drawing, mathematics and the practical arts. There were said to be in Cincinnati at that time 400 pupils receiving university and college instruction in various academies. Lane Seminary, the Medical College of Ohio and the Ohio Mechanics' Institute are discussed at length. The last named which had been formed as heretofore stated in 1828 had wandered from the north wing of the Cincinnati College Building to the old Baptist Church on Walnut street and afterwards to Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar. In 1838 it held an annual fair for the exhibition of Western manufactures and the encouragement of Western artists, which was repeated in 1839 and 1840. These fairs which commenced on the third Monday in June of each year exhibited every class of manufactures and were very successful. Dr. John Craig, the first president and prime mover in the organization.

had recently been succeeded by Dr. John Locke. At this time Dr. Locke was delivering a course of lectures on natural philosophy on two evenings of each week. On Saturday evenings popular lectures were delivered by different gentlemen in the hall of the Institute on Third east of Broadway. In this historic building not only were gathered the apparatus and collections of the Institute but also those of the Western Academy of Natural Sciences, while in the old ball room decorated by Herviou was a reading room and saloon. The rotunda over the portico in the rear built for paintings was occupied by a drawing class. Here too were held annual fairs which also occupied a part of the vacant lot adjoining. The president of the board at that time was J. P. Foote. This same cultivated gentleman was the president of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge which had been organized in March, 1840, to foster instruction, by lectures and otherwise, in practical teaching, exact and mixed sciences, natural science, practical arts, fine arts, medicine, law, political economy and political science, moral and intellectual philosophy, history, languages, commerce and agriculture, polite literature and statistics. Other officers of this interesting society were E. P. Langdon, M. T. Williams, E. D. Mansfield, J. H. Perkins and M. Holley. The Eclectic Academy of Music organized in 1834 had about 100 members with a good library of music and an amateur orchestra of 24 instruments. Judge Jacob Burnet was the president and Victor Williams, instrumental professor. Another musical society was the Musical Fund Society, organized April 29, 1835, which had recently been revived with J. Tosso as leader of the orchestra. A large number of artists and works of art added their influence to the city. The Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts had just been organized with Godfrey N. Frankenstein as president and John L. Whetstone as secretary. This organization had held an exhibition of 150 pieces at the Mechanics' Institute in 1839 for the purpose of obtaining sufficient funds to procure a collection of casts. They were unsuccessful, from a pecuniary standpoint, in the exhibition but in 1840 contributions of citizens permitted the purchase of such a collection, the first of the kind ever brought to the West. An exhibition open to all Western artists was contemplated for 1841. A great body of Cincinnati artists belonged to the section of the fine arts, one of the departments of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge.

The old familiar names still appear in the different fire companies.

The Cincinnati Water Company had just sold out its plant to the city and Samuel H. Davies was the superintendent of the water works which comprehended at that time 23¾ miles of pipe of which four and one-fourth miles were iron and the rest wood.

Eighty-eight steamboats were given as belonging to the district of Cincinnati in January, 1841. Among these are several familiar names such as the "General Pike," "Queen of the West," "Pike" and "New Orleans."

The dignity of the United States was upheld by the Federal officers who at that time were J. B. Warren, surveyor and depository of public moneys, Ezekiel S. Haines, surveyor general with offices in the Lytle mansion, and William Burke, postmaster. There were 60 mails arriving at the city each week and the revenue of the office for the year 1840 was $49,815.13.

The officers of the city at that time were Samuel W. Davies, mayor; James Saffin, marshal; Samuel Scott, treasurer; and Joseph Gest, surveyor. Edward Woodruff was president of the City Council, Nathaniel C. Read, president judge, J. W. Piatt, clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and David K. Este, judge, and Daniel Gano, clerk of the Superior Court.

A most valuable section of Mr. Cist's book is taken up with a chapter of "Early Annals" made up of quotations from early numbers of the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*. Mr. Cist was not able to obtain a view of the earlier newspapers which he regarded as probably of little value!

Another important contribution is the letter of John Cleves Symmes written to Jonathan Dayton from North Bend in May, 1789, which gives a very complete account of the settlement of the purchase. Another section of the book is devoted to "Census Sketches," which are highly eulogistic in their character. Some of his comments make amusing reading at the present day. From his point of view there were few places in the United States which more favorably impressed a stranger reaching it by water—the usual avenue—than Cincinnati. "His eye "glances upon that superb quay—our Public "Landing, a space of ten acres, nearly, and a "front of almost one thousand feet—with "which our Eastern cities have nothing of the "kind to compare, in beauty and convenience. "He surveys it, along its whole front, encum-"bered with packages of every description and

"to an immense amount—the foreign imports, or "the domestic produce of the valley of the Mi-"amis—concentrating constantly at this point. "The hurried arrival and departure, singly and "in squads, of a whole battalion of drays; the "unremitting and active labor of hands, loading "and unloading the vessels in port; the incessant "ringing of bells, as signals to passengers or the "crews of the boats; the brief and abrupt inter-"change of business among the clerks on board, "and those belonging to the mercantile houses of "the city; with a great variety of sights and "sounds of subordinate interest, forcibly—per-"haps unduly—impress the mind of a stranger, "by the value set upon time, and the constant ex-"ercise of industry around him, as a fact, that "he has landed at a place where business is car-"ried on upon a large scale, and among a people, "who have neither the leisure nor the disposi-"tion to be idle."

Having disposed of the Public Landing, Mr. Cist takes his traveler along the line of Broadway to Fourth street from which point after casting his eye eastwardly to its termination along a row of modern palaces he takes him to the west along the whole course of that delightful street. "He cannot fail to notice the broad, "well paved and thoroughly ventilated streets; "the number, variety and beauty of the public "buildings; the taste and spirit which leave "spaces between the private edifices for borders "and sidewalks, and furnish an avenue to be-"hold the garden attractions in the rear of the "houses, the verdure of the grass plats, and "fragrance of the shrubbery which decorate the "front of the dwellings, and the exhibition of "flower vases in the windows of those who have "no space except the rear of their buildings to "cultivate. He will then mature the first judg-"ment he formed, and say to himself, or to his "traveling companion,—'These people have taste "to improve and spirit to enjoy, as well as in-"dustry to acquire.'"

If this be not enough to impress the traveler he is invited to extend his walks to the suburbs which in those days were to the north and west where he will find sources of enjoyment independent of fashion and wealth. Mr. Cist points a contrast with the approach of Pittsburg where "a dense cloud of darkness and smoke visible for some distance before he reaches it hides the city from the traveler's eyes until he is in its midst although half this volume of smoke is produced by household fires, coal being the only fuel of the place. The whole city (Pittsburg) is under the influence of steam and smoke. The surface of the houses and streets of that city are so discolored as to defy the cleansing power of water and the soot partakes of the bituminous character of the coal, and falling—color excepted—like snowflakes, fastens on the face and neck, with a tenacity which nothing but the united agency of soap, hot water, and the towel can overcome. Coal and the steam-engine are the pervading influence of the place, and over the whole city the seal and impress is—'Great is Vulcan of the Pittsburgers.' How different," says Mr. Cist, "is all this from Cincinnati where the manufactures, with the exception of a few, are either set in motion by the water of the canal or are in the literal sense, manufactures—works of the hand. These last embrace the principal share of the productive industry of our mechanics, and are carried on in the upper stories, or in the rear shops of the warerooms, in which they are exposed for sale, in a variety and to an extent which can only be realized from a visit to the interior of those establishments."

Pages of description could not give a better idea of the contrast between the Cincinnati of 1841 and the Cincinnati of to-day than this ingenuous comparison.

Among the industries which are particularly commented upon by Mr. Cist are those of bell making, philosophical and mathematical instrument making and the manufacture of hollow ware, saddlery and cotton spinning machines. Another of the most important industries and one which reflected great light on the character of the business of the city at that time was the manufacture of steam vessels of which 33 of the total tonnage of 5,361 tons were built in Cincinnati in 1840 at a cost of $502,500.

Almost a million books, valued at a quarter of a million dollars, were published in the city during the preceding year.

In view of the recent sales of property in the city, Mr. Cist's comments on values at that time are of special interest. He states that in 1802 Ethan Stone paid Joel Williams for the three lots at the northeast corner of Fourth and Vine, extending 150 feet on Vine by 200 feet on Fourth, the sum of $220. Stone afterwards sold this property and in 1839 he repurchased a part of it lying above the corner, 60 feet front on Vine by 200 feet in depth. He was obliged to pay for this $150 a front foot or $9,000 for the lot which would make the value of his original lots, estimating the corner lot at the same price, as much as $45,000. Samuel Stitt in 1800 pur-

chased of Col. John Riddle a lot on the Public Landing, 60 feet front, where the Exchange Hotel stood for so long a time, for the sum of $1,200. In 1833 he leased this property on perpetual lease for $1,200 a year. Mr. Cist, writing in 1841, regarded the tract as worth $3,000 per annum as a permanent ground rent. In 1836 John H. Groesbeck paid for the Cincinnati Hotel property at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway the sum of $5,200. He subsequently leased the tract for 10 years to Joseph Darr for $4,000 per annum. Darr made some alterations in the building and rented it for $7,000 per year, being at the rate of six per cent on a valuation of more than $126,000. Lot 77 at the northeast corner of Front and Main was sold in 1789 for $2 and in 1793 Colonel Gibson offered to sell it for $100. At the time of Mr. Cist's writing the property was renting for $14,250,—six per cent interest on $237,500. A one-sixth part of Yeatman's Tavern lot on the east side of Sycamore above Front street was renting at that time for $2,860 on a valuation of $47,667, making the original lot 27 worth $286,000. Commercial Row, a block of eight buildings belonging to George W. Jones fronting 100 feet on Main by 60 feet on Front and Water streets at the west end of the Public Landing, rented in 1841 for $6,500 per annum, being six per cent interest on $108,067. This occupied about one-fourth of the original lot which in the early days sold for $2. Lot 51 at the northwest corner of Front and Sycamore rented at the same time for $10,200 per annum,—a six per cent investment on $137,000. Attention has already been called to lot 135 on the northeast corner of Third and Walnut, the site of the present Masonic Temple. This was willed by William McMillan in 1804 to the Nova Caesarea Lodge and was regarded as of such slight value as to be allowed to be sold for taxes. It rented in 1841 for $2,400 a year. Lot 110 at the northwest corner of Third and Main was sold in 1804 by Moore, who paid $2 for it, for $800. It was subsequently sold in 1814 in two parts for the aggregate amount of $4,000. The south half sold in 1814 for $4,000, two years later for $6,000, and in 1828 for $15,000. In 1839 the corner reduced to 20 by 26 feet was leased for 10 years for $2,000 per annum. Mr. Cist, were he living to-day, would be as much surprised at the later change in relative values of these different pieces of property as he was at the increase during the first half century of the city's existence; that was the day of three and four-story buildings, this the day of sky-scrapers.

Among the public buildings contemplated at that time was the new Roman Catholic Cathedral (St. Peter's), which was to be built on Eighth street between Plum and Western row. At that time a hospital at the western end of the lot was contemplated, which, however, was never built.

Another side-light on the city life is given by the discussion on fuel which at that time was principally wood. Mr. Cist advances five arguments in favor of the use of coal: It is more portable and convenient both to receive and store away; it is much cheaper, coal being 12½ cents a bushel and wood $3.50 per cord; it is safer both in burning by day and keeping alive by night; it requires less care and attention; and lastly is more easily rekindled in the morning after being covered up in the night. The sales in coal yards during the year 1840 were 930,000 bushels.

In the appendix a contributor, J. W. Scott, writes elaborately to sustain the proposition that within 100 years from that time, that is to say in 1941, Cincinnati will be the greatest city in America and that in the year 2000 the greatest city in the world. The arguments adduced which were regarded by Mr. Cist as unanswerable are certainly interesting; the reader is referred to the book for them.

Interesting features of this series of most valuable books are the illustrations. The frontispiece gives a view of the Public Landing taken from the Main street end. Another engraving is that of the Pearl Street House on the northeast corner of Walnut and Pearl. With its recessed porticoes overhanging its entrance and the ornamental iron balcony surrounding it and tall pilasters on its Walnut street front, it was a very imposing structure. The Foote residence at the northeast corner of Third and Vine forms the subject of a very interesting picture. To the left across Vine street is the old Burnet residence and grounds subsequently occupied as Shires' Garden. East of the Foote residence is the Odd Fellows' Hall in which building was located the Post Office.

In the advertising pages is given an illustration of the "Emigrants' Office" of Thomas Emery, real estate and money agent at No. 11 East Fourth street, just beyond Main. Almost 100 pages of advertising in which are many well known names conclude the book. Among the most familiar are those of Truman & Smith,

publishers; Sellew & Company, Brittania ware; E. B. Hinman, gloves; T. Bradford & Company, millstones; W. Teasdale, dye house; Lotze & Lohn, furnaces; W. M. Corry, attorney; F. & C. Andress, wall paper; Procter & Gamble, soap and candle manufacturers; W. E. Wiswell, picture frames; John Britting, pianos; Jones & Rammelsberg, cabinet ware; Sidney S. Jackson, nurseryman; Resor's Foundry; A. H. Ernst, nurseryman; M. Dodsworth, coal; C. P. James, books; Mitchell & Moore, furniture; Baker & Von Phul, lamps; George W. Coffin & Company, brass foundry; I. & B. Bruce, carriages; Miles Greenwood, Eagle Foundry; Joseph & James Hopple, tobacco and snuff; Storer & Bond, attorneys; John Justis, tailor; Nathan Baker, tailor; S. Menken, cutler; Peter Gibson, plumber; Townsend, Hills & Company, white lead; P. Wilson, saddler; Joseph Jonas, broker; C. W. Dury & Company, pianos; C. Bakhaus, druggist; F. Lawson & Brothers, copper and tin; Mitchell, Moore & Company, chairs; and Dr. J. H. Pulte. Even the artists condescended to advertise and in the list are given J. H. Beard, G. N. Frankenstein, W. P. Brannan, A. Baldwin, T. W. Whittridge, S. S. Lyon, John Cranch, J. B. Flagg, T. Dawson, T. V. Peticolas, J. O. Gorman and Thomas Campbell.

GROWTH IN POPULATION.

At the beginning of the second half century of Cincinnati's life, the city was a growing and prosperous community standing seventh among the cities of the country and bidding fair to gain a more important relative position in the immediate future. The State of Ohio which at the census of 1800 had ranked 18th in order had 10 years later advanced to the 13th position and by 1820 was the fifth in the order of States. At this time Virginia, which had previously been the first State in population, yielded to New York and dropped to second place. Pennsylvania was third and North Carolina fourth. During the following decade Ohio moved up one place, passing North Carolina which dropped to fifth place. During the same space of time Pennsylvania had passed Virginia. In 1840 Ohio displaced Virginia and took the third place being surpassed in population by New York and Pennsylvania alone. This relative position was maintained by the State until the census of 1890, when Illinois, a part of the Northwest Territory, displaced Ohio, which is now the fourth state in the Union in point of population. The population of the State in 1840 was 1,519,467. Hamilton County was much the largest county in the State, having a population of 80,105. Its nearest competitors were Richland County, with a population of a little over 44,000, and Columbiana County with a population of a little over 40,000. Of this vast community Cincinnati was the commercial, political and social center and in fact its preeminence extended throughout the entire West. The only city in the Western country that surpassed it in population was New Orleans which had a population of a little over 100,000. Cincinnati's rate of increase had been surprising. In 1800 its population was 750; this had increased in 1810 to 2,540. In 1820 the census showed about 9,000 inhabitants, in 1830 24,831 and in 1840 46,382 (46,338). Of course the rate of increase during the first few years of the city's existence was greatest. As the numbers were so small at the outset a comparison of percentages should not include the first few decades. The percentage of increase from 1810 to 1820 was, approximately, 278; during the following decade it was 158 and from 1830 to 1840,—87. Such a large percentage of gain was never shown again in the history of the city, excepting in the decade from 1840 to 1850, during which time the city added to its population over 69,000 people, giving it a total population in 1850 of over 115,000, a gain of 150 per cent. In the decade closing with 1860, 45,000 people were added to the population, an increase approximately of 40 per cent, so that during the period under discussion in this chapter the city increased from a little over 46,000 in population to 161,044, adding during the 20 years about 115,000 inhabitants or more than one-third of the present total population of the city. It must be remembered that during this whole time considerable territory was added, including Fulton and the section of Mill Creek township between Liberty and McMillan streets, so that this period unquestionably represents the time of Cincinnati's greatest actual, if not relative, increase. During no other two decades of the city's life were so large a number of people added to its population, by natural increase and annexation.

The annexation of Fulton took place in 1854. According to the census of 1850, Fulton township contained a population of 3,323. This section it will be remembered consisted principally of one long street lying between the hills and the river just east of the original city limits. It was included for a time in what was known as the Eastern Liberties and the village was

largely given over to industries conected with the river,—lumber yards, sawmills and shipyards. The territory north of Liberty street annexed in 1848 and 1850 contained in 1850 less than 20,000 population (19,336).

Taking the original city territory, the increase is not so great in the ten years prior to the war "the ten bad years." The territory which in 1840 had 46,000 inhabitants, contained ten years later 96,000 and, in 1860, 120,000. Therefore, from 1850 to 1860 the increase was but little more than from 1830 to 1840. This reduces the percentage of gain from 1840 to 1850 to about 109 and from 1850 to 1860 to a trifle over 31, the smallest percentage in its history up to that date.

The character of the population, however, was such as to insure the prosperity of the community. In 1840 the city contained 23,261 white males and 20,863 white females. The colored population was very small and included 1,014 males and 1,244 females. Of the white people by far the largest number were between the ages of 20 and 30. Of this age there were 7,321 white males and 5,238 white females. The next largest group among the males was that between the ages of 30 and 40, which included 3,800. In this group there were 2,723 females. Among the females this number was slightly surpassed by children under 5 years of age. The colored population were very deficient in children. This same statement curiously enough applied to the families of Germans who had fewer children relatively than their older fellow residents. The Germans at that time numbered 28 per cent of the population and included 14,163 persons, surpassing in numbers all other foreigners. In 1840, 54 per cent of the population were Americans, 28 per cent Germans, 16 per cent from Great Britain, 1 per cent from France and Italy and the remaining 1 per cent from all other countries. The males enumerated from Great Britain included 786 from England, 742 from Ireland, 300 from Scotland and 84 from Wales. Of the adults nearly one-half were foreigners; every State of the Union and almost every part of Europe were represented in the population at that time. So far as the States were concerned, speaking of males only, Pennsylvania predominated. The population of the city included 1,210 natives of that State as against 1,112 natives of Ohio. New Jersey furnished 705 and New York 672, so that the Germanic states with a contribution to the population of 3,440 males, almost equaled in number the natives of the four States mentioned. The other States that contributed a considerable number of males were: Virginia, 519; Maryland, 537; Massachusetts, 414; Kentucky, 349; Connecticut, 230; and Vermont, 118.

Population statistics are in themselves not interesting, but they show better than any other method the development of the city. In 1840 the most populous ward in the city was the Fifth Ward, extending from Main to Plum and from Sixth to Liberty. This circumstance shows more than anything else how the city had long since grown beyond its original limits. This ward contained 9,341 people, of whom almost one-half (4,320) were Germans and 316 were colored persons. The First Ward with 7,869 people, of whom 3,630 were Germans and 969 colored persons, was second in population. This ward, lying east of Main and north of Fourth, was also entirely outside the original settlement of the city. In the early days it has been seen that the principal population lay in what was in 1840 the Third Ward in population and name, including 7,326 inhabitants, of whom 1,912 were Germans and 196 colored. Next in turn was the Fourth Ward, which covered the lower level fronting on the river from Main to Western row. In this ward were 6,087 persons, of whom but 996 were Germans and 567 colored persons. The Second Ward, which lay just above the Fourth, extended as far north as Sixth street, included 5,370 persons, of whom 1,137 were Germans and 99 colored. Not far behind was the Seventh Ward, the northwestern part of the city beyond Sixth and Plum, with 4,813 inhabitants, including 1,473 Germans and 73 colored persons. The Sixth Ward, running along the river beyond Central avenue to Mill Creek was the smallest in population in the city and included 4,577 inhabitants, of whom 695 were Germans and 38 colored persons. This gave a total population of 46,382, of whom 14,163 were Germans and 2,258 colored.

During the 10 years that followed there was a very large accession of foreigners, particularly of Germans and Irish, so that in the census of 1850 the foreign born citizens still retained their proportionate strength. Mr. Cist (Cincinnati in 1851, p. 45) calls attention to the fact that the census for 1850 was taken at a time when the cholera was raging. As a result of this not only did the city sustain a loss,—4,832 deaths on this score,—but the population returns were farther reduced from the still greater numbers who fled by reason of the pestilence. For weeks

every form of conveyance was filled with fugitives, most of whom did not return in time to be included in the enumeration of inhabitants.

The census taken that year showed the population in wards one to 10 in the following numbers: 6,845; 8,213; 7,668; 10,957; 5,283; 9,630; 9,345; 14,424; 10,705; and 13,032; wards 11 and 12, north of Liberty street, contained 10,336 people, of whom but 90 were colored. The greatest colored population was in the Ninth Ward, 816; the Fourth had 563; First, 434; and Sixth, 401. The townships in the neighborhood of the city were populated as follows: Fulton, 3,323; Mill Creek, 6,287; Columbia, 2,416; Spencer, 1,656; Green, 3,951 and Delhi, 1,942. Of these, 114 were colored (107 in Mill Creek). There was a total of 112,266 whites and 3,172 colored persons,—a grand total of 115,438. From the various parts of the United States came 55,468, of whom 33,258 were natives of Ohio; Pennsylvania stood second, with a contribution of 5,005, followed by New York, 3,331; Virginia, 2,370; Kentucky, 2,223; Maryland, 1,603; New Jersey, 1,546; Indiana, 1,256; and Massachusetts, 1,166. The other States contributing were Connecticut, Louisiana, Vermont, Maine, Tennessee, Delaware, New Hampshire, Mississippi, North Carolina, Illinois, Rhode Island, District of Columbia, South Carolina, Georgia, Missouri, Michigan, Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, Texas, Wisconsin and Florida in the order named. Of the foreigners 30,628 came from Germany, 13,616 from Ireland, 3,690 from England, 820 from France, 771 from Scotland, 444 from Wales, 338 from Canada, 171 from Italy, 154 from Switzerland and 130 from Prussia. The remaining foreigners were made up of natives from Holland, Poland, Nova Scotia, West Indies, Quebec, Denmark, Belgium, Mexico, Russia, Norway, Spain, Isles of Jersey and Man, Greece, Brazil, Africa, Portugal, New Brunswick, China, Guatemala, the Isles of Wight, Guernsey and France, Newfoundland, Turkey and Australia. The foreigners numbered in all 51,171. The remaining population were included under the classification "At Sea" and "Unknown,"—8,799; and of the "Unknown" the greater number were natives of the United States. The central wards of the city contained the larger proportion of the native population but as a general rule the Irish resided in the neighborhood of the river and the Germans in the northern part of the city, a large proportion "Over the Rhine," as the region beyond the canal was called. The last to a great degree owned the property they occupied, and the high price of ground in the active business regions, together with its preoccupation for other purposes than sites for dwellings, had concentrated them along the northern line of Cincinnati. It was recognized even at that time that it was to the industry of foreigners that Cincinnati was indebted in a great degree for its rapid growth. Their presence had accelerated the execution of the public improvements and had given an impulse to the manufacturing operations without which they could hardly have reached the extent and importance attained at that time. (Cincinnati in 1851, p. 48.)

Dr. Drake was of the opinion that of all classes of foreigners the Germans soonest assimilated to the great mass. It took but one generation to obliterate all the distinctive marks of this race—even of language, usually a most tenacious feature. On the contrary, the Irishman whose dialect does not differ much except in accent and tone from ours, retained his family identity for several generations; this is also true, but in a less degree, of the English and Scotch. (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 166.)

The census of 1860 showed a poulation of 161,044. Of this 157,313 were white and 3,731 colored. The largest population, 18,596, was in the 12th Ward, and the smallest, 4,025, in the 17th Ward, in which last ward there lived but one colored man. The largest colored population was in the 13th, 978, and in the 4th, 825. The total foreign population at this time was 73,614. Of these, the natives of the German states comprised the greatest number, 43,931, (45.71%). Ireland came next with 19,375 as its quota. England contributed 3,730, Scotland 921, British America 881, France 1,884 and other countries 2,892.

The population of the wards of the city, from one to 17, inclusive, was as follows: 7,371; 4,158; 8,313; 11,338; 5,940; 7,793; 7,797; 13,292; 9,057; 11,519; 12,738; 18,596; 7,537; 9,035; 11,946; 10,679; and 4,025.

In the Directory of 1840 the opening of the Miami Canal and the introduction of stone coal are given as important contributing causes to the development of many kinds of manufactures which resulted in the wonderful increase of population and building in the 20 years from 1820 to 1840. In 1832, after the veto of the bank bill, real estate fell almost as it had risen and wiseacres prophesied that Cincinnati was on the retrograde track; they said her growth had been unnatural and her downfall certain. During the

seven years following, in the teeth of suspensions and hard times she had increased 50 per cent and during the last of these years, the hardest of all, no fewer than 300 (Cist says 394) substantial brick and stone buildings had been erected, so that the writer of the directory at that time, though business was torpid, the river low and money a nonentity, could say that Cincinnati was more truly and genuinely prosperous than ever before. (Directory of 1840, p. 482.)

During the latter half of the decade to follow the Little Miami Railroad gave its aid to the development of the city, followed in the next decade by other roads. The railroads were not such an impetus to the growth of the city as the canal had been. This water-way added to the river facilities was the agency that made Cincinnati a great city. What ensured its growth was the rapid development of manufactures, to which a wide market was opening. The financial repression of the "fifties" materially injured the city, as it did the whole country. Mr. Parton's charge, quoted later, that there was no public spirit in Cincinnati in the decade prior to the war is unjust, but there can be no question that it was not until after the great conflict that the city regained the characteristics that so distinguished the "thirties" and the "forties."

BUILDING IN THE "FORTIES."

According to Mr. Cist the total number of buildings in the city in 1841 was 6,781. Since 1832 more than 300 buildings had been added each year. The number in 1839 reached 394 and in 1840, 406. Of those built in 1839, 280 were brick and 114 frame, and in the following year there were built 260 brick and 146 frame buildings. The greatest number naturally was in the Fifth Ward, which was closely followed by the Seventh Ward, at that time the new territory just opening up for settlement. (Cincinnati in 1841, p. 42.)

Changes in the appearance of the city became more numerous as the numbers of new buildings increased. In 1842, 537 buildings were erected, and the following year 621. During the next year (1844) the indefatigable Mr. Cist made an enumeration of the buildings of the city showing that at that time they numbered 10,773, which was an increase of 1,228 over the previous year. It was also thought that as many as 500 new buildings had been added during the year in the district between the corporation line and the base of the hills. Mr. Cist calls attention to a new style of building front, of which two specimens had just been erected on Fourth street,—the dwelling houses of S. S. Smith and S. C. Parkhurst. These were built of a variety of white limestone or marble from the Dayton quarries. The first use of this stone was in the erection of the new St. Peter's Roman Catholic Cathedral. Among other buildings especially mentioned was a block at the corner of Pike and Symmes streets. The Observatory was rapidly approaching completion. The design of Miles Greenwood's new foundry, the cotton mill of Strader & Company, a row of 10 dwelling houses at the west end of Longworth street, faced with marble and ornamented with verandas and balconies which were even visible from the steamboats on the river, and the new Cathedral, the most magnificent structure of its kind at that time in America, were especially commended. In 1845 it is estimated that 1,500 new buildings were added to the city. Another estimate gives the number as 1,252. Among the new buildings in process of erection were the new Cincinnati College Building to take place of the old one, which had burned on the 19th of January, the Masonic Temple, Odd Fellows' Hall and 11 churches.

According to Mr. Cist's enumeration of the buildings of the city, which he made in the summer of 1844, the great hive of industry in the manufacturing line where "were the planing machines, iron foundries, breweries, sawmills, rolling mills, finishing shops, bell and brass foundries, boiler yards, boat building and machine shops" was the Third Ward, which it will be remembered was the river ward lying east of Main street. There was also considerable manufacturing and business of the heavier character in the Fourth Ward, which ran along the river west of Main and as far north as Third street. The explanation is given as to this ward that it had been "for many years in a state of suspended animation with little signs of improvement. Second or Columbia street was left for a long period at a grade which shut out the improvement its contiguity to the business region of Cincinnati should have located within its limits. In addition to this the great flood of 1832 laid it under water to such a depth that steamboats actually passed down some of its streets and its western borders were overflowed from eight to twelve feet. This calamity drove the dwelling house building, especially the elegant and spacious portion of it,

to the Hill (that is above Third street) and left the river region in a languishing state until within the past year, or within eighteen months, by which time the absolute want of room elsewhere, for business purposes, and the increasing trade of Cincinnati gave an impulse to warehouse building in the eastern and southern parts of the ward," which was filling them up with many and extensive improvements in blocks as well as single houses. Among those especially mentioned were the blocks of George H. Bates & Company, Stephen J. Wade and John H. Groesbeck, occuping three of the corners at Front and Walnut, two fine buildings at the corner of Second and Walnut and Stewart's Block on Second between Main and Walnut. These were "all built of substantial door posts and lintels faced in every direction with cast iron, handsomely ornamented." Another improvement was the new and capacious foundry of Goodhue & Company on Elm street. In fact it is estimated that the buildings erected during the 18 months just closed surpassed the previous erections for 15 or 20 years. Second street west had been filled up 10 to 12 feet and graded so that it formed a direct connection with the White Water Canal basin. As a result, Mr. Cist was of the impression that Front and Second street west of Walnut presented the best opportunities for investment in the city. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 18.)

The Second Ward, which included all that section west of Main to Western row from Third to Sixth, was said to be "four-fifths occupied with permanent buildings." Here were 22 public buildings, 825 other buildings all brick and 214 of frame, in all 1,061. Fourth street had been for years becoming the most desirable street in the city for private residences by reason of its elevated and airy plateau and the fact that it was within the reach of markets, schools, churches, public meetings and general business. The fact that it was blocked at both its eastern and western termini prevented it from being a thoroughfare for heavy hauling.

The new buildings in the First Ward, which lay east of Main and above Third, were largely to the east of the canal as the old part had long since been densely built over. Baum street on a range with Lock street had been opened during the year and was filling rapidly with buiblings, and High street, the eastern continuation of Third and Symmes, which had been without any connection between its eastern and western points, was being graded down so that it would soon open up an entire new section contiguous to the canal and the shipyard business. The progress of the Observatory on the peak of Mount Adams made it a conspicuous point in this part of the city.

Three-fourths of the Fifth Ward, lying beyond Sixth between Race and Main, had been built over. The recent building operations had been largely south of the canal and were for investment purposes. Previous to that, most of the building had been over the canal and by persons of limited means. This was the "Over the Rhine" section and was largely German. Among the recent erections in this ward was an additional foundry of Miles Greenwood, three valuable blocks at the corner of Eighth and Walnut and a new brewery by Fortman & Company and eight or nine churches.

The southwest section of the city, the Sixth Ward, was not increasing as rapidly as other portions, although one-half of the ward had been built upon. This was one of the few wards in the city where the frame buildings exceeded in number those of brick. The grading of Sixth street west of Park to its termination at Mill creek almost a mile away was progressing rapidly. In the Seventh Ward, lying between the Fifth and Eighth, a number of business buildings around Sixth and Elm and a great many fine dwellings were in process of erection. Court and Elm was also a residence center. Among the streets which were being graded down were Pleasant, 14th, Hopkins and John streets. The great feature of this ward was, of course, the newly erected Roman Catholic Cathedral. Three-fifths of the ward was improved with buildings.

The Eighth Ward, the northwest territory, lying northwest of Sixth and John was still quite bare. But a few years before it had contained nothing but commons, brick-yards, pastures and vegetable gardens. At this time a great deal of grading of streets was going on. Among those specially mentioned were Freeman, Betts and Hopkins, all of which were being cut down. Many frame cottages surrounded by trees and shrubbery made this an attractive residence quarter for people of moderate means. Here on Catherine street just beyond Mound were the Catholic, Methodist and Baptist burying grounds.

The Ninth Ward, lying above Sixth and east of Main, was built over for about two-thirds of its space, containing 1,212 buildings, of which two-thirds were of frame. It was thought that as many as 500 new buildings had been put up

during the year, north of the corporation line (Liberty street) at the foot of the hills in the territory soon to be annexed to the city. The older buildings, too, which had made up the early town, were pretty well cleared out by this time. Among those that disappeared this year was the so-called Fairchild's Corner on Front and Main, Elsenlock's Corner on Walnut and Front and an old white frame building a little northeast of the corner of Fifth and Main which had been put up in the late days of the former century and the well known hotel of Andrew Burt, so long a fashionable resort.

Mr. Cist summarizes the aggregate of buildings in 1842 as 8,542; in 1843, 9,545; and in 1844, 10,773. Of the buildings in 1844 there were in the First Ward, 735; Second, 1,061; Third, 1,162; Fourth, 1,211; Fifth, 1,608; Sixth, 1,063; Seventh, 1,311; Eighth, 1,164; and Ninth, 1,212. In the following year he made a similar enumeration, showing an increase of 1,252 buildings, of which 789 were brick and 463 frame. He notes especially the increase of buildings east of the canal and on the southern brow of Deer creek and the new College Building, Masonic Temple and Odd Fellows' Hall.

Speaking in 1845, Mr. Cist says:

"The increase of business in Cincinnati compels it to radiate from its former centres. Blocks of business stands are forming east, west and north of the existing commercial regions. Thus some thirty large ware and store houses have been or are just about to be erected on Walnut, between Water and Second streets. Commerce is finding vent down Second, Third and Front streets to the west, and up Second and Third streets to the east. That fine block known by the name of Hopple's Row, and which has hardly been a year built, is now occupied with lace and dry-goods stores, drug-shops, carpet ware-houses, etc., in which goods are offered wholesale to as good advantage as in any other part of the city. Among these the dry-goods store of Baird & Schuyler may be especially alluded to as a fine establishment. These are the occupants of the lower buildings; upstairs is a perfect den of *vipers* in the shape of lawyers and editors." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 256.)

The growth in another direction is indicated by another comment from the same writer:

"OUR NORTHWEST TERRITORY.—There is nothing in Cincinnati exhibits a growth as vigorous as the northwestern part of our city, popularly called Texas. What constituted originally the Seventh Ward was, only seven years ago, interspersed here and there with dwellings, but consisted principally of brick-yards, cattle-pastures and vegetable gardens, for the supply of markets. Such was the unimproved condition of this region that nearly two hundred and fifty acres, occupied as pasturage, were owned by four or five individuals alone. Two hundred and fifty acres of pasturage in a city, and that city as thriving as Cincinnati! The whole number of dwellings at that period, within the bounds of that ward, were short of three hundred and fifty, and its whole population could not have reached to twenty-five hundred souls; and these the buildings and inhabitants of a section of Cincinnati more than a mile square!

"Now what a change! Eleven hundred new buildings, most of them of a character for beauty, permanence and value equal to the average of the main body of our city improvements. The streets graded and paved to a great extent, churches and public school houses going up in its midst, and well-paved sidewalks, adding to the general finish and convenience. With all these improvements, too, space has been left, at the sides and in the fronts of the buildings, for that free introduction of shrubbery and flowers which render our city so attractive to strangers, and so airy and pleasant to ourselves. It is, in short, completely *rus in urbe*, abounding in spots which combine the comfort of a country villa with the convenience and advantages of a city residence.

"It may serve to give a striking view of the magnitude and extent of the improvements in this region to state that London street has been graded from Fulton to Mound street west, which extent, some one thousand two hundred feet in length, is now dug down from five to ten feet, to fill up one thousand feet farther west and the entire width—sixty feet—of the street. The stupendous character of the work may be inferred from the volume of earth filled in, which, at the intersection of Baymiller street, measures sixteen feet in depth. The greater part of this is also paved, and progressing as fast in paving as is prudent, the graded ground being covered with stone as fast as it settles to its permanent bed. This must become one of the finest entrances to our city. The population of this section of Cincinnati is now, doubtless, eleven thousand, the inhabitants having quadrupled since 1838.

"A new and important avenue to trade and

marketing has been opened through this part of the city, by extending Freeman street to the Hamilton road. The effect of this will be to direct a large share of the travelling to the city, to the intersection of Fifth and Front streets; and to bring the pork wagons into direct communication with the pork houses which must be put up on the line of the White Water Canal.

"This avenue will also become a formidable rival to Western row, as a connection between the adjacent parts of Indiana and Cincinnati, owing to the scandalous condition into which the upper part of that street has been suffered to dilapidate, which renders it impassable in winter and unpleasant at all times."

In 1846, 980 more new buildings were erected and in 1847, 1,140. Among these last was the first five-story brick building erected in the city, that of Edmund B. Reeder, at the corner of Pearl and Walnut streets.

The peculiar dangers of flood in Cincinnati are indicated by the fact that during the building of a cellar a bystander remarked that he had once unloaded a flat-boat on the very spot. In December of that year (1847) came another of Ohio's great floods, the water reaching to within six inches of its height in 1832.

The following year, 1,305 buildings were added; 1849 was distinguished as being the year in which the Burnet House was erected; in 1850 the number of new buildings was 1,418. Mr. Cist gives the number of buildings in the city as 16,286.

CINCINNATI IN 1851.

Mr. Cist's second volume, "Cincinnati in 1851," gives an excellent idea of the growth of the city in the 10 years that had elapsed since the publication of its predecessor. The city was now the fifth city in the Union and the first in the Western country, although according to the census New Orleans had a slightly greater population. There could be no question that Cincinnati as a center of population far surpassed that city.

The second of Mr. Cist's books was published in 1851. In the meantime Mr. Cist had been engaged in compiling directories for the city and also in the publication of the *Advertiser* from which the extracts relating to the history of the community are compiled into two volumes known as the "Cincinnati Miscellany."

This work was more statistical in its character than the previous one, although it contained a number of general articles. Those on geology and magnetism were by Professor Locke, on medical topography by Dr. Drake, on meteorology by Professor Ray, education, transportation and travel by Mansfield, the culture of the strawberry and the grape by Robert Buchanan, while a most optimistic article on Cincinnati's destiny was from the pen of S. H. Goodin.

The claim is made that the statistics of manufactured and industrial products which at that time constituted more than one-half of the business operations of the city and afforded the profits of three-fourths the rewards of industry showed that the raw materials consumed did not exceed 54 percent or thirty out of fifty-five million dollars, leaving 46 per cent or more than twenty-five million dollars as the revenue derived at Cincinnati from her own handiwork.

The city, which at that time included the space between Mill creek on the west, the river on the south and east and Mill creek and Fulton townships on the north and northeast (that is McMillan street on the north) had attained the dignity of 16 wards. Dr. Drake, in his chapter on medical topography, gives us a little idea of the appearance of the town at that time. The narrow swamp at the back part of the lower plain with the heavy timber surrounding it had long since disappeared, having been filled up with material which had been taken from the bluff bank of the river. As a result the city sloped gradually upwards to the base of the Mount Auburn hills. Deer creek still meandered along the east, converted in times of flood to a hill torrent and passed through a culvert into the river. On the west the Mill creek bottoms were still largely banks of mud although the work of elevation was going on. The White Water Canal came in from this direction, crossing Mill creek by an aqueduct and traversed the lower terrace into a basin of stagnant water located at Plum street. The city had extended by a single street nearly four miles up the Ohio so it included the villages of Fulton, Lewistown and Pendleton.

Dr. Drake tells us that the population of the city presented many varieties of physiognomy. While the original settlers were from various States of the nation and the armies of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne had left a still greater variety of persons, the subsequent immigration, although largely from the Middle and North Atlantic States, had been in part from the more Southern. In later years the greater proportion had been Europeans. The Germans were most

numerous, followed by the Irish, English, Scotch and Welsh. There were few French, Italians and Spaniards, but a large number of negroes, including many mulattoes, griffes and quadroons. Dr. Drake was of the impression that the Germans of all classes of foreigners soonest assimilated to the general mass.

Professor Ray, in his chapter on meteorology, gives the result of the observations made at Woodward College from 1835 to 1850. According to this the mean temperature of the winter season was 33.6°, spring 53.7°, summer 73.5° and autumn 53.4°. February on the average, but not always, was the coldest month of the year, while July was always the warmest month, June was the least variable and March the most variable month, while the mean temperature of October was about that of the entire year. The mean temperature for the 16 years was 53.5°, with a range of 3.5°. The coldest winter, that of 1845 and 1846, had a mean temperature of 30.5°, while the warmest, the one preceding this, was 38.1°. The coldest summer was that of 1847, with a mean temperature of 71.4°, and the warmest that of 1850, with a mean temperature of 77.7°. The extreme range of the thermometer at Cincinnati was 117°, the lowest temperature mentioned being on February 8, 1835, when the thermometer fell to 17° below zero, and the highest, August 9, 1838, when it reached 100° above. The greatest range in any one year was 100°. Westerly winds prevailed two-thirds of the year, 246 days, those from the east 68 days or less than one-fifth, from the north 28 days or less than one-tenth, and from the south 22 days or one-sixteenth of the year. The average fall of rain and snow throughout the year was 48.02 inches. The greatest fall of fluid was in the summer months, June, July and August, being 14.74 inches; the spring came second with 12.12 inches, winter 11.09 inches and autumn was the dryest season of the year, with 10.07 inches. The wettest month of the year was June and the dryest September. The most marked drought was in 1850, when from September 17th to November 26th, 68 days, but 1.6 inches of rain fell. The average depth of unmelted snow during 11 winters preceding 1850 for each year was 21.8 inches; there was great variation, however, the depth in 1842 being but 8.8 inches, while in 1849-50 it was 50 inches. But once in the 10 years (1843) did any snow fall in April. Dividing the days into three classes, clear and fair, variable and cloudy, it was found that there were 146.3 days of the first, 140.6 of the second and 78.3 of the third class. The mean height of the barometer at Woodward College, 150 feet above low water of the Ohio, was 29.318 inches, the maximum was 30.05 inches and the minimum, 28.42 inches. The barometer was highest in October and lowest in May. It would be of interest to compare these figures with those of the present day.

The personal statistics made up from the census of 1850 have already been given. A very elaborate classification of occupations, trades and pursuits is given which is too lengthy to be copied in full. The largest number is under the head of laborers,—7,864. There were 2,318 carpenters, 1,676 tailors, 1,583 clerks, 1,569 boot and shoe makers and 1,550 merchants and traders. The bakers numbered 421, barbers 227, blacksmiths 713, boatmen 950, bricklayers and plasterers 809, butchers 672, cabinet-makers 485, coopers 868, coffee-house keepers 327 (there were no saloonkeepers), draymen 482, finishers 264, foundrymen 162, grocers 533, molders 512, machinists 255, painters and glaziers 589, servants 294, stone-masons and stone-cutters 657, tobacconists 219, and tanners and curriers 298. It will surprise many in these days when every man who was ever connected with the river is called "captain" to learn that there were but 16 steamboat captains in the city at this time. There are but 11 gentlemen listed and one loafer. These two classifications are distinguished by being printed in italics, an honor shared by them with the speculators of whom there were two and thieves, 42 in number. There were 176 attorneys, 278 physicians, 146 teachers, 22 professors not counting two dancing masters, 82 musicians, 97 clergymen, 25 artists (not including 11 portrait painters and two miniature painters who apparently did not consider themselves as artists), 25 priests, 153 druggists and 32 dentists. There is but one author listed and but three hackmen. The brewers were 126 in number, pork packers 13 and carriage makers 51.

The schools are considered at some length. They include the public schools, of which there were at that time 13, the Central School, which furnished a higher course than was afforded by the common schools; the parochial schools, of which there were 13, and a number of academies and private schools. The number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was 12,240, of which less than one-half—5,557—were in daily attendance. The number of children of school age (four to twenty-one) was 36,073. In the

parochial schools 4,494 were in attendance. There were also two Catholic high schools, the Young Ladies' Literary Institute and Boarding School on Sixth street, and the Ursuline Academy. Other private academies were: Wesleyan Female College on Vine street, Cincinnati Female Seminary, Herron's Seminary for Boys, the St. John's College of Dr. Colton, Lyman Harding and Mrs. Lloyd's seminaries for girls and E. S. Brooks' and the Youngs' schools for boys. The whole number of private academies and schools in Cincinnati at that time amounted to 50, with 2,500 pupils in attendance. Three colleges were mentioned; the oldest of these, the Cincinnati College, had practically suspended instruction except in the Law School, and the others were Woodward College and St. Xavier College. There were four medical colleges.—Medical College of Ohio, Eclectic Medical College, Physio-Medical College and Ohio College of Dental Surgery. The number of medical students in the city during the winter was estimated at 450. About 30 students attended the Law School and 250 the various mercantile schools of which three were regularly incorporated. Under the head of theological schools five are given, Lane Seminary, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Seminary of St. Francis Xavier, Roman Catholic Theological Seminary and Baptist Theological Seminary. The last three had not formed classes, so that the whole number of theological students in the city did not exceed 60. There were also three colored schools with nine teachers and an enrollment of 300 pupils. In the totals are given 102 schools with 357 teachers and 20,737 enrolled pupils. This was more than one-half of all who were of suitable age for education and it must be remembered that a very large proportion of these were in regular attendance in the schools.

The faculty of Lane Theological Seminary, which was still headed by Lyman Beecher, its president, included Revs. D. H. Allen, George E. Day and J. B. Condit, and that of the Law School included Judge Charles P. James, M. H. Tilden and M. E. Curwen. The principal of the Cincinnati Mercantile College, at the southeast corner of Fifth and Walnut, was R. S. Bacon. St. Xavier College, on Sycamore between Fifth and Sixth, had quite an extensive faculty, including Revs. J. DeBlieck, president, and Xav. Whippern, vice-president. The president of the Wesleyan Female College, on Vine between Sixth and Seventh, was Rev. P. B. Wilber. Dr. Thomas J. Biggs was still the president of Woodward College and High School and other members of the faculty were Joseph Ray, Charles E. Matthews, William G. W. Lewis and D. Moloney. Herron's Seminary for Boys, on Seventh between Walnut and Vine, was a very prominent school and included in its list of instructors some of the best known teachers of the city. In addition to the principal, Joseph Herron, were Rev. Charles Aiken and C. Aiken, professor of vocal music, Joseph Tosso, professor of instrumental music and Frederick Eckstein, professor of drawing and painting. Another prominent school at the time was the Cincinnati Female Seminary, at the head of which were Miss M. Coxe and J. C. Zachos.

An elaborate enumeration of the dwelling houses and stores is also given.

The total number of buildings in the city in 1850 was 16,286, of which more than a third had been added in the preceding four years, and two-thirds since 1839. Of these buildings 9,360 were of brick, 6,886 of frame and 40 of stone. The largest number of buildings was in the Eighth Ward, which, of course, was the largest territorially. Within its limits were 2,082 buildings, of which about half were of brick and half of frame, there being but two of stone. The Sixth being the section lying along the river west of John contained 1,715 buildings, of which 985 were of brick. The next largest number was in the Ninth Ward, which lay above Sixth street and east of Main. Here were 1,650 buildings, a little more than half of which were of brick. The Seventh Ward contained 1,438 buildings, of which a little over half were of brick. The 10th Ward had also a large number of buildings. Here were 1,370 buildings about nearly distributed between brick and frame, there being but two of stone. The Third Ward followed with 1,347 buildings, of which two-thirds were of brick. This included the oldest portion of the city and lay south of Lower Market and east of Main street. There were no stone buildings in this ward. The Third was closely followed by the 12th, which lay north of Liberty street and west of Vine street, with 1,317 buildings, of which 17 were of stone, 479 of brick and 821 of frame. The Second Ward was also well built up, containing 1,303 buildings. One of these was of stone and 1,142 of brick, while there were 160 frame structures in this the most substantial ward of the city. The other wards in order were the Fourth, the 11th and the Fifth, in which were 1,184, 1,176, 984 and 720 buildings, respectively, brick buildings largely predominating.

Brick buildings in fact formed 60 per cent of all the buildings in the city. The number of individuals who owned the houses they lived in were 5,300, one-third of the voting population.

Fifty-three periodicals are enumerated. There were still six daily English papers, including the *Cincinnati Gazette and Liberty Hall, Chronicle and Atlas, Enquirer, Times, Commercial* and *Nonpareil*. The *Gazette* was still edited by John C. Wright, aided by his son, Crafts J. Wright and L. C. Turner. James D. Taylor was editing the *Times*, L. G. Curtiss the *Commercial*, and C. S. Abbott the *Nonpareil*. There were four German papers,—the *Volksblatt* of Stephen Molitor, *Republikaner*, edited by Emil Klauprecht, *Volksfreund* edited by Joseph A. Hemann and *Demokratische Tageblatt* of Henry Roedter. The *Gazette, Chronicle* and *Republikaner* were Whig and the *Enquirer, Volksblatt* and *Tageblatt* were Democratic in politics and the *Times, Commercial* and *Nonpareil* claimed to be neutral. The weeklies were largely religious in their character; perhaps the most important of them was the *Western Christian Advocate*. Frederick Hassaurek was the editor of the *Hochwaechter*, denominated by Mr. Cist as "socialist and infidel of the deepest dye." Another weekly paper of interest was Cist's *Advertiser*, "Charles Cist, editor, printer, publisher and proprietor.—Family, Historical, Statistical and Literary." Richard Smith edited the *Price Current*. There were four medical journals and a number of magazines representing special interests; the most interesting perhaps of these was *The Crisis*, an abolitionist paper of W. H. Brisbane. *Congress Halle*, issued once a month by Henry Roedter, contained the only full report in German of the congressional debates.

Ninety-one churches are enumerated in this volume of which 13 were Catholic, five Protestant Episcopal, five Presbyterian Old School, six Presbyterian New School, four Reform Presbyterians, four Congregational, seven Baptist, five Disciples, 22 Methodist and 13 under the various names of United Evangelical, Lutheran and German Reformed Church, two Friends,—one orthodox and one Hicksite,—as well as the Church of New Jerusalem and others. There were four Jewish synagogues. The Jews were the only religious denomination which kept a full register of its members which numbered in all, in the city and vicinity, 3,346. An estimate is given by which the Jews constituted three percent, the Roman Catholics 35 percent and the Protestants 62 percent of the population. At the head of the Catholic Church, of course, was Bishop Purcell. Other well known priests were his brother Edward Purcell, Charles Driscoll, Michael Deselaers, Joseph Ferneding and J. H. Luers. Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine, Episcopal Bishop of Ohio, lived in Clifton. The pastor of Christ Church at that time was Rev. John T. Brooke. Rev. Samuel R. Wilson was still at the First Presbyterian Church, while Rev. Samuel W. Fisher was at the Second Presbyterian Church, the head of the New School.

The Supreme Court still held its sessions here, although this custom was abolished by the new constitution of 1851. The other courts at that time were the Court of Common Pleas, the Superior Court and the Commercial Court. The mayor, Mark P. Taylor, also had certain judicial functions.

The incorporated banks included the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company, the Commercial Bank, the Franklin and Lafayette banks, Mechanics' & Traders' Branch Bank at No. 100 Main street and the City Bank on the south side of Third between Walnut and Vine. There were also many private banking institutions. Among these were Ellis & Morton at Third and Walnut; T. S. Goodman & Company, on Main above Third; George Milne & Company, on Third between Main and Walnut; the Citizens' Bank of W. Smead & Company on Main between Third and Fourth; B. F. Sanford & Company, Fourth and Walnut; Langdon & Hatch, Court and Main; Gilmore & Brotherton, Main below Columbia; S. O. Almy, Third near Walnut; the Western Bank of Scott & McKenzie, Fifth and Western row; Burnet, Shoup & Company, northwest corner Third and Walnut; Phoenix, on Third between Main and Walnut; and Merchants', on Third near Walnut. Brown & Ramsey, A. J. Wheeler, A. G. Burt, P. B. Manchester, Wright, Clark & Company and P. Outcalt & Company also engaged in banking operations.

Cincinnati at that time was also a very important insurance center as is indicated by the fact that almost 40 different companies local and foreign are enumerated in this volume. Among these 40 the Equitable, Cincinnati Firemen's, Washington, Merchants' & Manufacturers', City, Eagle, Ohio Life Insurance & Trust, Ohio Life, Jefferson, Ohio Live Stock and Ohio Mutual were the principal local companies. John Young was the president of the General Board of Underwriters and Benjamin Urner, secretary.

E. Hinman was at that time superintendent of the City Water Works and W. S. Caldwell president of the Cincinnati Gas Light & Coke Company. This latter company had between 18 and 20 miles of pipe laid and 500 lamps erected throughout the city. The Observatory was still on Mount Adams in charge of Prof. O. M. Mitchel. The Cincinnati Horticultural Society formed in 1843 was in a highly prosperous condition; its president at that time was A. H. Ernst. Other institutions that receive special mention are the medical colleges, the Ohio Mechanics' Institute in its new building at Sixth and Vine, the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association and the Apprentices' Library which had been in continued existence for 30 years. Under the head of fine arts is described the Arts Union Hall, which fine saloon with its attendant offices occupied the fourth story of the building at the northwest corner of Sycamore and Fourth streets. Here as many as 300 pictures had been exhibited at one time. A picture had recently been ordered of Mrs. Lily Martin Spencer at $250 and a statue or other subject in marble of Hiram Powers at a price to be set by himself at from $3,000 to $5,000. Another picture gallery was conducted by William Wiswell so well known to citizens of the present day. Here as many as 300 portraits, fancy and historical pieces embracing the work of Kellogg, Beard, Rothermel, Heade and others were placed. The gem of the collection was Powers' recently executed bust of Gen. Andrew Jackson. A list of Cincinnati artists is given which includes over 60 names. Conspicuous among these are Miner K. Kellogg, Shubael V. Clevenger, J. H. Beard, John Frankenstein, W. H. Powell, T. Buchanan Read, G. N. Frankenstein, W. L. Sonntag, Hiram Powers, C. C. Brackett and F. Baker.

The means of communication are given in a special chapter. First were the roads, after these the canals and finally the railroads. Until 1835 the roads were all mud roads but after the invention of MacAdam more attention was paid to the surface and grading of roads and as a result every road of any importance leading from the city had been macadamized either by chartered companies or by the county commissioners. Fourteen macadamized roads, in all 514 miles long, are given as proceeding directly from Cincinnati. The longest was the so-called Goshen, Wilmington, Washington and Circleville turnpike, which extended in an easterly and northeasterly direction for 100 miles. Montgomery road ran northeast for a distance of 50 miles, the Lebanon turnpike ran north and northwest a distance of 93 miles, Colerain road ran northwest 37 miles while the Cincinnati, Carthage and Hamilton road ran northwest 25 miles. The great Miami turnpike to Dayton through Monroe and Franklin ran northwardly 38 miles and was continued with the Dayton and Springfield pike 34 miles farther. To the west ran the Harrison turnpike 20 miles long and southwardly the Covington and Williamstown, 36 miles long.

The canal system had been completed some years before. The canals which connected directly with Cincinnati were the Miami Canal and Extension running north 29 miles of which the Wabash and Erie, 200 miles, was a continuation, and the White Water Canal which ran northwest 70 miles. The Miami Canal followed the Great Miami valley until it passed the summit of St. Mary's and entering the Maumee valley terminated at Toledo. The tolls collected on this canal for 1850 had been over $315,000, of which $192,000 was net after deducting the cost of repairs, superintendence, etc. This was an increase of about $65,000 over the preceding year. The canal brought to Cincinnati during this year 117,655 tons of merchandise and took from it 42,784 tons. The figures for Toledo were a little larger. The explanation given of this was that the Little Miami Railroad shared business at this point.

The Cincinnati and White Water Canal, which had been incorporated in April, 1837, extended 25 miles to Harrison where it connected with the White Water Valley Canal. This canal crossed the Dry Fork of White Water and Miami River and Mill creek, passing through the hills dividing the Ohio and Miami rivers by a tunnel 1,000 feet long, and came up the bank of the river to the city. The construction and right of way had cost $800,000, of which the city subscribed $400,000 and the State $150,000. Boats first passed through to the city in November, 1843. The president of the company at this time was William McCammon and C. W. West was the secretary. This canal which has long since been abandoned is the well known "ditch" so-called, through which trains run into the Grand Central Depot.

Two railroads besides the Little Miami are mentioned, the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, with its office at the northwest corner of Vine and Fourth streets, and the Ohio & Mississippi, with its office in Bromwell's Building at the northeast corner of Fourth and Vine streets.

Of the former the president was S. S. L'Hommedieu, chief engineer, R. M. Shoemaker, and among the directors from Cincinnati were J. C. Wright, Samuel Fosdick, Eben B. Reeder, William Burnet and A. M. Taylor. The president of the second road was Abner T. Ellis. Other officers were H. H. Goodman, Henry Hanna, Alphonso Taft, E. Gest, C. W. West, Eben B. Reeder, David Z. Sedam, John Baker, James C. Hall, Joseph A. James, John S. Burt and John Slevin.

Railroad construction was at that time at high tide. The Little Miami Railroad was the only road leading from Cincinnati actually in operation. It connected at Springfield with the Mad River & Sandusky Railroad, at Xenia with the railroad via Columbus from Cleveland, thus affording two distinct routes to Lake Erie. The president of the Little Miami at this time was Jacob Strader; secretary, John Kilgour; treasurer, Archibald Irwin; and superintendent, W. H. Clement. The other directors were Griffin Taylor, R. R. Springer, John H. Groesbeck, Nat Wright, John Bacon, William McCammon, Abraham Hivling, James Hicks, Larz Anderson and Alphonso Taft. An interesting feature is the elaborate explanation of the various transportation arrangements of Cincinnati to other large cities.

Spring Grove Cemetery, Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum, Cincinnati Orphan Asylum at Elm near 13th, St. Peter's Orphan Asylum on the corner of Third and Plum, St. Aloysius' Orphan Home on the south side of Fourth west of Western row, the German Protestant Orphan Asylum, Asylum for Colored Orphans, the Widows' Home, the newly established House of Refuge, the Poor House and Farm near Carthage, Cincinnati Relief Union, the Hotel for Invalids and Orthopoedic Institution at Broadway and Franklin streets are among the various public institutions noted. Another is the Tract Depository in the Melodeon Building at No. 163 Walnut street, where were kept the publications of the American Tract Society, more than 1,200 in number and printed in 10 languages. A number of religious, benevolent and temperance societies are also recorded. Among the benevolent societies were included the Cincinnati Colonization Society and the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. The Masonic Temple at the northeast corner of Third and Walnut and Odd Fellows' Hall at the northwest corner of the same streets are also described. Six public halls are mentioned. The Apollo Hall was and is at the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut. At that time there was located in this familiar structure Wood's Museum, Gundry's Commercial College and Hawkins' Daguerrean Gallery. Bromwell's Building was at the northeast corner of Fourth and Vine. Here were the offices of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company, various daguerrean rooms and on the fourth story a hall. Center Hall was at Western row and Fifth street. The Cincinnati College was of course on the east side of Walnut between Fourth and Fifth and the hall of this building is well known to citizens of the present time. At this time the city council room and public offices of various description occupied the ground floor of this building while the library and Merchants' Exchange were on the second floor in front of the hall. The Cincinnati Law School was as for many years afterwards on the third floor. Court Street Hall was on the north side of Court between Main and Walnut. It was at that time occupied by various county offices and court rooms. Melodeon Hall was mentioned as one of the most prominent and elegant buildings in Cincinnati. This it is needless to say was on the northwest corner of Fourth and Walnut. On the ground floor were various drug, music, book and other stores. In the second story was Bartlett's Commercial College and Faris' Daguerrean Gallery. In the third story was the Public Hall, 100 by 60 feet, and 25 feet in height. This was said to be "fitted up and finished in the most elegant style with stuccoed frieze, cornice and ceiling and in architectural beauty is probably equal to any hall in the country." The building was erected by Louis Williams of Philadelphia in 1846 and was much admired for its beauty and simplicity of architecture. Another buiding which was especially mentioned was the newly erected Reeder's Building between Walnut and Vine streets which with six stories on Third and four on Pearl was the largest brick building, with partitions, in Cincinnati. It included 112 rooms for offices, stores and sleeping chambers and was protected by water tanks and iron shutters.

Nine hotels are mentioned. The Burnet House was said to be undoubtedly the most spacious and probably the best hotel in its interior and domestic arrangements in the world. The others mentioned were the Gibson House, Dennison House, the Walnut Street House, Pearl Street House (whose Walnut street front was about to be extended to the corner of Third), Woodruff House, a newly erected building on Syca-

more extending to Hammond between Third and Fourth, the United States Hotel at Sixth and Walnut, Henrie House on the north side of Third between Main and Sycamore and the Waverly House on Main near Court.

The fire department at that time consisted of 18 companies of firemen in addition to two hook and ladder companies and a company of fire guards. The various companies included 1,800 members.

Almost 100 pages are devoted to the description of the manufactures and industrial products of the city which included probably every known variety of industry. The aggregate product of the manufacturing and industrial concerns was valued at $55,017,000, of which $29,988,300 represented raw material and $25,028,700 represented labor. Among the largest items are those of alcohol and spirits (six establishments in number), $608,260; bakers (140), $637,662; boot and shoe makers (374), $1,182,650; breweries (21), $560,000; butchers (121), $2,850,000; carpenters and builders (284), $2,116,000; clothing factories (108), $1,947,500; domestic liquor factories (16), $726,000; feed and flouring mills (14), $1,600,000; foundries and engine shops (44), $3,676,500; furniture factories (136), $1,660,000; iron rolling mills (five), $1,050,000; milliners (60), $820,000; lard oil and stearine (34), $3,015,000; patent medicine factories (14), $660,000; pork, beef and ham curers (33), $5,700,000; publishers (12), $1,246,540; sheeting, yarn and candle wick factories (five), $636,000; soap and candle factories (38), $1,475,000; steamboat builders (seven), $488,000; tailors (98), $832,000; tanners and curriers (30), $965,000; tobacco, cigar and snuff factories (62), $931,000; and whiskey distilleries (38), $2,857,920.

This chapter is concluded with a quotation from Horace Greeley published in the *New York Tribune* in 1850:

"It requires no keenness of observation to perceive that Cincinnati is destined to become the focus and mart for the grandest circle of manufacturing thrift on this continent. Her delightful climate; her unequaled and ever-increasing facilities for cheap and rapid commercial intercourse with all parts of the country and the world; her enterprising and energetic population; her own elastic and exulting youth; are all elements which predict and insure her electric progress to giant greatness. I doubt if there is another spot on the earth where food, fuel, cotton, timber, iron, can all be concentrated so cheaply—that is, at so moderate a cost of human labor in producing and bringing them together—as here. Such fatness of soil, such a wealth of mineral treasure—coal, iron, salt, and the finest clays for all purposes of use—and all cropping out from the steep, facile banks of placid, though not sluggish, navigable rivers. How many Californias could equal, in permanent worth, this valley of the Ohio!"

The largest number of hands employed was in the foundries,—4,695; pork, beef and ham curing factories,—2,450; tobacco factories,—1,310; furniture factories,—1,158; and boot and shoemaking business,—1,760; while the carpenters and builders numbered, 2,320. It is apparent from this enumeration that in those days as today, pork, whiskey, stoves, shoes, beer and clothing were staple Cincinnati manufactures.

Elaborate tables are given showing the imports and exports of Cincinnati during six years beginning with 1845. Naturally the principal item of imports is pork in bulk, which for the year 1850-51 aggregated 14,348,204 pounds. The importations of corn for the same period amounted to 443,746 bushels; of flour, 434,359 barrels; and whiskey, 109,248 barrels. There were also 102,391 head of hogs. The exports for the same year included 4,742,405 pounds of pork and bacon in bulk, and 11,958 barrels, 18,849 tierces and 27,300 hogsheads. During the same time there were exported 188,873 barrels of whiskey and 347,471 barrels of flour.

A subject of particular interest at this time was the culture of the grape to which many prominent citizens, including Mr. Longworth and Mr. Buchanan, were devoting their attention. Within a circle of 20 miles there were over 300 vineyards, aggregating 900 acres and producing 120,000 gallons of wine.

Mr. Cist notes the growth of the surrounding suburbs which the improving methods of travel, notably better roads, omnibuses, stages and railroad cars, were bringing nearer to the city. Among those mentioned were the towns of Industry, 10 miles west, whose principal access was to be by the canal; Caledonia, near the mouth of the Little Miami, and Camden, at the intersection of the Little Miami Railroad with the river of that name. These towns were mentioned as designed to afford cheap lots to those who desired homes of their own. Another class of citizens whose business was in the city but who proposed to reside outside the corporate limits to escape taxation resided in Covington, Newport, Fairmount, Mount Auburn and Prospect Hill. In

Fairmount about 150 acres had been platted to suit purchasers and extensive sales had been already made. In the northern section of the city east of Freeman, George Hatch was endeavoring to start a settlement of the best class. At the northeast on the outer edge of the city was Mount Auburn in contiguity to which was Burnet and Reeder's subdivision and the property on Prospect Hill of Dr. William Price. It was expected that these sites which were just being opened up would be occupied by residences only.

There were at this time six new market houses in the city,—Lower Market, Canal, Pearl, Fifth, Sixth and Wade. The special feature of the markets was the parade of stall-fed meat on Christmas Day, which was in charge of the butchers of the city. This on the previous Christmas had been especially fine. It was held at the Fifth street market where 66 bullocks, 125 sheep, 350 pigs, 10 bears and a buffalo calf weighing 500 pounds, all of the finest variety and greatest weight, were displayed side by side. Over 99,000 pounds of beef were sold in the market that day. One piece of nine ribs weighing 120 pounds was sent to the Astor House, New York, and a roasting piece of 66 pounds to David T. Disney, the Congressman at Washington. The average retail price of this was eight cents a pound. The market house was illuminated by chandeliers and torches and over the stalls hung oil portraits in gilt frames of Washington, Jackson, Taylor, Clay and other public characters loaned by various artists and owners. The butchers in special charge were Vanaken and Daniel Wunder, John Butcher J. and W. Gall and Francis and Richard Beresford.

An interesting chapter is given to "the hog and its products." The want of ready and cheap access to foreign markets is assigned as the explanation why the settlers of the Western States turned their attention to raising hogs and distilling whiskey as a convenient means of taking corn,—their great staple,—to market. The pork packing industry had sprung into importance for the first time about 1833 and the business had increased rapidly until in 1848 almost a half a million hogs had been packed in Cincinnati alone. A full description of the process of slaughtering and packing at the 10 slaughter houses of the city occupies about a dozen pages of this work.

Another industry which is discussed at some length is the raising of strawberries for which Cincinnati had a high reputation. The entire product of the strawberry for the year 1848 aggregated 7,000 bushels.

The new public buildings in process of erection that are mentioned by Mr. Cist are the Medical College of Ohio, the German Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Widows' Home on Mount Auburn, an engine house and various school buildings, hotels at Sixth and Walnut and Front and Broadway, two Episcopal churches,—one on Sycamore north of the canal and the other at the southeast corner of Seventh and Plum,—and two Presbyterian churches,—the new First Presbyterian on Fourth and Main and the Seventh on Broadway between Fourth and Fifth. The new City Hall was also soon to be erected on Plum between Eighth and Ninth and the new Custom House at the southwest corner of Fourth and Vine. The new county Court House was also in process of erection. St. Peter's Cathedral had just been completed and was justly regarded as the finest building in the West and the most imposing cathedral in the United States,—a description that will very nearly hold true today.

Other points of special mention are the new De Golyer boulder pavements, the Cincinnati Observatory and the increasing use of coal in the city. The coal at that time came from mines in Meigs and Lawrence counties, the Peach Orchard field of Virginia, the cannel coal fields on the Kanawha and those on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny. Eight million bushels was the annual consumption at that time.

An extensive article on "Cincinnati's Destiny" by S. H. Goodin concludes with the statement that Cincinnati is the grand centre of the United States,—"the centre of the forces and influences, which, when readjusted after the introduction of the great disturbing cause, the railroad, must settle and determine the destiny and relative position of the various cities or centres, which are now struggling for supreme ascendency on this continent." Unfortunately Mr. Goodin overlooked the fact that the same influences, that is the railroads, which were to do so much for Cincinnati would be at work in other communities. The fact remains that Cincinnati's relative growth was greatest when she made the most of her natural advantages, the water-ways.

The book contains a number of biographies of the prominent citizens of the time, including those of Salmon P. Chase, A. Morrell, David T. Disney, George W. Coffin, J. D. Jones, O. M. Mitchel, George W. Neff and Nicholas Longworth.

It is illustrated with a number of interesting engravings. Its frontispiece is a fine view of the newly erected Burnet House. Other pictures are those of St. Peter's Cathedral, Fort Washington, the buildings of Niles & Company and Milward & Odershaw's pork house (in Covington), the establishments of Tyler Davidson & Company and Dodd & Company on Main street below Fourth, the Medical College of Ohio, the Ohio Female College, the Wesleyan College, the Hotel for Invalids, Reeder's Building, the Woodruff House, the Baptist Theological Seminary, Farmers' College and portraits of prominent citizens, including those whose biographies are given as well as a number of others.

JUST BEFORE THE WAR.

The third and last of Mr. Cist's invaluable works on Cincinnati is "Cincinnati in 1859." Almost half of this book is made up of the valuable "Early Annals," from which so many quotations have been made for this work.

The population of the city is estimated at 225,000 and the prediction is made that the census of 1860 if correctly taken will show a population of 250,000; the population in fact at that census was 161,044.

The courts then sitting in the city were the District Court, the Court of Common Pleas, the Superior, Probate and Police courts.

There were 16 public school buildings in addition to the two high schools. The number of pupils enrolled during the year 1858 was 17,685, of whom 10,493 were in regular attendance. There were 278 teachers. In the parochial schools were 7,750 children in attendance under 78 teachers. There were also a large number of private schools and academies with 150 teachers and 4,000 pupils. Among the private institutions especially mentioned were the Wesleyan Female College on Vine street in charge of Prof. P. B. Wilber; the Cincinnati Female Seminary at the southwest corner of Seventh and Mound, in whose faculty were such well known personages as T. A. Burrowes, Milton Sayler and Victor Williams; the Mount Auburn Young Ladies' Institute in charge of Rev. E. A. Crawley; Herron's Seminary for Boys on Seventh between Walnut and Vine, where in addition to the principal the faculty included Maxwell P. Gaddis, James E. Sherwood, Charles Aiken, Tosso and others; and Mr. Rickoff's English and Classical School at Ninth and Elm. The faculty of the Cincinnati Law School still included Judge Tilden and Mr. Curwen, and Bellamy Storer had been added to it. The only other college "properly so called" was St. Xavier on Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh, of which Rev. M. Oakley, S. J., was the president. Six medical colleges were enumerated, the Medical College of Ohio, Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery, Eclectic Medical Institute, Eclectic College of Medicine, Physio-Medical College and the Ohio College of Dental Surgery. In the faculties of these institutions were included a large number of the most prominent physicians of the city. Another institution mentioned is Newton's Clinical Institute. This building, still standing at the southeast corner of Sixth and John is described as one of the most spacious and most pleasant buildings in the city furnished in the most modern style with bells, gas, hot and cold water and with bath rooms with cold and warm water. Its fine airy location is especially mentioned! Another well known institution at the northeast corner of Third and Walnut was Bartlett's Commercial College.

One hundred and eight churches and religious societies are enumerated as well as six Jewish synagogues. Bishop Purcell was still at the head of the Roman Catholic Church which included 24 churches. Dr. K. Goddard was the rector of Christ Church. Of the nine churches belonging to the Presbyterian Old School, the most prominent pastor was Dr. Samuel R. Wilson. The New School had nine churches; the pastorship of the Second Church was vacant. There were seven Reformed Presbyterian churches, seven Baptist, four Disciples, 21 Methodist, three United Brethren, eight Lutheran, three German Reformed, two Friends, two Unitarian and two Universalist organizations. Among the prominent ministers of the city were Rev. Joseph Emery, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Elder William P. Stratton, Elder Thomas J. Melish, Bishop Thomas A. Morris of the Methodist Church who resided in the city at that time and Rev. G. W. Eisenlohr. The minister of the First Congregational Church at the southwest corner of Fourth and Race street was the well known Moncure D. Conway. Rabbi Lilienthal and Rabbi Isaac M. Wise were in charge of the two principal Jewish congregations and were among the most prominent citizens of the community at that time and for many years afterwards.

Fifty-three periodicals are mentioned as being published in the city; of these seven were dailies, the *Cincinnati Gazette and Liberty Hall*, *Enquirer*, *Times*, *Commercial*, *Volksblatt*, *Volks-Freund* and *Republikaner*. Babb and Smith were

the editors of the *Gazette*, J. J. Faran of the *Enquirer*, J. W. Ward and E. M Spencer of the *Times*, M. D. Potter of the *Commercial*, Klauprecht of the *Volksblatt*, Hemann of the *Volksfreund* and August Willich of the *Republikaner*. There was also Hall's *Penny Press* and Warden's *Law and Bank Bulletin*. Other journals were distributed among the various religious, medical and business and literary interests.

Sixteen local insurance companies are given and a very large number of agencies of foreign companies.

Among the banks were still the Commercial and the Lafayette as well as Groesbeck & Company, Gilmore, Dunlap & Company, Evans & Company, J. R. Morton & Company, James F. Meline & Company, C. F. Adae & Company and Van Hamm's Bank of Savings.

The railroads were the Little Miami, Marietta & Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, Cincinnati & Indianapolis and Ohio & Mississippi. The Little Miami road announced three trains daily, one of which was provided with a sleeping car.

In the list of suburbs College Hill and Glendale are especially mentioned.

The manufactures and industrial products are again considered at great length. Since 1851 the value of these products had more than doubled, that for 1859 being given as $112,254,400 of which $58,000,000 represented raw material and $54,000,000 the labor and interest on capital invested. The product of pork and beef packing was valued at $6,300,000 and foundry castings at about the same. Made up clothing is given as $15,000,000. This was the largest business carried on in the city, comprehending 48 wholesale and 86 retail establishments. Whiskey was represented by $5,318,730 and wine by $500,000; boots and shoes $1,750,450; alcohol and spirits of wine, $2,200,000; and ale and beer, $1,500,000.

In the years 1857-58 the value of the imports reached $74,348,758, and exports $47,497,095, both of which represented a falling off from the previous year of nearly three million in imports and eight million in exports. Comment is made on the fact that during the crisis of 1857 Cincinnati suffered less than any other large city in the Union, only one wholesale house and a few retail houses having succumbed to the pressure of the times.

Public institutions and buildings are practically those mentioned in the previous issues. Among the new buildings mentioned are the National Theatre, Pike's Opera House, the Central Presbyterian Church at the northwest corner of Barr and Mound, Masonic Temple, Carlisle Building and Shillito's store on Fourth street. These last are regarded as with but few rivals in their line in any of the Eastern cities. The newly erected Custom House and Post Office at Fourth and Vine, Hughes High School and the Marine Hospital at Sixth and Lock are also especially mentioned.

The pipes of the gas company laid in the streets were said to measure 55 miles and the number of consumers were 1,659. The reorganization of the fire department largely due to the efforts of James H. Walker and Miles Greenwood is specially commented upon. Special mention is made of a new style of building of both private and public edifices, which had been introduced by the architects greatly to the improvement of the public taste. The buildings particularly mentioned are the Seventh and Central Presbyterian churches; Vachel Worthington's fine mansion on Pike street; Robert Burnet's house on Seventh and Vine; and stores and business blocks known as the Baker Buildings on Walnut street; Taylor Block on Second; Perin, Gould & Company's building on Front; those of Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Company and Mitchell & Rammelsberg on Fourth, and those of Albert, Day & Matlack and Stadler on Pearl; the Trinity Methodist Church on Ninth, Roman Catholic Institute on Vine; W. K. Nixon's at Fourth and Vine and Heidelbach & Seasongood's on Third and Vine; the private residence of J. Netter on Eighth, and of Messrs. Dickson and Parker on Ninth street. Most of these were the work of Walter & Wilson.. James W. McLaughlin is credited with the designs of the residence of Edmund Dexter on the northeast corner of Fourth and Broadway and of Judge Este on Fourth near Park, the Derby Building at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut, the Shillito Building on Fourth, Masonic Temple on Third, the Firemen's Insurance Company Block at Front and Main, and the National Theatre. He was engaged at the time on the new office of the *Commercial* at Fourth and Race, two fine five-story stores for Elsas & Company on Pearl near Race and three for A. & J. Wolf on Vine as well as two Roman Catholic churches. He also furnished designs for a new

and spacious City Hall which it was expected would be commenced shortly. Isaiah Rogers had designed the Burnet House, Lunatic Asylum at Carthage, the county jail and the Smith Building on Fourth, west of the Carlisle Building. Anderson & Hannaford furnished designs for R. A. Whetstone's residence in Clifton, the two stores of George H. Browne on Main street, stores of Miner & Andrews and Thomas D. Carneal on Main; a block of warehouses for John Hall on Second and a number of residences, including those of Charles E. Matthews on East Walnut Hills, Lewis Mehner on Eighth near Freeman and J. F. Mills on Richmond near Freeman.

With reference to the grape culture, the sad fact is chronicled that within the last three or four years, the grape crop in the Ohio Valley had been much injured by mildew and rot, diseases which are incident to bad seasons or sudden atmospheric changes. Despite this fact 2,000 acres yielding an average of 200 gallons an acre were devoted to vineyard culture in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. This little note, however, shows the beginning of the end, for the grape culture very shortly afterwards was abandoned in this part of the country.

The consumption of coal is given during the year just closing at about 15,000,000 bushels.

The illustrations of the work include a view of the city taken from West Covington as well as views of the new Masonic Temple, Mount Auburn Female Institute, the Ohio Female College at College Hill and Hughes High School.

In the advertising pages are shown a number of views of prominent buildings including the Glendale Female Seminary, Newton's Clinical Institute, Eclectic Medical Institute and the interior of the well known book store of Rickey, Mallory & Company at No. 145 Main street. Most of these buildings are still standing.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—III.

NOTABLE EVENTS OF THE "FORTIES."

A New Era—The Coffee Houses—The Gas Contract—The Bank Riot of 1842—Dickens in Cincinnati—Social Functions—The Election of Harrison to the Presidency—The Cincinnati Horticultural Society—Grape Culture—Pugh & Alvord's Fire—The Cincinnati Observatory—The Weslevan Cemetery—The Millerites—The Cincinnati Historical Society—Cincinnatus—Spring Grove Cemetery—The Cincinnati Law Library Association—The First Railroad—The Flood of 1847—The Riot of 1848—The Young Men's Christian Association—The Ohio Mechanics' Institute—The Cholera of 1849—The Literary Club of Cincinnati—The Year of Murders.

A NEW ERA.

The beginning of the second half century of Cincinnati's life was signalized by its first lasting experience in municipal ownership. On January 23, 1839, it purchased the rights and property of the Cincinnati Water Works Company for the sum of $300,000.

The same year was established the first Superior Court of the city with David K. Este as judge and Daniel Gano as clerk.

The portrait of this latter worthy with his elaborately ruffled shirt adorned with its magnificent breast pin and his old-fashioned Revolutionary plaited queue tied with a black ribbon and hanging down his back between his shoulders is familiar to every Cincinnatian.

Daniel Gano was for many years one of the most interesting figures in Cincinnati life. He was born near the mouth of the Little Miami River on May 29, 1794, and died at Cincinnati August 17, 1873. He was a grandson of the Baptist minister, Rev. John Gano, and the son of the latter's fourth surviving son, John Stites Gano, who was one of the original settlers at Columbia. John S. Gano, it will be remembered, married a daughter of Judge William Goforth. During the infancy of Daniel Gano, his parents moved from Columbia to Cincinnati where he attended the school kept in Fort Washington by Edward Harrigan. At the age of 13 he rode 1,100 miles on horseback to Providence, Rhode Island, where he entered Brown University. He soon returned to Cincinnati and became assistant clerk and afterwards deputy in the office of his father then clerk of the County Court. Upon the resignation of his father, the latter removed to Covington. Daniel Gano succeeded him as clerk which position he continued to hold, with the intermission of a short period when it was held by General Harrison, until 1856 at which time he retired, some 45 years after he first entered into the office. When 18 years of age he was commissioned as aide to his father who was then major-general. Upon the appointment of James Find-

lay to succeed his father, he received a new commission with the rank of major. He took a large part in preparing the soldiers for the War of 1812. He was particularly interested in the location of the Miami Canal and had five canal boats built and equipped. He was also interested in all kinds of live stock and published a work on horses. At the time of the visit of Lafayette to the city in 1824, the distinguished Frenchman was entertained by Major Gano at the latter's house. In his later life he became interested in Dr. Samuel Thompson's botanical system of medicine and in an amateur way gave some attention to the practice of medicine. He also became interested in animal magnetism and spiritualism. He was an earnest advocate of the abolition of slavery. He married Rebecca Hunt Lawrence, daughter of Benjamin Lawrence, by whom he had six children of whom but two survived their father. His son Stephen survived until 1903.

Almost at the end of the year (1839) died one of Cincinnati's most brilliant young men, the son and father of distinguished citizens: General Lytle the second.

Robert T. Lytle was a son of the celebrated Gen. William Lytle and grandson of the Revolutionary soldier, Col. William Lytle. He was born at Lytlestown, afterwards Williamsburg, Ohio, on December 9, 1804, and died at New Orleans, December 22, 1839. He was educated at the Cincinnati College and afterwards studied law with his uncle Judge Rowan at Louisville. He returned to Cincinnati to engage in the practice of the law in 1824. He was subsequently elected to the Legislature and in 1832 to Congress, defeating Col. N. G. Pendleton. In October of the following year, being offended at some criticisms with relation to the manner of his election, he resigned and submitted himself once more to the electors at the November election. He was triumphantly elected once more. A year later he was defeated by Bellamy Storer, although running at the head of his ticket. During his term in Congress he became specially noted for his support of the Jackson administration and he was subsequently appointed surveyor general of the Northwest Territory, an office previously held by his father. Upon the death of Maj.-Gen. James Findlay, he was appointed major-general of the Ohio militia. He was repeatedly urged to run for the governorship and from 1830 was asked to become a candidate for the United States Senate, but his health would not permit any further political life. He was finally obliged to go South where he died in the midst of a brilliant career. Gen. Robert Lytle was regarded as one of the most brilliant young men who had ever lived in Cincinnati. As an orator he has never been surpassed and he was capable of arousing the enthusiasm of his audience to a degree equaled by few men of his time. He was married at Cincinnati on November 30, 1825, to Elizabeth Haines. Their children were: Gen. William Haines Lytle who died at Chickamauga and two daughters, one of whom became the wife of Nathaniel Foster and the other that of Samuel Broadwell.

Almost the last public appearances of General Lytle were at the various meetings held in 1839 with reference to the negro colonization scheme. He was the originator of the "Abhorrence Meeting" held March 9, 1839.

Other deaths of the year were those of Morgan Neville and John Bartle.

The well known Union Bethel was organized for mission work in January, 1839. Its first headquarters were in the old Commercial Row on the river bank. It was originally under the patronage of the Western Seaman's Friend Society. Subsequently the Boatmen's Bethel Society was formed and the school for a time was removed to East Front street near Pike to the "Old Museum" building, but after about three years it returned to its original location.

The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, which has always taken a prominent part in the public affairs of the city, was organized on October 22, 1839. At first it met but once a month in the rooms of the Mercantile Library. Seven years later the Chamber was combined with the Merchants' Exchange, and in 1850 the institution was chartered under the name of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange. The president at the time of the organization in 1839 was Griffin Taylor.

During the year 1840 the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association which had been in existence since 1822 moved its quarters to the old Cincinnati College Building on Walnut street, and this has been the site of the library since that date. At that time the College Building opened on to a garden on the south which extended to the corner of Fourth street and was planted with shrubbery and trees.

On the night of March 31, 1840, a disastrous fire destroyed the celebrated Franks' Museum, the successor to the Western and Dorfeuille museums.

THE COFFEE HOUSES.

During the first year of this period the ever recurring liquor question occupied a large part of the time of the City Council whose proceedings were largely devoted to granting licenses to coffee houses. The prices at which these licenses were fixed varied from $25 to $150,—almost a prohibitive sum at that time,—and the lobbying with members of the Council to procure favorable action became a public scandal.

Just prior to the spring election of the following year, the Council passed an ordinance abolishing coffee houses and submitting the whole liquor qustion to the votes of the people who expressed by their choice of councilmen their desires with regard to this matter. Among those selected as candidates in favor of no license were such men as E. Hinman, Nathan Guilford, Miles Greenwood, Charles Cist, S. S. L'Hommedieu, A. G. Gano, E. Woodruff, O. Lovell, H. E. Spencer, E. Gaither, David Griffin and A. Valentine.

The papers were full of editorial discussions concerning the liquor question and columns of advertisements announced the various candidates and ward meetings. Just prior to the election the death of a drunken man as a result of a coffee house brawl at the southwest corner of Vine and Columbia streets was used as a campaign argument. As a result of the election, a majority of the new Council was pledged to support the suppression of drinking houses.

The feeling against the coffee houses became so intense that on December 30, 1841, a large number of citizens met at College Hall to take measures for their suppression. Timothy Walker presided over this meeting, Elam P. Langdon acted as vice-president and Thompson Neave and John C. Vaughan officiated as secretaries. A committee of vigilance with S. S. L'Hommedieu as president; Charles Cist, vice-president; W. T. Truman, secretary and 10 prominent citizens in each ward were selected.

THE GAS CONTRACT.

By ordinance of June 16, 1841, James Conover, the well known newspaper man, together with his associates was vested with the full and exclusive privilege of using the streets, lanes, commons and alleys of the city for the purpose of conveying gas to the city and the citizens for the term of 25 years and thereafter until the same should be purchased by the City Council. Conover was to furnish gas mains and such quantity of gas as should be required by the City Council for public lamps at two-thirds of the lowest average price at which gas should be furnished to private individuals in New Orleans, Baltimore, New York, Louisville and Pittsburg. The works were to be commenced and $2,000 expended within six months and within two years 6,000 feet of gas mains were to be laid and 4,000 feet annually thereafter until the principal parts of the city should be supplied and at any time after the expiration of 25 years the City Council was to have the right to purchase the plant at a fair price to be determined by arbitration. Associated with Conover originally was J. H. Caldwell. A charter was subsequently obtained under the title of The Cincinnati Gas Light & Coke Company and the capital stock was originally $100,000. Works were located on Front, between Smith and Park, and by 1851 between 18 and 20 miles of pipe had been laid and 500 lamps erected. This company with numerous increases of capital stock and with a recent change of name to The Cincinnati Gas & Electric Company, still supplies the citizens with gas. To quote the language of the president of the Historical Society: "It is the same old meter with a different colored bill." (Joseph Wilby before Optimist Club.)

The year 1841 was disgraced by several riots, one occurring in June and another in September. The negro question was at the bottom of both of these. They are described in another chapter.

THE BANK RIOT OF 1842.

The ever present Cincinnati mob made itself manifest once more on January 11, 1842. On the evening preceding, the Miami Exporting Company's bank at the southwest corner of Main and Court streets, made an assignment, and on the following morning the Bank of Cincinnati closed its doors. Consternation on the part of the depositors was widespread, and by eleven o'clock the angry crowds had gathered about the doors of the bank. Very soon somebody gave the suggestion and the doors of the bank were broken in and all movable property destroyed. Included in the destruction were the books and papers, many of which were of value to the members of the mob themselves as well as to the bank. Presently 10 of the city guards headed by Capt. O. M. Mitchel came to the scene and succeeded in driving the rioters away. Thinking that quiet had been restored, they retired but were assailed by the regathering crowds. They finally fired into the mob and wounded two or three of the citizens.

Attack was also made upon John Bates' Exchange Bank at No. 154 Main street, and upon the exchange office of Noah Lougee on Main, between Third and Fourth streets, adjoining Bates' Exchange Bank. Lougee was one of the directors of the Bank of Cincinnati. Both of these institutions were sacked completely.

The amount of property destroyed was not great, but a large amount of money was stolen from the Miami Exporting Company's bank. Bates had steadily redeemed his own paper and there was no excuse for the assault upon his bank. The mob seemed to be utterly without restraint. Charles Fox was called upon by the sheriff to read the riot act which he did, but he was seized by the mob and very roughly handled. Ten of the city guards with other citizens who finally succeeded in quelling the riot included some well known citizens. They were John Jeffries, Oliver Lovell, Jr., John D. Lovell, J. H. Beard, W. H. Comstock, H. Aydelott, J. Wheelwright, A. Young, W. W. Northrop, W. Cassilly, C. Thorp, T. P. Taylor, J. Sprigman, S. Withington, C. P. James and S. Scudder.

The feeling against Mayor Davies by reason of his failure to take more vigorous action at the time of these riots resulted in a trial before the deserving of censure, but his conduct was ex-Council on charges preferred. He was found cused by reason of ill health. He died shortly afterwards.

DICKENS IN CINCINNATI.

The famous visitor of the year 1842 was the celebrated English novelist, Charles Dickens, who brought with him his wife. He remained here but a short time and subsequently went down the river on a steamboat to Louisville. Upon his return he also stopped a day. He went from here to Sandusky by way of Columbus, traveling in the great mail coach. His narrative of his trip gives a very fair idea of the travel of those days.

He came from Pittsburg on the "Messenger" occupying three days on the trip. He was struck with the dismal demeanor of the passengers, all of whom seemed to have tremendous secrets weighing on their minds. There was "no conversation, no laughter, no cheerfulness, no sociality, except in spitting; and that is done in silent fellowship round the stove, when the meal is over." The solitude prevailing along the banks of the river impressed him as well as the loud, high pressure blasts from the boat's engines. On the return trip from Cincinnati to Sandusky along the macadamized road six miles an hour in a great mail coach "whose huge cheeks are so very ruddy and plethoric" and holding a dozen passengers inside, the trip seemed but little more gay to him. The taciturnity of the company seems to have overwhelmed him. He found Cincinnati a "lively city," however, "with other boats, and flags and moving wheels and hum of men around it; as though there were not a solitary or silent rood of ground within the compass of a thousand miles. * * *

"There happened to be a great Temperance Convention held here on the day after our arrival; and as the order of march brought the procession under the windows of the hotel in which we lodged, when they started in the morning, I had a good opportunity of seeing it. It comprised several thousand men; the members of various 'Washington Auxiliary Temperance Societies,' and was marshalled by officers on horseback, who cantered briskly up and down the line, with scarves and ribands of bright colors fluttering out behind them gaily. There were bands of music, too, and banners out of number; and it was a fresh, holiday looking concourse altogether.

"I was particularly pleased to see the Irishmen, who formed a distinct society among themselves, carrying their national Harp and their portrait of Father Mathew high above the people's heads. They looked as jolly and good-humoured as ever; and, working the hardest for their living, and doing any kind of sturdy labor that came in their way, were the most independent fellows there, I thought.

"The banners were very well painted, and flaunted down the street famously. There was the smiting of the rock and the gushing forth of the waters; and there was a temperate man with a 'considerable of a hatchet' (as the standard-bearer would probably have said) aiming a deadly blow at a serpent which was apparently about to spring upon him from the top of a barrel of spirits. But the chief feature of this part of the show was a huge allegorical device, borne among the ship carpenters, on one side whereof the steamboat Alcohol was represented bursting her boiler and exploding with a great crash, while upon the other the good ship Temperance sailed away with a fair wind, to the heart's content of the captain, crew, and passengers.

"After going round the town, the procession repaired to a certain appointed place, where, as the printed programme set forth, it would be received by the children of the different free

schools, 'singing Temperance Songs.' I was prevented from getting there in time to hear these little warblers, or to report upon this novel kind of vocal entertainment:—novel, at least, to me: but I found, in a large open space, each society gathered round its own banners and listening in silent attention to its own orator. The speeches, judging from the little I could hear of them, were certainly adapted to the occasion, as having that degree of relationship to cold water which wet blankets may claim: but the main thing was the conduct and appearance of the audience throughout the day, and that was admirable and full of promise.

"Cincinnati is honorably famous for its free schools, of which it has so many that no person's child among its population can, by possibility, want the means of education, which are extended, upon an average, to four thousand pupils annually. I was only present in one of these establishments during the hours of instruction. In the boys' department, which was full of little urchins (varying in their ages, I should say, from six years old to ten or twelve), the master offered to institute an extemporary examination of the pupils in algebra:—a proposal, which, as I was by no means confident of my ability to detect mistakes in that science, I declined with some alarm. In the girls' school reading was proposed, and as I felt tolerably equal to that art, I expressed my willingness to hear a class. Books were distributed accordingly, and some half-dozen girls relieved each other in reading paragraphs from English history. But it was a dry compilation, infinitely above their powers; and when they had blundered through three or four dreary passages concerning the Treaty of Amiens and other thrilling topics of the same nature (obviously without comprehending ten words), I expressed myself quite satisfied. It is very possible that they only mounted to this extreme stave in the ladder of learning for the astonishment of a visitor, and that at other times they keep upon its lower rounds; but I should have been much better pleased and satisfied if I had heard them exercised in simpler lessons, which they understood.

"As in every other place I visited, the Judges here were gentlemen of high character and attainments. I was in one of the courts for a few minutes, and found it like those to which I have already referred. A nuisance cause was trying; there were not many spectators; and the witnesses, counsel, and jury formed a sort of family circle, sufficiently jocose and snug.

"The society with which I mingled was intelligent, courteous, and agreeable. The inhabitants of Cincinati are proud of their city, as one of the most interesting in America, and with reason; for, beautiful and thriving as it is now, and containing, as it does, a population of fifty thousand souls, but two and fifty years have passed away since the ground on which it stands (bought at that time for a few dollars) was a wildwood and its citizens were but a handful of dwellers in scattered log huts upon the river's shore." (American Notes, chap. 11.)

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS.

An advertisement of Messrs. Tosso and Winters in the current papers at the beginning of this period announces a cotillion party at the Cincinnati Assembly Rooms in Pearl street at which the attendance of the ladies is respectfully solicited. Confectionery, fruits, etc., were furnished by F. G. Ringgold of whom tickets could be obtained for the small sum of $1.50. These parties were opened to the public and were quite generally attended by people of prominence.

Another ball of great brilliancy was the Mechanics' and Citizens' Ball given for the benefit of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute on March 4, 1839. This was a very elaborate entertainment held at the National Theatre and tickets of admission commanded the high price of $5. The decorations were in charge of Platt Evens, at that time the principal storekeeper in the city. The hall was decorated with portraits of prominent citizens and on the floor we are told were "the military glittering in rich uniform, jealous husbands and their wives, jealous lovers and their ladies, crusty old bachelors reassuming their complaisance, sighing youths forgetting their troubles and widows who had just doffed their sables, widowers half resolved to throw another die and beautiful mothers and their more beautiful daughters" and while the boxes were filled, those who had descended to the floor would have suffered no disparagement by the contrast. "Very quiet observers could detect now and then the arch smiles of a mischievous mouth and the touch of the hand that sometimes led to something serious. All went to be pleased and were pleased up to as late an hour as two o'clock in the morning." (*Gazette*, March 6, 1839.)

The people of the early days were much given to banquets and a favorite occasion for such functions was Franklin's Birthday, which then as now was celebrated by the members of the print-

ing fraternities. In those days however the public generally were invited to attend and did attend in large numbers. The list of toasts given at the Franklin's Birthday celebration on January 13, 1839, fills two closely printed columns of the daily papers. Among the local worthies toasted were Thomas Palmer, James H. Looker, Maj. James F. Conover, Judge James Hall, George W. Bradbury, F. W. Thomas, J. T. Bruce, J. M. Campbell, S. S. L'Hommedieu, Edward A. McLaughlin, General Harrison, Charles Hammond, Nathan Guilford, Charles R. Ramsey, and Mr. Ringgold, the caterer.

Another social event of interest was the "military fete" given by the Citizens Guards at the assembly rooms on Washington's Birthday. In the list of managers appear such names as O. M. Mitchel, W. H. H. Taylor, N. Reeder, David T. Woodrow, J. R. Wheelwright, Richard W. Keys, James M. Dickson, and Daniel P. Strader.

One of the visitors to the city during the year 1839 was the Florentine exile, Madame Elina Ameriga Du Vespucii, who claimed lineal descent from the celebrated Americus Vespucius from whom the continent takes its name. She received much attention while here and was the occasion of several public meetings at which resolutions of welcome were adopted and petitions were forwarded to Congress asking an allotment to her of a portion of public lands. She received much social attention as well and was honored on the occasion of a complimentary benefit to James M. Scott, the well known actor, by being handed to her box by Gen. William Henry Harrison. (Diary of John D. Caldwell, July 22, 1839.)

Important additions to the population of the city were the albino lady and the Irish giant who arrived at the Western Museum at Main and Pearl streets early in 1839. This distinguished couple seem to have attracted much attention and the papers of the day mentioned them both editorially and in numerous communications. Miss Shore the albino was said to be "in form and features like others of her sex,—perfect,—with hair white as the driven snow like the finest spun glass. Her eyes were prismatic and of variegated pink changing their color and position every moment." Mr. O'Clancy from County Wicklow, Ireland, was conceded to be one of the tallest of well proportioned men in the world.

Another attraction at this time was a fancy glass blower who in five minutes in the presence of visitors could spin from glass without the help of moulds or instruments any bird, beast, fish or ship that might be called for. He could also spin one thousand yards of glass in a minute. It was quite the fashion of the day to attend these exhibitions.

Another social event of about this time is indicated by the following card of invitation preserved by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio:

"BACHELOR'S BALL. The pleasure of Your Company is requested at the City Assembly Rooms, on Wednesday Evening, 5th of Feby. Next, at 8 o'clock. Cincinnati, Jany. 29, 1840. J. F. Conover, W. H. Southgate, Jno. Miller, Wm. Dennison, Jr., J. A. D. Burrows, M. F. Neville, Hy. Lawrence, R. B. Bowler, J. Yorke, Wm. Young, D. T. Woodrow, M. J. Blair, R. H. Southgate, Charles L. Avery, E. Burdsal, C. G. Springer, B. Kelly, D. A. James, Wm. N. Green, J. W. King, L. M. Gwynne, D. P. Strader, Chas. Roe, Jas. Wiles, Wm. Watts, P. A. White, E. Lawrence, Jos. Graham, J. D. Wheeler, Jno. Buchanan."

Cincinnati's interest in the new President was indicated by an inaugural ball given at the assembly rooms on the southwest corner of Walnut and Pearl streets on March 4, 1841. The managers were Capt. Joseph Pierce, Col. John Noble, James McCandless, George Graham, W. R. Morris, William Disney, Jr., B. W. Hewson, Thomas H. Yeatman, M. J. Blair, Daniel Robinson, William McCammon, W. R. Foster, Isaac Young, Maj. William Oliver, Dr. J. T. Shotwell, Fenton Lawson, Charles Sonntag, George K. Shoenberger, H. H. Southgate, D. T. Woodrow, E. Burdsal, Atherton Thayer, R. W. Corwine and Joseph Yorke.

Another invitation of interest that is preserved is as follows:

BUCKEYE BALL.

The pleasure of your Company is requested at the Assembly Rooms on Monday Evening, April 8th, 1844

MANAGERS.

Geo. P. Torrence,	Peyton S. Symmes,
Thos. D. Carneal,	Jacob Strader,
Wm. R. Morris,	Nathl. Reeder,
Wm. Irwin,	H. H. Southgate,
J. A. D. Burrows,	L. M. Gwynne,
A. G. Burt,	D. Piatt,
Jno. A. Gano,	E. Burdsal,
Dan. Corwin,	Maj. Genl. Jno. Snyder,
Wm. Oliver,	J. Pitts Harrison,
James Hall,	J. M. Douglass,
N. C. McLean,	M. J. Blair,
Wm. M. Corry,	W. W. Cones,
O. M. Spencer,	O. Looker, Jr.,
R. F. L'Hommedieu,	Chas. P. James,
W. C. Thorpe,	Griffin Taylor.

WILLIAM WOODWARD.

CHARLES HAMMOND.

MILES GREENWOOD.

GEN. ORMSBY M. MITCHEL.

THE ELECTION OF HARRISON TO THE PRESIDENCY.

The period from the beginning of the second half century of the city's existence to the war was in many respects the most exciting in the history of Cincinnati. In the first place, lying as it did on the border-land between the North and the South, it was a hotbed of politics. Allied to the North by reason of the large contributions in population that it had received from that section, by virtue of its fundamental law the celebrated ordinance of freedom, and by reason of its growing importance as a manufacturing center, it also was closely associated with the South with which a large part of its trade was carried on and which at the time seemed to a large part of the population its natural friend. In every national election in which the State of Ohio had taken part until 1836 it had cast its vote for the Democratic presidential nominee with one exception, that of the year 1824, when Henry Clay carried the State over Jackson by a plurality of less than 800 votes out of a total of about 50,000. In the following campaign, that of the year 1828, Ohio gave Jackson over Adams 4,000 plurality and in 1832 Clay was beaten in the State by his old antagonist Jackson by a plurality of almost 5,000 votes out of a total vote of 155,000. In the campaign of 1836 Cincinnati and the State had a peculiar personal interest in that the candidate of the new Whig party, William Henry Harrison was a resident of Hamilton County. This campaign which was a four-sided contest between Van Buren, Harrison, Judge Hugh L. Wright of Tennessee and Webster, was one of great malignancy and Harrison was attacked with particular bitterness as a failure in the field and forum (although he had been general, Territorial Governor and Senator), and a man of most reprehensible morals and character. Although unsuccessful in the national election, the Hamilton County candidate was second both in the popular and electoral vote and carried his own State by a majority of about 8,000 in a total vote of a little over 200,000.

In 1840 General Harrison at that time clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County was again the candidate of the Whigs for the presidency, having been nominated over Clay and Scott at Harrisburg as a result, it is claimed, of a trick played upon the convention by Thaddeus Stevens. The campaign as is well known was most extraordinary. The effort of Van Buren's adherents to belittle Harrison by the charge that he lived in a log cabin and drank hard cider was taken up as a campaign war cry and the Harrison homestead at North Bend, quite an imposing country residence for the time, converted into a small hut covered with coonskins by the imagination of campaign orators, did good service. The campaign in Cincinnati as well as elsewhere was a very active one and during the summer of 1840 but little else occupied the attention of the citizens.

Mrs. Steele in her "Summer Journey in the West," gives a brief side-light on the condition of affairs at this point:

"Sixteen miles below Cincinnati is the residence of General Harrison, the candidate for the presidency. It is said he lived in a log cabin; but it was a neat country dwelling, which, however, I dimly saw by moonlight. To judge from what we have seen upon the road, General Harrison will carry all the votes of the West, for every one seems enthusiastic in his favor. Log cabins were erected in every town, and a small one of wicker-work stood upon nearly all the steamboats. At the wood-yards along the rivers it was very common to see a sign bearing the words, 'Harrison wood,' 'Whig wood,' or 'Tippecanoe wood,' he having gained a battle at a place of that name. The Western States, indeed, owe him a debt of gratitude; for he may be said to be the cause, under Providence, of their flourishing condition. He subdued the Indians, laid the land out in sections, thus opening a door for settlers, and, in fact, deserves the name given him of 'Father of the West.'"

In spite of the violent attacks made upon him, Harrison was gloriously triumphant and carried the country by a popular majority of almost 150,000 votes and the majority of 174 in the Electoral College. The State of Ohio gave her first President a majority of almost 24,000 votes to which Hamilton County largely contributed.

In the fall of 1841 the entire Loco Foco ticket carried Hamilton County by a majority of about 300. The Whigs carried the city by a little less than 1,000 with the Locos carrying the country by a little over 1,300. The name of James J. Faran headed the successful ticket, defeating Oliver M. Spencer for the Senate.

In 1839 the Whigs had carried the city but were defeated in the county and the same thing had been true in 1840.

In the early part of the year 1841 the man who had been so prominent a figure in the history of the community as commandant at Fort Washington, Secretary of the Territory, Representative in Congress, general of the army

and Senator from the State, left the city to take up a new life as chief magistrate of the nation.

The late Judge Joseph Cox described the scene of his departure in a paper delivered before the Cincinnati Literary Club as follows:

"The scene of his departure was most affecting. Old men who had shared with him the toils of the campaigns among the Indians, their wives and children, his old neighbors, the poor, of whom there were many who had shared his bounty, gathered to witness his departure, cheering for his triumph while their cheeks were wet with tears. The boat on which he was to pass up the river lay at the foot of Broadway, in Cincinnati. The wharves, streets, and every surrounding vessel and house were filled with spectators. Standing on the deck of the steamer, with a clear, ringing voice he recalled to the mind of the people that forty-eight years before he had landed on that spot a poor, unfriended boy in almost an unbroken wilderness to join his fortunes with theirs, and that now, by the voice of a majority of the seventeen millions of people of this free land, he was about to leave them to assume the Chief Magistracy of the greatest Nation of the earth. He assured them that he was devoted to the interests of the people, and although this might be the last time he would look upon them, they would find him in the future true to the old history of the past. Prophetic vision! Nevermore was it given to him to look on the faces of those who this day cheered him on to his high goal. Before visiting Washington, he went to the old homestead on the James River, and there, in the room of his mother (then dead many years), composed his inaugural address as President."

His absence from his home county unfortunately was of but brief duration for shortly after reaching Washington his health which had been for some time quite feeble broke down completely and he died of pneumonia on April 4, 1841. His death was so sudden that his wife who had delayed her departure from North Bend was unable to reach his bedside in time to see him alive. On June 16th a committee appointed by the citizens and the City Council of Cincinnati composed of Judge Jacob Burnet, J. C. Wright, T. D. Carneal, Charles S. Clarkson, Edward Wooldruff, L. Whiteman, A. Dudley, D. A. Powell, A. McAlpin, John Reeves and Rufus Hodges, having first obtained the permission of the Harrison family, presented themselves at Washington for the purpose of removing the remains of the late President to the State of Ohio and shortly afterwards this purpose was accomplished and General Harrison's body was laid to rest near his old home.

Judge Cox in the paper already quoted from speaks as follows:

"The funeral services took place at the White House, after which the body, accompanied by a large civic and military procession, was taken to the Congressional burying ground and deposited in the receiving vault, to await the arrangements of his family. The nation was shrouded in mourning, and the ensuing sixteenth of May was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, upon which, in nearly every town and city, the people met in honor of the illustrious dead.

"In the meantime preparations had been made to inter the remains on a beautiful hill just west of his home at North Bend, and under the guidance of committees of Congress and of the principal cities of the country, they were, in July, 1841, escorted from Washington. Arriving in Cincinnati, the body lay in state at the house of his son-in-law, Colonel W. H. H. Taylor, on the north side of Sixth street, just east of Lodge, and was visited by thousands of his old friends and fellow citizens. It was then, after suitable religious services, placed on a bier on the sidewalk, and the citizens and military filed past it. The funeral procession, under charge of George Graham, Esq., still living, then marched to the river; the corpse was placed on a magnificent catafalque on board a steamer, which, with two others lashed side by side and loaded with mourners, slowly, with solemn dirges and tolling bells, moved to North Bend. Arriving there, a long procession followed the remains to the summit of the mound, where they were deposited in the vault, beneath a low-built structure covered with turf. There have they lain for nearly thirty years.

No marble rears its head to mark
The honored hero's dust;
Nor glittering spire, nor cenotaph,
Nor monumental bust.
But on the spot his manhood loved
His aged form's at rest;
And he built his own proud monument
Within a nation's breast."

The land on which this tomb was placed was afterwards deeded by General Harrison's son to the State of Ohio on condition that it should be kept in proper repair. It can hardly be said that this condition has been complied with.

William Henry Harrison was so conspicuous in the history of the country that a sketch of his

life seems to be almost unnecessary. He was born in Berkley, Virginia, on February 9, 1773, the son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Virginia. He first studied medicine and subsequently under the express patronage of Washington entered the army which he joined at Fort Washington in 1791. He served through Wayne's campaign after which he took command of the fort at Cincinnati. While at this point he married Anna Symmes, daughter of Judge Symmes, during a temporary absence of the latter from home as the Judge had refused his consent to the match. He subsequently resigned his commission and was appointed Secretary of the Northwest Territory. In 1799 he was elected delegate to Congress and two years later was made the first Governor of Indiana Territory which office he held until 1813. During this time he was superintendent of Indian affairs and made 13 important treaties with different tribes during the course of his administration. He commanded at Tippecanoe and during the War of 1812, receiving a major-general's commission on March 2, 1813. In the following year by reason of a slight put upon him by the Secretary of War, Harrison, at this time the most prominent military figure in the country, terminated his connection with the army. For two years he was engaged as commissioner to complete treaties with the Indians. In 1816 he became a member of Congress from the Cincinnati district, serving for three years. While in Congress he was charged as to the misuse of the public funds by a dissatisfied contractor but he was completely exonerated after investigation. The bitter oppositions which seem to have pursued him throughout his life prevented him from receiving a gold medal in 1816 for his victory at the Thames. Two years later, however, the resolution to award this medal was passed unanimously. In 1819 he was chosen a member of the Ohio Senate. In 1822 he was defeated for Congress by James W. Gazlay after a very bitter campaign. Two years later he was a presidential elector and voted for Clay. In this same year he was sent to the United States Senate where he succeeded Andrew Jackson as chairman of the committee on military affairs. He resigned in 1828 to accept the position of United States Minister to the United States of Colombia. Upon Jackson's election, he was recalled and retired to North Bend. He was subsequently made clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County. As already stated he was nominated to the presidency in 1836 and 1840. His wife Anna survived him for some years, dying December 25, 1864. Her body rests by the side of her husband.

Their son, John Scott Harrison, was a man of prominence and fine education and served in Congress for two years. One of the most horrible episodes in the city's history was the finding of the body of this distinguished son of one President and father of another by the latter in the dissecting room of a Cincinnati medical college. The horror-stricken son was Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States. A daughter of Gen. W. H. Harrison became the wife of the well known citizen of Cincinnati, David K. Este, and another married Col. W. H. H. Taylor.

THE CINCINNATI HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Was organized at the house of Robert Buchanan in February, 1843, by Robert Buchanan, A. H. Ernst, M. Flagg, S. C. Parkhurst, J. B. Russell, Henry Probasco, V. C. Marshall, John Locke, George Graham and Thomas Winter. Its purpose was to increase interest in horticulture, introduce new fruits and flowers to the community and incidentally to give semi-annual exhibitions which were to arouse interest in horticultural matters. Mr. Buchanan became the first president and a number of committees on fruits, flowers, vegetables and entomology, as connected with insect depredations on fruit and shade trees, were appointed. During the year 1843 the society met almost every Saturday in the lower room of the building on Third street between Walnut and Vine formerly occupied as the Post Office. Its membership increased rapidly and its correspondence with various kindred organizations throughout the Union resulted in arousing a general interest in the subject. Its exhibitions of flowers in the spring and fruits and American wine in the autumn were very successful. In 1845 it was regularly incorporated and after that time it prospered beyond the fondest anticipations of its most ardent supporters. Mr. Cist tells us that in 1851 it had nearly 700 members and that its receipts for the year were over $10,000 and expenditures almost the same. A large part of this amount was paid out in premiums for fruits and flowers and horticultural designs and decorations. Its president at that time was A. H. Ernst. Other officers included William Resor, M. S. Wade, N. B. Shaler, John A. Warden, George Graham, John P. Foote, S. S. Jackson, Joseph Longworth, M. McWilliams and

others. In 1859 it numbered 860 members. Its receipts for the year were over $3,000. It had by that time accumulated a library of 450 volumes. Its president was then S. W. Haseltine. It is claimed for this organization that among its achievements was a great improvement in the size and quality of strawberries for which at this time Cincinnati was one of the principal markets. Specimens five inches in circumference and in some cases almost six inches were exhibited at its meetings. The interest however in the organization finally died away and for some years it was practically quiescent. It was finally reorganized and carried on for a time, about twenty years.

During the late "fifties" at a time when the local news of the city papers was still of the most meagre character, the meetings of this organization and its various exhibitions were reported with the greatest regularity and fidelity. For weeks there would be no other local news in the papers and if we were to judge from their columns this society was the only matter of interest to the community.

This was not entirely without reason for the grape culture here and that of strawberries had attracted national attention, dividing interest with the porker himself.

GRAPE CULTURE.

A little before the middle of the 19th century the culture of the grape was introduced into the neighborhood of Cincinnati and for many years it was thought that Hamilton County was destined to be a great wine country. Nicholas Longworth is principally entitled to the credit for the endeavor to add this attractive product to the list of those successfully harvested here. He had for many years given much attention to the cultivation of the grape with the view of making wine. His first efforts were confined to the acclimatization of foreign vines. He tried about 40 varieties before the idea occurred to him of testing our indigenous grapes. He met with such success that in 1828 he withdrew from the practice of the law and commenced experimenting more elaborately upon the production of wine from the native grapes. Two of these varieties, the Catawba and the Isabella, seemed to him to possess the best qualities for wine and to be best adapted to the climate and soil. He soon cultivated large vineyards and built extensive wine vaults where he stored the wines manufactured from his own grapes as well as those purchased from others. As a result Cincinnati became world famous as the center of a wine region and thousands of wine growers flocked to it, causing the vine-clad hills to become famous the world over. In 1851 Mr. Longworth had 115 acres in grapes, almost exclusively Catawba. He had grafted within the few years preceding more than 120 kinds of native grapes. He had at that time a wine house and cellar, 44 by 135 feet, four and one-half stories high. The bottom of the cellar was 25 feet below the surface and the top 12 feet above. He had bottled during that season 75,000 bottles. In addition to Mr. Longworth a German wine merchant, Z. Zimmerman and a French wine merchant, Corneau, and his son, all experienced in the business, were preparing to engage extensively in the production of wine. The Isabella grape was used for ladies' wine and was of a delicate flavor. Another wine producer of some success was Robert Buchanan. By 1859 the wine industry of Cincinnati had become of great importance. Other successful raisers of the vine were G. and P. Bogen near Carthage, M. Werk and Thomas H. Yeatman. Not less than 800 persons were employed in the culture and the product in favorable years was valued at $600,000. Mr. Longworth at that time had a stock of 200,000 bottles of Catawba on hand, half of which was still wine and half, sparkling. In the cellars of Longworth, Bogen and Werk there was said to be an average stock of 400,000 bottles. As a result of this new industry, much of the hill lands on the Ohio River which had been regarded as too steep for cultivation came into use; property which had sold at $40 an acre within eight years increased to $1,000 and $1,200 an acre. Unfortunately even at this time complaints were made that the past few seasons had been unpropitious. It was thought that this was owing to unusual conditions but eventually it became apparent that the vine culture was not adapted to this locality and the vine-clad hills along the banks of the beautiful river have long since become a thing of the past.

For the first time in the history of the city two natives of the county were candidates for the office of mayor in 1843,—Henry E. Spencer and Henry Morse. Mr. Spencer was elected. This year too has the honor of ushering into existence the *Cincinnati Commercial* which was published for the first time by Messrs. Curtiss and Hastings on November 2nd. Among the first things of importance to be recorded by the paper was the opening of the White Water Canal, which occurred on November 28th. This canal extended from a point near Pearl and Plum to

the village of Harrison, 25 miles away, where it joined the White Water Canal of Indiana. A freshet in 1846 damaged it quite materially and a year later it was relocated at its Harrison terminus upon higher ground. It was finally abandoned in 1863 and its bed, euphoniously called the "ditch," is the entrance for trains using the Central Union Station at Central avenue and Pearl as well as the freight depot just below that point.

Another event of the year was the death three days before Christmas of one who had been one of the most prominent citizens, both in business and political circles,—ex-Mayor Samuel W. Davies.

Thirty miles of the Little Miami Railroad were opened to traffic during this year.

PUGH & ALVORD'S FIRE.

A distressing occurrence of the year 1843 happened on the 28th of February. About five o'clock in the morning a fire broke out in a smoke house at the corner of Walnut street and the Canal, which belonged to Pugh & Alvord's pork packing establishment. The smoke house was connected with the main building by a narrow passage way through which the meat was usually wheeled. As the fire started in the smoke house at some distance from the main building, it was thought that it could be confined by closing up the various openings and thereby excluding the air. In a short time however the smoke and gas invaded the principal building and when the flames finally ate their way through the little wooden door which connected the two buildings the gas was instantaneously ignited. A tremendous explosion followed which lifted the whole roof into the air and threw it into the street. The walls on all sides were blown out, those on the east being completely destroyed and the building was converted immediately into a mass of smoke and ruins. The explosion is said to have been awful in its appearance but far more awful were the results to the onlookers. Eight or nine citizens were killed instantly and a dozen or more, including Mr. Alvord, one of the proprietors, were severely wounded. A fortunate circumstance which saved many lives was the settling of the smoke which took place shortly before the explosion and made the Canal and Walnut street fronts impassable. As a result the crowd had drawn back from the point where the greatest force of the explosion was felt. On the following morning which was Sunday a special meeting of the Council was called and the mayor issued a proclamation requesting the citizens to suspend business on Monday, the 2nd of March, the day of the funerals, which should be a day of general mourning. On that day the courts adjourned, business houses were closed and the bells of the churches and city tolled and the whole city was given up to mourning for the unfortunate victims.

THE CINCINNATI OBSERVATORY.

The indefatigable energy of one man, Ormsby M. Mitchel, and the public spirit of another, Nicholas Longworth, made possible an institution in which the city has always felt great pride, —the Cincinnati Observatory. In 1842 Mitchel organized the Cincinnati Astronomical Society before which he delivered a course of lectures on astronomy for the purpose of interesting citizens to such an extent as to make possible the equipping of an observatory with proper instruments. Mr. Longworth's gift of four acres on what is now known as Mount Adams determined the location of the institution whose cornerstone was laid by ex-President John Quincy Adams on November 9, 1843. During Mr. Adams' stay, a "Martha Washington Tea Party" was given at Shires' Garden on the site of the old Burnet homestead.

THE WESLEYAN CEMETERY.

A beautiful tract of 25 acres situated in the northwestern part of the city on the east bank of the west fork of Mill creek at what is now the northwest corner of Colerain avenue and Hoffner street, was opened in 1843. By 1842 the old cemetery back of Wesley Chapel had become too small for the Methodists of the city and this lot at that time about five miles from the city, but now in the midst of a thickly settled community, was purchased. The site was a beautiful one and the plan of the burying ground in accordance with the best ideas of the time. Originally a small chapel was built on the grounds which was displaced in 1855 by a handsomer edifice of brick.

THE MILLERITES.

The year of the presidential election of 1844 is remarkable for an extraordinary religious agitation, that of the Millerites. The delusion of these people had been spreading for some 18 months through the West and had been propagated here with great zeal by Revs. Himes, Jacobs and many others. Religious services were carried on at first in the Cincinnati College

Building but afterwards a tabernacle was erected on the southeast corner of Seventh and John, a broad building 80 feet square but capable of seating 2,000 persons. A newspaper, *The Midnight Cry*, was also established. Miller, the author of this movement, had predicted that the second advent would take place with the close of 1843. Unfortunately for the prophet the assigned period came and nothing happened. A recalculation showed that the divine author had made a mistake and he fixed a day in March, 1844, as the proper date. Once more the world continued after the day set for its destruction and finally October 22, 1844, was selected as the critical time. So confident were the disciples that for several days before the day of prophecy the faithful adventists gave up all labor. An amusing story is told of one whose wife did not sympathize with his views. He had abandoned work and on the following morning remained at home, and after sitting for sometime and seeing no signs of breakfast he made inquiries and was told in scriptural language that if a man will not work neither shall he eat and reminded of the fact that as he was about to be translated to another sphere he would not need food. The gnawing pangs of hunger produced a compromise and on the promise of returning to work he obtained breakfast. Mr. Cist gives an account of the final disappointment of these deluded enthusiasts:

"All these periods were referred to in succession in *The Midnight Cry*, and so firmly was the faith of the Millerites fixed on the last calculation that the number published for October 22d was solemnly announced to be the last communication through that channel to the believers. In this progress of things, both in the press and tabernacle, as might have been expected, deeper exercises of mind among the Millerites was the result, and within a few days of the twenty-second all the brethren had divested themselves of their earthly cares, eating, drinking and sleeping only excepted. Chests of tools which cost forty dollars were sold for three. A gold watch worth one hundred dollars was sacrificed for one-fifth the value. Two brothers of the name of Hanselmann, who owned a steamboat in company with Captain Collins, abandoned to him their entire interest in it, alleging they had nothing farther to do with earthly treasures. John Smith, an estimable man, once a distinguished member of the Baptist Church and a man of considerable property here, left it all to take care of itself. A distinguished leader in this movement shut up his shop and placed a card on the door, 'Gone to meet the Lord,'—which in a few hours was irreverently replaced by some of the neighbors with 'Gone up.'

"One of the believers, the clerk of one of our courts, made up his business papers to the twenty-second, and left later business to those who were willing to attend to it. Another, a clerk in one of the city banks, resigned his position in order to devote his entire attention to the second advent preparations; and others settled up their worldly business, paying their debts so far as was in their power, and asking forgiveness of their unpaid creditors, when they were unable to discharge the account. Others, again, spent weeks in visiting relations and friends for the last time, as they supposed. In short, after all these things, all ranks and classes of the believers assembled at the tabernacle on the nights of the twenty-second and twenty-third successively, to be ready for the great event.

"In the meantime considerable ill-feeling had been engendered among the relatives of those who had become infatuated with these doctrines, as they saw their wives or sisters or daughters led off by such delusions, to the neglect of family duties, even to the preparing of ordinary meals or attending to the common and everyday business of life. The spirit of lynching was about to make its appearance. Crowds upon crowds, increasing every evening, as the allotted day approached, aided to fill the house or surround the doors of their building. A large share were ready to commence mischief as soon as a fair opportunity should present itself. On last Sabbath the first indications of popular displeasure broke out. Every species of annoyance was offered to the Millerites at the doors of the tabernacle, and even within its walls, on that and Monday evening—much of it highly discreditable to the actors. At the close of an exhortation or address, or even a prayer by the members, the same tokens of approbation, by clapping of hands and stamping of feet, as are exhibited at a theatre or a public lecture, were given here, interspersed with groans of 'Oh Polk!' 'Oh Clay!' shouts of 'Hurrah for Clay!' 'Hurrah for Polk!' 'Hurrah for Birney!' and loud calls of 'move him' 'you can't come it,' varied occasionally with distinct rounds of applause. A pigeon was let into the tabernacle also, on Monday evening, to the general annoyance.

"On Tuesday the crowds in and outside the building, still increasing, and not less than twenty-five hundred persons being within the walls, and nearly two thousand in the street adjacent,

a general disturbance was expected. But the mayor and police had been called on, and were upon the ground and distributed through the crowd. The clear moonlight rendered it difficult to commit any excess irresponsibly; and above all, Father Reese, venerable for his age, erudition, and skill in theology, and his magnificent beard, occupied the great mass outside the doors, as a safety-valve to let off the superfluous excitement. At nine o'clock the Millerites adjourned—as it proved *sine die*—going home to watch all their respective dwellings for the expected advent. They held no tabernacle meeting on Wednesday evening, to the disappointment of the crowd, which assembled as usual, and to which, by way of solace, Reese again held forth. At nine o'clock the out-door assembly dispersed, also without day. Wednesday evening having dissipated the last hopes and confounded all the calculations of the Adventists, they have since, to a great extent, resumed that position in the community which they previously held. The carpenter has again seized his jack-plane, the mason his trowel, and the painter his brush. Eshelby has tied on anew the leather apron, and Brother Jones again laid hold of the currying-knife. The clerk in the bank, whose post was kept in abeyance until he should recover from his delusion, is again at his desk, and John the Baptist, by which well-known sobriquet one of the principal leaders is designated, has gone back to his houses and his farms, content to wait, as other Christians are waiting, for the day and hour to come, as the chart has pointed it out." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 42.)

Among the entertainments offered in 1844 was Winter's Chemical Diorama which had been exhibited throughout the country with great success. His pictures which were exhibited on Fourth below Main in the Miller Building were four in number: they included a view of the "Milan Cathedral at Midnight Mass," the "Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem," "Belshazzar's Feast" and the "Destruction of Jerusalem." The coloring, perspective, light and shade and the successive changes under the various lights were extremely striking and impressive and the scenic illusion was said to be most striking. "You see the Cathedral at Milan in the moonlight of midnight. Mass is celebrating within the walls. A bell faintly tinkles in the great distance apparently before you in tones of perfect keeping with the scene. It is difficult to realize that you are beholding a picture—so perfectly are the eye and ear led captive." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 50 and 72.)

Other events of the year 1844 was the erection of the first cotton factory of the city by Jacob Strader, Samuel Fosdick and Anthony Harkness, the purchase of the first ground for Spring Grove Cemetery, and the opening of the Little Miami Railroad to Xenia.

Towards the end of the year 1844 a vessel named the "Muskingum" of 350 tons burthen was built at Marietta and during the winter was loaded at Cincinnati with a cargo for Liverpool. She finally reached that city in January, 1845, and her arrival was regarded as of sufficient importance as to call for a special mention in the *Times* of that city which recorded the receipt of a file of Cincinnati papers brought by the first vessel that ever cleared out of this city for Europe. The success of this vessel induced the building of a number of other sea-going vessels, three of which were built before 1850 by John Swasey & Company.

THE CINCINNATI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In August, 1844, was organized the Cincinnati Historical Society with James H. Perkins as its first president. The transfer in 1849 of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio from Columbus to Cincinnati and the uniting of the two kindred societies resulted in the organization which to-day stands among the first institutions of the kind in the country. The first president of the new organization was the poet W. D. Gallagher.

CINCINNATUS.

An event which called for a special note in all the newspapers was the arrival in April, 1845, of drawings of the well known statue of Cincinnatus which was modeled by Nathan F. Baker at Rome the year before. This statue had excited the admiration of so great a sculptor as Powers who was then at Florence and was highly spoken of by other artists in Rome. Mr. Baker's own description of the statue which can be compared with the work itself which now stands in the City Hall says that he represented Cincinnatus in the attitude of a mediator when he was called for the first time to act in a public capacity and that he endeavored to give the action of the speaker before the Roman citizens. He thought the statue would express the first position as well as the last although he was acting more in the character of a warrior than as a judge. He was dressed simply in a Roman toga

which was worn by all classes of the time. A plow was merely indicated in the sketch. Baker had already executed the "Egeria" which, exhibited at the residence of J. Baker at the corner of Fourth and Walnut, had attracted general attention.

In 1845 a meeting of the Southern and Western Anti-Slavery Convention was held in the city. A celebrated visitor of this year was Sir Charles Lyell who was the guest of Dr. John Locke and also of Robert Buchanan and others. In his work subsequently published he gave a description of the geological formation of the city. He speaks of the discovery of teeth of the extinct giant elephant similar to those found on the banks of the Thames and in the ice of Siberia. Near the city some teeth of mastodons had been found as well as other remains of this extraordinary animal. He spoke with enthusiasm of the collection of fossils then owned by Messrs. Buchanan, Anthony and Clarke.

A visit of President James K. Polk was an interesting episode of the year 1845.

SPRING GROVE CEMETERY.

On August 28, 1845, occurred the consecration of the new cemetery grounds known as Spring Grove Cemetery. This event was the practical result of an agitation which had continued for a number of years and had culminated in an organization about a year before at a meeting at the house of Robert Buchanan at which were present a dozen or more of the most prominent citizens. The ceremonies of the consecration were in charge of Rev. J. T. Brook and in them took part Judge John McLean, W. D. Gallagher and Lewis J. Cist.

A disastrous fire of this year (January 19th) destroyed the well known College Building on Walnut street near the corner of Fourth.

THE CINCINNATI LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

An organization fruitful in results, certainly to the lawyers of the community and probably to all interested in the administration of justice, is the Cincinnati Law Library Association which dates from the year 1840. The principal spirits in the movement were the well known lawyers, William R. Morris, William M. Corry, Daniel Van Matre, Alphonso Taft and George E. Pugh, who formed a committee appointed at a bar meeting held in the old Superior Court room at that time. As a result of the organization begun so modestly, Cincinnati is possessed of a Law Library which in spite of many vicissitudes is one of the few great law libraries of the country and which with the library of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals affords assistance to the lawyers in both State and Federal courts of the city such as few communities are possessed of.

The first annual meeting of the New England Society took place in 1846. It was held at that time on January 6th. During the same month the Post Office was removed from the Henrie House to the Masonic Building at the corner of Third and Walnut. This also was the year of the opening of the Merchants' Exchange in the College Building. In July of this year Colonels O. M. Mitchel and Curtis led two regiments of infantry, the First and Second Ohio, to take part in the war against Mexico. A notable man, Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, died on the 14th of August of this same year.

THE FIRST RAILROADS.

The most noteworthy event in the city life of 1846 was the opening of the first railroad, the Little Miami, to Springfield, an event that almost paralleled in importance the opening of the Miami Canal two decades before.

By 1841, 35 miles of the road had been graded and more under contract. The iron rails for 15 miles had been bought and the locomotives to run on the road procured. Thirty miles of the road were opened to public traffic in 1843. At this time the rolling stock consisted of one eight-wheeled locomotive, two passenger coaches and eight freight cars, all of which had been built in Cincinnati. So primitive were the ideas of the day that it is said that a locomotive was not allowed to enter the city for fear the sparks might set fire to the houses and the cars were drawn into town by mules. On the 17th of July, 1844, the road was opened to Xenia, 68 miles and the first train over the completed road to Springfield went through August 10, 1846. There had been expended by this time in the construction of the road the sum of $1,232,000, although the property of the road had to be assigned to trustees before reaching Springfield. A dividend on its capital stock had been declared in 1845. Dividends averaging 10 per cent per annum were paid regularly until the time of its lease in 1870, to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Its dividends of course were not so large at first and the stock did not reach par until 1852 but it finally went to 125 before falling. Its bonded indebtedness was incurred for the purpose of rebuilding and the money raised,—one and a half million dollars,—was put into the road. The con-

vertible bonds were turned into stock. The strap rail of the early road was very soon displaced by rails of more modern character and the road has been the subject of constant improvement up to the present time. It is now regarded as one of the best constructed roads in the world. The Sandusky connection was completed in 1848, giving Cincinnati the first communication with the coast by water and rail. The same year connection for Columbus was made at Xenia by the Columbus and Xenia road over which the first passenger train traveled February 20, 1850. Shortly after this the first legislative junket was taken by the members of the General Assembly over these roads to Cincinnati. In 1851 the office of the company was at the corner of Congress and Kilgour streets. Jacob Strader was its president; John Kilgour, secretary; Archibald Irwin, treasurer; and W. L. Clement, its superintendent and engineer. Other directors were Griffin Taylor, Reuben R. Springer, John H. Groesbeck, Nathaniel Wright, William McCammon, John Bacon, Larz Anderson, Alphonso Taft, Abraham Hivling and James Hicks, Jr. It was at that time the only railroad leaving Cincinnati actually in operation although the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton and the Ohio & Mississippi had been organized. Since May 1, 1849, one train a day each way had been running between Cincinnati and Springfield and passengers for Sandusky, Buffalo, Boston and New York were provided by P. W. Strader, agent, with tickets via the Little Miami, and Mad River & Lake Erie railroads to Sandusky, steamboat line to Buffalo and thence via railroad to Albany and steamer to New York. On and after the opening of the New York & Erie Railroad, steamboats could be taken to Dunkirk and thence to New York. In 1851 there were two daily trains leaving Cincinnati, one at 5:20 in the morning and the other at 2:30 in the afternoon. Passengers leaving on the afternoon train reached Sandusky at six o'clock in the morning, left at seven for Buffalo by steamer where the morning express was taken for Albany and the evening steamer for New York. Connection was also made by means of the steamer "Arrow" with Detroit and at Buffalo by the Niagara Falls and Ontario route with Toronto, Montreal and Quebec. Connection was made at Albany with Boston and at New York with Philadelphia and Baltimore. The fare from Cincinnati to Springfield was $2.50, to Sandusky $6.50, to Detroit $8.00 and to Buffalo $8.80. The fare from Buffalo to New York was $7.50 making a total fare of $16.30. No extra charge for meals or staterooms was made to passengers while on the boats. Passengers could also go by the Cleveland route under the spring, summer and fall arrangement, reaching New York in 48 hours. This route included the Little Miami, Columbus & Xenia, and Columbus & Cleveland roads to Cleveland whence steamboats took passengers to Buffalo who proceeded by railroad to Albany and by steamer to New York. The express train leaving at 5:20 in the morning reached Columbus at 11:30, and Cleveland at six o'clock that night. Passengers slept the first night on the lake steamer and the second night on a steamer on North River, "making the trip from Cincinnati to New York without loss of sleep." The tickets by this route were a little more expensive; the rate to Buffalo being $10.00, the rate to Cleveland was $7.50, to Columbus $3.50, to Xenia $1.90. The office of the company was on the east side of Broadway the first door north of Front. The road during the year 1850 carried 144,486 passengers, of whom 52,288 were through passengers between Cincinnati and Springfield. The total receipts from through passengers were about $125,000 and altogether $204,589.87. The receipts for freight were: Way freight $157,607.38, through freight $35,000 and carrying the mail $8,500, making the total receipts of the road $405,697.24. November 30, 1853, the two companies, the Little Miami and Columbus & Xenia, entered into an agreement by which the roads were operated as a single line. On January 1, 1865, these roads became the lessees of the Dayton & Western and the Richmond & Miami railways and later in the same year purchased parts of the Cincinnati, Dayton, Xenia and Belpre roads. On November 30, 1868, the Little Miami became the lessee of the Columbus & Xenia and all the rights of that corporation in the roads mentioned and in 1870 leased its own road and all its property to the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Company (Pennsylvania system). The lease is for 99 years renewable forever at an annual rental of eight per cent on the capital stock, besides interest on the funded debt and payment of expenses of organization.

The present depot at the corner of Pearl and Butler streets was considered at the time of its erection in 1881 one of the prominent structures of the city.

The second railroad to make an entrance into Cincinnati was the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton. This was chartered March 2, 1846, as the

Cincinnati & Hamilton Railroad Company. Its present name was given to it by an act passed March 15, 1849. It was opened for business September 19, 1850, but a little more than a year after work had been commenced upon it. The road was built without the aid of township subscriptions and its stocks and bonds sold at par from the start both in New York and Cincinnati. In less than a month after the opening of the subscriptions for stock, three-fourths of a million dollars in cash was paid in by Cincinnati investors. The rest of the stock and the first issue of bonds were taken in New York at par. This is supposed to be the first instance of the kind in the history of railroading. On May 1, 1863, the road from Dayton to Toledo belonging to the Dayton & Michigan Company was leased to the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton and on February 18, 1869, it became the lessee of the Cincinnati, Richmond & Chicago Railroad Company, which covered also the Richmond & Miami Railway. In 1872 the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Indianapolis Railroad was added to the system. S. S. L'Hommedieu from whom so much has been quoted concerning the history of the city was for many years director of this road. The chief engineer during its construction was Robert M. Shoemaker.

Mr. L'Hommedieu in an address before the Pioneer Association spoke of it as follows:

"It may be expected I should say something of the second railroad built in our city—the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, or the Great Miami Railroad.

"When this road was commenced, in 1848, the question as to the superiority of railroads over canals had been settled in the public mind, and there was no such difficulty in raising funds as had been experienced by the Little Miami Company. The bonds of roads then under way—such as the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Cleveland and Pittsburg, Lake Shore and others—were negotiated in New York, so as to net from eighty to eighty-five cents on the dollar. County, town, and township subscriptions to capital stock were readily obtained, and railroads were built with comparative ease.

"The Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, however, was built without the aid of any such subscriptions. Its stock and bonds were sold at par, without the employment of New York or other brokers. Such was the faith at home in the enterprise, that within a month a cash subscription of three-fourths of a million was made by our merchants, manufacturers, and other citizens. New York capitalists took the remaining stock and the first issue of bonds at par.

"This was the first instance in which Western railroad securities had found a market in New York without making heavy sacrifices, and it took the New York City brokers by surprise at its presumption and success.

"The road was placed under contract, and built in a little over a year's time. It was opened on the 19th of September, 1851, and for twenty years or more promptly met all its obligations, and, after paying interest on bonds, made fair average dividends to its stockholders." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 18.)

The third railroad to enter Cincinnati was the Ohio & Mississippi which connects Cincinnati with East St. Louis opposite the city of St. Louis. This was built by three companies,—the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company of Indiana incorporated in 1838, a corporation of the same name of Ohio chartered in 1849 and one of the same name of Illinois chartered in 1851. It was completed and opened in May, 1857. It originally had a broad gauge of six feet and connected with the old Atlantic & Great Western (subsequently the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio) and the Erie lines, giving a broad gauge route between St. Louis and New York. Ormsby M. Mitchel did much of the early surveying for this road. The road has passed through many vicissitudes of fortune but now is a part of the Baltimore & Ohio system.

The Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad Company was originally chartered as the Belpre & Cincinnati Railroad Company March 8, 1845. In 1851 this company was consolidated with the Franklin & Ohio River Railroad Company and at the same time it was authorized to build a railroad from a point opposite Parkersburg or from Harmar opposite Marietta to Cincinnati. The main line was completed to the Little Miami at Loveland April 15, 1857. From time to time a number of other roads were absorbed by the Marietta & Cincinnati Company which finally was reorganized in February, 1883, as the Cincinnati, Washington & Baltimore road. In 1889 was formed the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Company. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company became the owner of the common stock of the company and guaranteed the principal and interest of its first mortgage bonds. The so-called "Bee Line" (the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railway) was chartered March 12, 1845. The original line, 138 miles,

was completed February 22, 1851. In 1861 it acquired the stretch of road between Delaware and Springfield. The Cincinnati & Springfield Company was organized to build an extension into Cincinnati of the "Bee Line." This extension known as the "Dayton Short Line," was completed July 1, 1872. The entire system has since been absorbed by the so-called "Big Four."

THE FLOOD OF 1847.

The year 1847 was a great flood year, the water reaching its greatest height on the 17th of December, at which time it stood at 63 feet seven inches, but eight inches below the flood of 1832. The river never came within five feet of this height again until the floods of 1883 and 1884. The high water of 1847 was naturally accompanied with much suffering but the flood of 1832 had been a warning which had been regarded by many and the city was not so seriously affected as before. Many of the business houses had moved to higher ground in the meantime.

Other noteworthy events of this year were the arrival of Levi Coffin in April and the receipt on August 21st by the local press of the first public telegraphic dispatch sent to the city.

THE RIOT OF 1848.

A riot marred the record of Cincinnati for the year 1848. Two volunteer soldiers who had received their honorable discharge from the service in the war with Mexico returned to this city in the hope of establishing themselves in honorable employment. As they were Germans they naturally drifted to the German quarter of the city and finally obtained board in the house of a German family who lived near the Brighton House while they secured employment in one of the factories down town. Unfortunately they had in their possession land warrants which they had received for their service to their country and this information came to the German and his wife with whom they were living and aroused their cupidity. Their landlord used every effort in the way of persuasion to induce them to barter their warrants away or to assign them to him even temporarily. This he did in the hope that if he got the warrants into his possession he would be able to cook up some sort of a story which would enable him to use them for his own purposes. The soldiers however insisted upon retaining their property and thereupon this German and his wife devised a most diabolical scheme of revenge. One morning the whole population of the city was shocked with the information that these two discharged Mexican soldiers had been guilty of a most horrible assault upon the young daughter of their landlord. A warrant was sworn out by the father before Squire Eri Brooks and the soldiers were arrested and taken to the magistrate's office on the south side of Court between Main and Walnut streets for preliminary examination.

News of the terrible crime had spread throughout the city and the story told with most horrible details aroused the populace to a spirit of righteous indignation. The crowd in attendance at the hearing was so great that the justice was obliged to adjourn the examination to the old court room in the Court House. It was vacation time and there was no court in session. As the examination continued, the gathering crowd filled the court room, the galleries, the whole building and the Court House yard and finally thousands of citizens packed the streets of the neighborhood. The testimony of the parents and of the little girl and the exhibits that were made left no doubt as to the guilt of the accused and the two soldiers were committed to jail without bail. The officers of the court had great difficulty in protecting their prisoners from the crowd on the way out Court street and up Sycamore to the place of confinement and were obliged to call upon a large posse to assist them. The crowd gathered around the officers and the prisoners and hurled missiles of all characters at them but finally they were landed safely in the custody of the sheriff, Thomas S. Weaver.

This was late in the afternoon as the examination had consumed practically all the day. The crowd hung around the jail and from time to time demanded the prisoners whom they desired to lynch. Sheriff Weaver, however, was a striking exception to most officers in his position. He was a man of courage and fully conscious of the responsibilities placed upon him. He called upon the two military companies of the city, the Citizens Guard and the Greys, and they undertook the guarding of the jail. As men throughout the city knocked off their work at the end of the day they drifted toward the crowd at the jail until Sycamore and Hunt streets were packed tight with an excited mob. The sheriff addressed the crowd a number of times and tried to keep them moving. He warned them not to violate the law and to keep the city's name free from the charge of riot and assured them if the prisoners were guilty they would undoubtedly be punished. He also notified them that he would protect his prisoners to the end and that

if any attempt was made to take them from him he would repel attack with force and if necessary would shoot down those who opposed the peaceable operation of the law. After reading the riot act he retired within the jail expressing the hope that the disorder would cease.

As the crowd became more worked up however they made a rush for the jail. The soldiers fired with blank cartridges but this made no impression upon the angry mob. After this the sheriff at the risk of his life went out before the mob and begged them to retire to avoid the shedding of blood. He warned them that the next fire would be with fatal purpose. The crowd simply shouted at him. The fences were torn down, the pavements ripped from their fastenings and these missiles were used in the attack. The ringleaders became more persistent and finally the onset was so fierce that some of the mob got within the front doors of the jail and thereupon the sheriff ordered the soldiers to fire. The order was immediately obeyed and 11 persons in the crowd were shot dead. This settled the riot and the frightened crowd scattered to their homes. The usual thing happened; among the dead were found a number who were entirely innocent of any participation in the riot. A woman working in her house across the street was killed. A workman named Carnahan on his way home from work had stopped for a moment to inquire the reason of the crowd and was struck lifeless by a bullet.

The whole city was in mourning and the burial of the dead was participated in by thousands of people. Intense indignation was felt at the actions of the sheriff and soldiers but eventually they were justified by public opinion.

The sequel showed that however unfortunate was the result of the performance of his duty by the sheriff any weakness on his part would have been followed by an even more terrible misfortune. The two men whose lives were sought by the mob and who at that time would have been strung up without a moment's delay were found upon further investigation to be the victims of a horrible conspiracy. By the time their case was called before the grand jury sufficient evidence had accumulated to show that the little girl had been coached by her parents and that her testimony had been committed to memory. She was made to repeat over and over again the words that she was to use in describing the affair and finally admitted that there was absolutely not a word of truth in the charge. The father was overheard to tell the prisoners in jail that if they would give up their land warrants to him he would go away and not appear against them and when they refused he berated them with the statement that if they had given up the warrants beforehand he would not have put up this story on them. The testimony of more than twenty physicians the most prominent in the city was offered and showed that the crime charged was an impossible one. As a result, of course, the two unfortunate soldiers were released, after having suffered one of the most infamous charges and having been in constant expectation of death from the moment of their arrest.

Naturally public indignation was turned against the instigators of the charge but when they were sought for by the infuriated citizens fortunately they could not be found. Father, mother and child had practically disappeared off the face of this earth as far as the city was concerned and another riot which would have been justified, if anything can justify lynch law, was averted.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

Cincinnati has the distinction of being the home of the pioneer Young Men's Christian Association in America. This organization dates from October 8, 1848, at which time a meeting of the male teachers of the first mission Sabbath-school of the Central Christian Church was held "for the purpose of taking into consideration the formation of a society for mutual improvement in grace and religious knowledge." The organization was at a little later time known under the name of "The Young Men's Society of Inquiry." This afterwards was changed to "The Cincinnati Society of Religious Inquiry." The first president of the organization was P. Garret Rice. The first mission school was established in April, 1849, on Cherry street near Plum and in August of the same year the second school was organized. In 1851 a library was formed in a suite of rooms leased in the upper story of a building at No. 130 Walnut street which were the first rooms used for such purposes in the United States. The society changed its name again in 1853 to "The Cincinnati Society of Religious Inquiry and Young Men's Christian Union." The first half of this name was dropped in 1858 and it was not until five years later that the name "Young Men's Christian Association" was adopted.

The United Jewish Cemetery on Walnut Hills,

at Montgomery street and the old Duck creek road, was laid out in 1849. The new part was added in 1860.

THE OHIO MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

An important event of the year 1848 occurred on Independence Day. This was the laying of the corner-stone of the building of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute on the newly purchased lot at the southwest corner of Sixth and Vine. This institution which had been organized in 1828 had passed through many vicissitudes and in fact at times the effort to continue it almost reached the point of abandonment. Its renewed activity at this time was almost entirely due to the efforts of Miles Greenwood and Marston Allen, assisted by John P. Foote. The building was completed in time for the tenth annual affair which was held in it in 1850. The arrangement entered into with the Public School Library in 1857 finally assured its continued life and from that date to the present it has been one of the most prominent and valuable institutions of the city.

Marston Allen was born at Barnstable, Massachusetts, May 11, 1789. His family name was originally spelled Allyn and he was of Welsh descent. In his early life he lived in Boston, where he worked in a hardware store and afterwards as a salesman in a paperhanger's store. By 1812 he and a fellow workman entered the paperhanging business on their own account. Six years later he removed to Cincinnati where in addition to his regular business he took up dry goods, pork packing and nail making. He finally embarked in the drug business in 1824 and lost his all in the fire of 1826. He subsequently rebuilt his warehouse and in 1840 he took sole charge of a drug store at Fifth and Main streets. He was one of the originators of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and with Miles Greenwood gave it its first large donation. He died August 12, 1868, at Glendale where he had lived for a number of years.

A most picturesque fire occurred during a heavy fall of snow on the night of January 8, 1848. As a result of this Shires' Theatre, built upon the western part of the old Burnet place, was burned to the ground. After Judge Burnet's removal to his "farm" at Seventh and Elm the old Burnet residence on the lower part of the square bounded by Third, Vine and Walnut was utilized as a restaurant and hotel. Shires' Garden was a well known place of resort. Subsequently a theatre was built to the west of the house, a frame structure about 50 by 100 feet in dimensions and here for a time was conducted a very successful theatre.

THE CHOLERA OF 1849.

In 1849 the terrible scourge, cholera, returned and devastated the city to a much greater extent than ever before. In September, 1849, the Board of Health of the city reported the deaths for four months preceding September 1st as 6,459, of which 4,114 were from cholera. Mr. Mansfield estimates the deaths from the middle of April to the middle of October as 7,000, of which 4,600 were from cholera. The mortality for the year was about 8,500, which counting the population as 110,000, was one in 14. He further estimates that the deaths among the Germans and Irish were almost fourfold the number of deaths among the Americans. Of the 4,114 above mentioned, 2,896 were Germans, Irish and Hebrews, while but 1,218 represented the other nationalities who formed 60 per cent of the population.

"During the prevalence of this pestilence, a deep gloom and solemn fear pervaded the city. Many plans and suggestions were made to mitigate the disease. The greatest mortality was in the hot month of July, yet great fires were made in some streets, with the idea of driving off the poison; but the disease went on with its fearful fatality, and the 'long funerals blackened all the way.'" (Mansfield's Memories, pp. 258-261.)

The cholera returned again the following year and in 1851 and 1852. The panic which followed its recurrence in 1850 threatened for a time almost to depopulate the city and did materially affect the census then taken.

THE LITERARY CLUB OF CINCINNATI.

On October 29, 1849, 12 gentlemen met together for the purpose of organizing a club for debates and the reading of papers. These gentlemen were Robert Buchanan, I. C. Collins, Nelson Cross, Stanley Matthews, Martin L. Sheldon, A. R. Spofford, Reuben H. Stephenson, Algernon S. Sullivan, H. G. Wade, M. Hazen White, Peyton C. Wyeth and John C. Zachos. At this meeting, which was the result of a preliminary meeting at the rooms of Mr. Spofford, was formed what has since been known as the Literary Club. This to the present day has held a leading position among the social and literary organizations of the city and has achieved a national reputation both by reason of the character of its membership and the success with which it has maintained its position

during the period of over a half a century. It is said to be the oldest club of its character at present in the United States and from it have developed similar organizations in a number of other cities, notably Chicago and Indianapolis. It met first in the rooms at the southwest corner of Vine and Longworth and in its long career has occupied about a dozen different quarters; it is at present located at No. 25 East Eighth street in a building erected by the club.

A famous visitor of 1849 was Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley who by reason of the crowds at the hotels staid but a day. She thought the city a handsome one with a fine situation. Another visitor was President-elect Taylor.

Another event of this year was the opening of the Little Miami road to Springfield.

THE YEAR OF MURDERS.

As if the horrors of the cholera were not sufficient, the year 1849 has passed into history as the year of murders. The so-called Howard tragedy and trial came this year. The latter excited the attention of the public who were in profound sympathy with the injured wife who had slain the woman who stole her name and husband. Her acquittal was received with general satisfaction. In May of this year John Brasher, police officer, was slain by the burglar Jones who received a life sentence for the crime.

The attempted wholesale poisoning of the Summons family by a worthless son occurred in July. The young man was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to hang, but his conviction was set aside by the Supreme Court upon a technical error and when the time came for a retrial the most important witness for the State could not be found, having undoubtedly been spirited away. Summons finally escaped with a penitentiary sentence.

The murder of one Harrison by McCabe occurred in April of this year.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—IV.

NOTABLE EVENTS OF THE "FIFTIES."

EVENTS OF 1850—THE FARRER POISONING CASE—THE VISIT OF KOSSUTH—THE CITY INFIRMARY—THE BEDINI RIOTS—THE KISSANE CASE—THE YOUNG MEN'S GYMNASIUM ASSOCIATION—THE ARRISON INFERNAL MACHINE—THE KNOW NOTHING RIOTS—MEETING OF LINCOLN AND STANTON—THE FILIBUSTERS CASE—THE CINCINNATI PIONEER ASSOCIATION—THE CONVENTION OF 1856—THE PUBLIC LIBRARY—THE WINTER OF 1856-57—THE OHIO & MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD—THE OHIO LIFE INSURANCE & TRUST COMPANY FAILURE—EMERSON, SCOTT AND JENNY LIND—PIKE'S OPERA HOUSE—LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS—LAST MAN SOCIETY—THE STREET RAILROADS—THE FOURTH STREET PROTEST—SOUTHERN LEGISLATORS IN CINCINNATI—THE TORNADO OF 1860—THE PRINCE OF WALES—THE UNITED STATES FAIR—POLITICAL EVENTS OF 1860.

EVENTS OF 1850.

The Cincinnati House of Refuge was opened for the reception of inmates on October 7, 1850. It stood in Mill creek valley, about four miles from the Post Office, on Colerain avenue on a tract of 10 acres bought from Joseph R. Riddle. The building which is a castellated edifice of rough blue limestone trimmed with white Dayton stone has a frontage of 270 feet and cost about $150,000. At the time of its construction it was regarded as the most convenient building for the purpose in the United States. Its first superintendent was Rufus Hubbard.

On May 3rd of this year the opening of the new Burnet House was officially celebrated by a grand ball and house warming. This hotel, erected by a stock company, was regarded at the time of its erection as possessing the finest hotel building in the country and possibly in the world. It soon became famous throughout the West and it was claimed that the possession of such excellent accommodations for the traveling public contributed largely to the growth of the business of the city. Its proprietor at that time was A. B. Coleman. Mr. Cist said of it in 1851 that it was "central to river and canal; and when the railroad communications in progress here shall be completed, will be so to all the traveling public landings and depots." The Little Miami depot was completed this year.

A murder of this year was the result of over-officiousness on the part of an officer, Davison, who lost his life on June 18, 1850, at the hands of one John C. Walker, a student at the Medical College of Ohio and a stranger in the city. Van Amburg's circus was exhibiting on the square bounded by Vine, Race, 12th and 13th streets. Walker, who had come early and obtained a front seat, was ordered by Davison and another officer to vacate it for some ladies who had come late. He refused, whereupon the officers attempted to eject him by force and one

struck him on the head with a "billy." Walker drew a bowie-knife, and stabbed both officers, killing Davison. Walker narrowly escaped lynching at the time, but upon his trial he was acquitted upon the ground of self-defense. The verdict was generally approved, as in those days the unjust cry of "end seat hog" had not been heard of and the first comer was accorded his fair rights.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science met for the first time in Cincinnati in 1851. In the course of an address Professor Henry of the Smithsonian Institute spoke of his surprise at the appearance of the city. He "expected to see a boundless, magnificent forest world, with the scattered clearings and log cabins and energetic New England-descended inhabitants; he thought to find Cincinnati a thriving frontier town exhibiting views of neat wood houses with white fronts, green doors and brass knockers; but instead of this he found himself in a city of palaces reared as if by magic and rivaling in appearance any city of the Eastern States or of Europe." He spoke particularly of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, the Academy of Natural Sciences, Young Men's Mercantile Library Association and the Young Men's Lyceum of Natural History.

Another visitor of the year was Lord Morpeth, Earl of Carlisle, who said that Cincinnati seemed to him the part of the Union where if obliged to make his choice he should like best to fix his abode. It had "a great share of the civilization and appliances of the old-settled States of the East with the richer soil, the softer climate, the fresher spring of life which distinguish the West."

The well known banker, Wesley Smead, was the principal influence in the organization of the Widows' Home and Asylum for Aged and Indigent Females, whose building, located on a lot in Mount Auburn bounded by Bellevue, Stetson, Highland and Market streets was erected in 1851. The property was given by Messrs. Burnet, McLean, Shillito and Reeder and the building was erected from funds secured by Mr. Smead and others.

THE FARRER POISONING CASE.

One of the most remarkable criminal trials that ever took place in the city of Cincinnati was that of Nancy Farrer, who was indicted for murder in the first degree. Her attorney was Rutherford B. Hayes, at that time a young lawyer of fine social position but small practice. Nancy was a serving maid of extraordinarily repulsive appearance. She had an enormous mouth running almost from ear to ear, which was so hideously shaped as to have called from Judge Johnson the appellation of "catfish mouth." Her eyes were very small, set very far back in her head and fully four inches apart. Above them were very shaggy and bushy eyebrows, which gave her almost a fiendish expression. Her nose was the most remarkable feature of her face, resembling, it is said, two noses most distinctly marked with the lower one flattened out like that of a negro. In spite of her hideous appearance she was fond of children and they were very fond of her.

In August, 1851, she was acting as an assistant nurse in the family of a Mrs. Greene. The chief nurse was an Italian woman, Mrs. Brazilli. Mrs. Greene died quite suddenly but at the time this fact excited no suspicion of any criminality. After her death, Nancy went to live at the house of Elisha Forrest, a merchant in Fulton. This family consisted of five members,—Mr. and Mrs. Forrest and three children. Nancy became a great favorite and the children were much attached to her. Shortly after her arrival, the mother, Mrs. Forrest, suddenly became quite sick and died in horrible agony. A few days later a son, the youngest, was attacked with the same symptoms as those of his mother and soon died. On November 30th another son, James Wesley Forrest, became violently ill with the same symptoms and suffered the fate of brother and mother. Mr. Forrest and the only remaining child shortly afterwards showed the same symptoms but fortunately the physicians were able to save their lives. Naturally such extraordinary occurrences excited the comment of the public and but one explanation seemed possible, that of poisoning. Mr. Forrest could not think of any person who had a motive to commit so horrible a crime, but as Nancy was the only person who had the liberty of the house suspicion naturally fell on her. From this time Mr. Forrest constituted himself a detective and watched her very carefully. At length he found a piece of brown paper on the back stairs leading to her room on which was a label indicating that the contents of the package had been arsenic, which had been purchased from Thomas Salter, the druggist at No. 60 Broadway. Inquiry at the drug store disclosed the fact that the arsenic had been sold to Nancy, who had purchased it, she said, for the purpose of poisoning rats. Thereupon a post-mortem examination was made of the

stomachs of the victims and all of them were found to contain large quantities of arsenic. At the examination of the body of James Wesley Forrest, Nancy was present but gave no indication of guilt or even extreme interest in the proceedings. She was arrested, however, and after preliminary examination before Mayor Spencer she was bound over to the grand jury on the charge of murder. The grand jury found four indictments against her, covering the murder of the three members of the Forrest family and also the murder of Mrs. Greene, and in the last indictment the Italian nurse, Mrs. Brazilli, was included. As Nancy was in indigent circumstances and unable to employ counsel, Rutherford B. Hayes and John F. Hoy were appointed by the court to defend her. The trial came on hearing before Judge A. G. W. Carter, who had just taken the bench. It was held in the Court House on the north side of Court street, and beginning on February 19, 1852, lasted for 10 days. The case excited great interest not only by reason of the atrocity of the crime charged but because of the apparent lack of motive. The extraordinary appearance of the prisoner and the peculiar character of the testimony, that of anthropologists, phrenologists and medical experts who had personal examinations of the prisoner before the court and jury, made the case unusual. The expert testimony of Drs. Z. Freeman and J. R. Buchanan was of great interest and displayed much learning. Judge Carter's charge was regarded as an eminetly fair and comprehensive one and the evidence seemed conclusive, but the jury delayed three days before finding a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. Nancy was sentenced to be hanged in the jail yard of Hamilton County on June 25th. The fact that a paper containing a portion of the charges found its way to the jury room and that the members of the jury had talked of the case with an outsider, gave Mr. Hayes an opportunity to attack the proceedings. During the interval Nancy was taken before the Probate Court and pronounced of unsound mind. She was sent to the Lick Run Asylum and afterwards to Longview. Here she soon made herself a general favorite and was soon in active service as a nurse.

In the course of her consultations with Mr. Hayes she had informed him that the death of Mrs. Greene had been brought about by the Italian nurse, who had taught Nancy, all unconscious of her act, how to administer the poison. Mr. Hayes, who was very confident that Nancy was intellectually incapable of committing the crimes charged upon her, pressed for the trial of Mrs. Brazilli. On the day of the trial Nancy, who was expected to be the principal witness for the State, absolutely refused to give any testimony in relation to the matter. This unexpected conduct made it necessary for the jury to return an instructed verdict of not guilty. Mrs. Brazilli was so overcome with her release from what seemed certain death that she fainted in the court room. She subsequently moved away to Illinois.

Nancy finally escaped from the asylum and was never seen again by any person in this neighborhood. The explanation of her conduct given at the time was that she was fascinated by the extraordinary power that she found that she possessed,—the power of life and death over those around her. There was no possible motive for the killing of the people who had been friendly to her and to whom she seemed much attached other than the mere lust of killing.

THE VISIT OF KOSSUTH.

The visit of Kossuth in 1852 absorbed much of the attention of the public. The daily papers reported his movements from the time he arrived in the country until his departure and the speeches and addresses delivered to him were printed in full. Kossuth hats and Magyar caps were for sale by all the hatters and in the advertisements of the day the presence of the distinguished Hungarian was constantly referred to. One advertiser for instance invites attention to his wares by a large head line,—"Kossuth Surprised," the point being that Kossuth would be astonished to learn of the perfection of the wares offered for sale.

Two nights previous to his arrival, a public meeting was held at the hall of the Mechanics' Institute, at which J. H. Gerard acted as chairman and Cal. W. Thomas as secretary. Judge Carter delivered an address and William M Corry, the chairman of the Kossuth Committee of Finance, presented resolutions. Francis Pulszky, one of Kossuth's suite, also addressed the meeting. Other speakers were Bellamy Storer, Dr. Buchanan and Judge Parker. Kossuth was accompanied from Columbus by the most distinguished citizens—Governor Wood, Lieutenant-Governor Medill, and President E. S. Hamlin and Messrs. Miller and Manypenny of the Board of Public Works. As the train

rolled in at the Sixth street depot, Kossuth was greeted by an assemblage of 20,000 people, which had been standing for hours. The arrival of the train was announced by a salvo of cannon accompanied by tremendous cheering. The crowd was so compact that it took some time to escort Kossuth from the train to the stand where the committee were in waiting. Here the mayor, Mr. Taylor, delivered an address of welcome which was responded to by the distinguished visitor. His voice, worn out by constant speaking, almost entirely failed him. The procession thereupon moved up Smith street, headed by Grand Marshal C. H. Sargent and Captain Guthrie's troop of mounted escorts with a fine brass band. Then followed the military under command of General Browne as follows: German Cavalry, Hamilton Artillery, Rough and Ready Cadets, U. S. Infantry from Newport, German Sharpshooters, German Riflemen, Lafayette Guards and Steuben Guards, each preceded by a full brass band. In the second and third divisions were the fire department companies and various associations and societies. Kossuth was seated in an open barouche drawn by four fine bay horses finely caparisoned. In the carriage with him were Mayor Taylor and Judge Hoadly, chairman of the committee of arrangements, Governor Wood and William B. Cassidy, president of the City Council. Madam Kossuth and Madam Pulszky also occupied an open carriage. The enormous crowd of people in the neighborhood of the depot made the procession move very slowly. Its route was up Sixth to Western row, thence to Seventh, thence to Vine and then down Vine to the east entrance of the Burnet House. Throughout the line of march, Kossuth was everywhere greeted by the same demonstrations of regard and the whole was a grand triumphant progress such as was never before seen in Cincinnati. During the march, Kossuth stood erect in his carriage most of the time with uncovered head, bowing to the huzzaing crowd on the street and to those of the fair ones waving handkerchiefs from every door, window and balcony. When the party reached the Burnet House, it required the full force of police as well as the cavalry to clear a passage. Almost 8,000 people crowded on Third and Vine streets in front of the hotel. In response to the demands of the people Kossuth appeared on the southeast balcony. He was called upon for a speech but was obliged to lean over the balustrade and say,—"Gentlemen, I cannot, I have no voice." At this came a cry from the crowd that lights be put around him so that he could be seen, which was done and "as Kossuth's noble form stood clearly revealed before the sovereign people a shout went up from the multitude below that might for aught we know have reached Francis Joseph himself." (*Gazette*, February 10, 1852.)

Prior to the departure from Columbus, a committee of the City Council headed by M. B. Coombs delivered an address extending an invitation to Kossuth to the metropolis of the West.

The train carrying Kossuth was obliged to stop at almost every station on the way,—Cedarville, Xenia, Yellow Springs, Springfield, Dayton, Middletown and Hamilton. At each of these points addresses of welcome were delivered and contributions to the Hungarian cause handed to the committee. Unfortunately Kossuth's health was such that he was not able to accept the formal reception tendered to him for some days after his arrival, but in the meantime various organizations of citizens called upon him at his hotel and tendered their respects. The formal reception finally took place on Thursday, February 12th, at the Court street market space in the presence of the mightiest gathering ever witnessed in the city. The addresses of welcome were delivered by Caleb B. Smith in English and Charles Reemelin in German, and Kossuth responded in an address delivered to 30,000 people, which occupied two columns of the daily papers. Despite Kossuth's exhaustion he was required to deliver addresses to all sorts of organizations. Eleven hundred people paid $1 apiece to hear him speak in Smith & Nixon's Hall, where he was introduced by Frank T. Chambers. Judge Hoadly, Bellamy Storer, Judge Matthews, R. M. Corwine, William Griswell and others were appointed to arrange for a general meeting of the various Hungarian associations in the city. On the same day he delivered an address occupying one and a half hours to the German population at Turner Hall on Walnut below 14th street. The hall was filled with ladies while the area in the rear of the building used for gymnasium grounds was occupied by several thousand male German citizens. Kossuth spoke from a staging erected on the outside of the building on a level with the hall floor so that he could be heard both by those within and those without. Charles Reemelin also addressed the people in German and presented a formal address lithographed on parch-

ment. At each of these meetings Kossuth was presented with checks for more than $1,000.

The papers of the day contained minute details of Kossuth's movements and the various delegations received by him. On one day he received delegates of the young men of the city under 15, the School Board, the French Association and the pupils of Mr. Herron's school, each of which had presented him with a donation.

On another he sat for his daguerreotype at Mr. Faris' studio, received a delegation of Israelites and addressed a number of Hungarian societies and organizations.

On Thursday afternoon, the 19th, he received a thousand ladies at the Burnet House, where he listened to an address by Mrs. Telford. Immediately after the ladies had listened to a response from Kossuth, the clergy of Cincinnati took possession of him and to these he made another address.

Kossuth's banquet was held Saturday night, February 21st, at the Burnet House. It was attended by 450 people who paid $5 a plate. In the center of the dining hall was suspended a full-length portrait of Washington, with one of Jackson on the right and one of Kossuth on the left. The hall was draped with national flags of both Hungary and Turkey. The table was decorated with representations of the steamship "Mississippi" bearing Kossuth from captivity, liberty columns surmounted with statues of Washington, Franklin and others, a temple of liberty and a figure representing Kossuth trampling the crown of Austria under his feet, a Turkish pavilion, an Egyptian monument, a Western steamer, etc. Tosso's band discoursed pleasant music. J. J. Faran presided. The toasts were 13 in number and were responded to by such speakers as W. M. Corry, Judge Carter, General McDowell of Hillsboro, R. M. Corwine, Caleb B. Smith, Judge Hoadly, Governor Moorehead of Kentucky, J. B. Stallo, Prof. O. M. Mitchel, Lieutenant Nelson of the steamer frigate "Mississippi" and Frank T. Chambers. The toast of welcome was "Here in the wilderness, in the bosom of the great West; in the city of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants whence emanated the first public move in America for his personal cause and also his liberation from captivity, do we welcome Louis Kossuth, the champion of self-government in Europe."

The receptions and addresses continued until Kossuth's departure on the 24th, at which time an enormous gathering of people once more occupied the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot. Kossuth was introduced to the people by Bellamy Storer and was addressed by William S. Groesbeck and responded in one of his most lengthy as well as eloquent speeches.

Not the least interesting result of the visit was a discussion of the Hungarian question between Orestes A. Brownson and J. B. Stallo.

Unfortunately a controversy arose with regard to Kossuth's treatment. He was disappointed in the money raised by him for his cause, but little over $7,000, when he had expected as much as $25,000. There was also a controversy with regard to the hotel bill, which was finally paid by the city.

Francis Pulszky, who accompanied him, comments particularly on the lack of cohesion in the society of Cincinnati:

"I preceded Kossuth thither, in order to deprecate on his part all costly processions, pageantry and banquets, and as he was exhausted already by speeches, I wished to arrange matters so, that he should only once address the multitude, and once those who had formed themselves into associations of friends of Hungary.

"But as soon as I was introduced to the Committee of Arrangements, I saw that my diplomacy must fail. Thirty gentlemen belonged to that body, and the great question was just under discussion, whether besides the Mayor of the City, it should be the Chairman of the City Council, or the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who was to occupy the carriage with the 'City's Guest' at the festive entry. I do not remember how this grave concern was settled, but, of course, it was impossible under such circumstances to carry the proposal that *no* procession should be held. Besides, every coterie claimed a separate speech, and the result was, that Kossuth had to address 'the Big people' of Cincinnati at a banquet, and others again at Nixon's hall, and then the Ladies, and the Northern Germans, and the Southern Germans, and the fashionable public at large, and the lower classes at large, and likewise the inhabitants of Covington, the suburb of Cincinnati on the Kentucky side.

"But this was not the only consequence of the want of homogeneity in the population of Cincinnati. Kossuth several times requested the members of the Committee to allow that he should himself bear his own expenses, and that the appropriation made for his entertainment by the City Council, which had invited him, should be given to the Hungarian fund. The Commit-

the spirits took great interest in Kossuth and his cause and prophesied the speedy deliverance of Hungary. Mrs. Pulszky's concluding remark about this matter is: "I was no longer astonished at the great number of insane persons in this country—above 15,000 in twenty-three millions—one hundred and fifty per cent more in proportion than in Hungary."

Mrs. Pulszky found that Americans, especially in the West, had little leisure to enjoy nature and no art to refine their feelings. "The soul must grow weary of the tinkling of dollars, of the purely material aim of their life. They long for excitement; the ladies grow nervous, and work themselves into trances and visions, and cheat themselves and others. Spiritual circles are formed in lieu of balls and concerts and theaters." (White, Red and Black, pp. 206 and 307.)

THE CITY INFIRMARY

Was opened for the reception of inmates in the year 1852. Previous to this time the paupers of the city had been provided for at the old Commercial Hospital and by a system of outdoor relief. The institution was located near Hartwell not very far from the County Infirmary near Carthage on property formerly belonging to Maj. Daniel Gano. The building, built of gray limestone, was four stories high in the center and at the ends had a frontage of 304 and a depth of 47 feet, in addition to a wing at the center 133 feet in depth and 32 feet wide.

The first private execution held in the jail yard was that of Henry Le Count who expiated upon the gallows at the end of this year the murder of one William Church, committed about six months before. The jail, then on Sycamore north of the canal, was surrounded by an immense crowd and the housetops and windows in the vicinity were packed by the inquisitive populace.

An anti-slavery convention was held in Smith & Nixon's Hall beginning April 27, 1852. Delegates were present from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and other States, including Frederick Douglass and other prominent negroes. This convention particularly represented those anti-slavery agitators who had based their efforts upon religion. Dr. W. H. Brisbane called the meeting to order and Rev. J. G. Fee of Kentucky acted as president. Frederick Douglass took a very active part in the proceedings, which lasted for three days.

THE BEDINI RIOTS.

The so-called Bedini riots occurred in December, 1853. Cincinnati at that time had within its limits a large German population, who were very active in politics as well as in business. In 1850 at a time when the entire population of the city was 115,438, more than 51,000 of this number were foreigners. Of these there were 30,628 Germans and 130 Prussians.

Quite a number of this German element were known as "Forty-eighters," who had taken part in the Rebellion of 1848 and had been obliged to flee from Germany to the land of freedom. These Germans, from the very circumstances of their coming, were men of great force and determination and they felt keenly the political conditions which had made them abandon the land of their birth. They had organized in this country a "Society of Freemen" and this organization, dedicated to the universal equality of man, kept alive the spirit of relentless hatred toward those who had injured them in their old home. Among others they felt that the Papal Nuncio Bedini had been concerned in their troubles in Germany, and when he arrived in Cincinnati as the guest of Archbishop Purcell, a strong feeling of indignation was manifested throughout the German population.

A meeting was called and resolutions were passed demanding that the Nuncio leave the city. After the meeting a number of valiant "Forty-eighters," in all more than 200, started for the Archbishop's residence at Eighth and Central avenue, where it was known that Father Bedini could be found. When they reached the Eighth street park in front of the old city buildings on Plum street, they were met by the entire police force, headed by the chief acting under the orders of Mayor David T. Snelbaker. The officers used their clubs with great vigor and the rioters were soon thrown into a panic which resulted in precipitate flight. A number of shots were fired and as a result 14 people were wounded. One of these, a policeman, died as a result of the wounds and a citizen died from the blows which he received at the hands of the policeman. A number of arrests were made but to quiet the excitement the offenders were dismissed at once. Naturally such an affair aroused the German population especially, as it was claimed that the mob had no intention of doing any injury to Father Bedini but simply desired to make a demonstration. The policemen were

denounced for using their clubs and the citizens were called upon to vindicate their liberties.

Another indignation meeting was called and a committee of 100 was appointed to wait upon the City Council and ask that body to request the mayor for his resignation. The committee followed their instructions but the Council paid no attention to their request. Thereupon a meeting of the committee was held and word was sent to the mayor to appear before them. He notified them that he was too busy to do so, but that he would receive any communication they saw fit to forward to him. This disregard of the wishes of the committee was received with fierce anger and one of their number, Judge Spooner of the Police bench, offered a resolution that since the mayor had refused to comply with their request he should be forced to come and that a large enough body be sent to bring him. At this, Bellamy Storer, who was present, addressed the assemblage and urged upon them that they had reached the limits of their authority. They had the right to express their disapproval of the action of a public servant but could do no more without violating the law themselves. His counsel prevailed and the meeting adjourned. The mayor, however, was forced by public opinion to dismiss his chief of police, Thomas Looken. Much feeling was engendered by this affair, which lasted for some years.

THE KISSANE CASE.

A remarkable trial of this period began December 9th. It is known as the Kissane case, and grew out of the burning of the steamboat "Martha Washington," which took place on the Lower Mississippi in January of the previous year. A number of passengers perished in the flames. Subsequently Sidney C. Burton, of Cleveland, charged William Kissane, L. L. Filley, the brothers Chapin and others with conspiring to burn the boat for the purpose of obtaining large amounts of money as insurance. It was claimed that no merchandise had been shipped on the boat more valuable than bricks, stones and rubbish. A number of prosecutions followed at Lebanon, Cincinnati, and at Helena, Arkansas, as a result of which Kissane escaped conviction of any crime in connection with the "Martha Washington." But to obtain money to carry on his defense, Kissane in the summer of 1854 committed a forgery upon the Chemical National Bank of New York, for which he served a term in Sing Sing. Burton was afterwards indicted for subornation of perjury in the "Martha Washington" cases but died in December, 1855. His death was charged by many to poison. The matter, which was full of complications, is still a favorite subject for those who delight in mystery.

In 1853 was completed the new City Building between Eighth and Ninth streets, lying west of Plum. The ground cost $60,000 and the building about $27,000. Fronting on Plum street was a park of little over an acre. A one-story structure had been erected during the preceding year and had been first occupied in February, 1852. The second story was added after the building had been found to be too small for city purposes. The building completed in 1853 served the city for 35 years.

THE YOUNG MEN'S GYMNASIUM ASSOCIATION

Was organized in the summer of 1853 by a number of young men who had been connected with Barrett's Gymnasium on Third street. Rooms were first secured in the Apollo Building at Fifth and Walnut but by 1810 the gymnasium was moved to the so-called Commercial Building at Fourth and Race. After a time quarters were obtained in the Le Boutillier Building on Fourth between Vine and Race.

The distinguished visitor of this year was William Chambers, the Edinburgh publisher. He was particularly impressed with the condition of the educational institutions in Cincinnati. He stated that he had never seen a town of its size so well provided with publishers, libraries and reading rooms.

The paid fire department dates from April 1, 1853, having been organized under an ordinace of March 10, 1853.

An anti-Nebraska convention was held in Cincinnati on March 7, 1854, at which Judge Hall presided. Among the speakers were Charles Reemelin, Judge Timothy Walker and Bellamy Storer and the committee on resolutions included Bellamy Storer, E. D. Mansfield, John W. Ellis, Patrick Mallon, Henry B. Blackwell, Charles E. Cist and Stanley Matthews. This meeting was participated in by citizens of all parties and an especially large number of Germans were present.

In May the new Superior Court, consisting of Judges Bellamy Storer, O. M. Spencer and W. Y. Gholson, began its sessions, which have continued for 50 years. This court has always maintained a very high reputation and upon its bench have sat some of the nation's greatest jurists.

THE ARRISON INFERNAL MACHINE.

While the record of the crimes committed in Cincinnati during the century of its existence is neither interesting nor profitable reading (despite the fact that Col. William De Beck published as a book "for the family" a history of the murders of the Queen City) there are a few instances of such peculiar character as call for mention. One of the most remarkable is the Arrison case, which occurred on an evening of June, 1854. About a week before this date, a fine looking stranger called upon Dr. A. H. Baker to make inquiries as to a medical student named Isaac H. Allison. After stating that he expected to see him in less than a week he took his departure. Baker spoke of the matter to Allison, who said that he supposed the man was a gambler who, because of a previous difficulty, maintained a grudge against him. Nothing more was seen of the man and the occurrence passed from the minds of both Baker and Allison. On June 26th, about nine o'clock in the evening, a man answering the description of the stranger stopped a couple of boys on Longworth street and employed them to carry a box to Mr. Allison, who was the steward of the Marine Hospital at the southwest corner of Western row and Longworth street. He cautioned them not to shake the box for fear of damaging the contents. The boys took the box and left it at a haberdasher's named Stockton, whose store was in the building of the Marine Hospital. The box was wrapped in brown paper and tied with a cord. Attached to it was a card, addressed to Mr. Allison, Marine Hospital, corner of Western row and Longworth street, Cincinnati. The clerk who received the box carried it to Dr. John W. Baker, who was seated at the door of his office in the same building, with the request to hand it to Mr. Allison. Dr. Baker was busy for the moment and laid the box on the table. Dr. Cummins casually picked up the box and shook it. It was about a foot long, six inches wide and weighed from 10 to 15 pounds. As he shook the box, he heard a hard substance rattling inside. A moment later Dr. Baker started with the box up stairs. At the head of the stairs he met Allison's wife, who was the matron of the hospital, and handed the box to her. She took it to her room and gave it to her husband. Allison sat down upon a chair and after untying the strings and taking off the paper commenced pulling off the sliding top of the box and immediately a terrific explosion took place. The two Drs. Baker, hearing the report, at first supposed that it was thunder. They then heard the ceiling falling and the walls tremble and the screams from the Allisons' room. They immediately rushed in and found the room filled with dust of the falling plaster and powder smoke. The bed clothes were on fire and Mrs. Allison was ablaze. Dr. Baker tore the clothes from her body and soon succeeded in extinguishing the fire. Allison was then heard calling for help. The room was absolutely dark and a light was hastily procured. Then Allison was seen crawling along the floor on his hands and knees towards the window. His clothes were burning and the whole front of his body torn out so that his entrails protruded from his abdomen. He was picked up and carried into an adjoining room and Mrs. Allison, who was seen to be badly injured, was carried to a room in the first story. It was learned at once that Allison could not live. To inquirers he stated that it was evident that the box contained a torpedo and that he suspected a man named Arrison of the crime. There were found in his legs 22 balls, slug shots and pieces of iron. His abdomen, hands and face were dreadfully burned and both his eyes burned out. After suffering intense pain for a little over an hour, he died in great agony at half-past twelve. Mrs. Allison was so wounded in one arm that it was found necessary to amputate it. Her other hand, as well as her face, shoulders and breast, were badly burned. Both Allison and his wife were young and attractive people of good family and were possessed of many friends. Mrs. Allison died the following day, after suffering great agony. The noise of the explosion was so great as to be heard all over that part of the city. A special police force was assigned to search for the murderer and a reward was offered for his apprehension. It developed at once that the box had been made about four days before by McCullough & Hively on Fifth street. After it was finished, the person who had ordered it brought it back to have it made larger. A description of this person corresponded with that of the man who gave the box to the boys and also to that of the purchaser of some fulminating powder at Saulsbury's drug store. This person named Arrison was a fellow student of Allison in the college. During the temporary absence of Dr. Baker, he had been appointed assistant surgeon in the hospital at which time he had a slight controversy with the steward, Mr. Alli-

son. From this came a challenge which however was not accepted. A little later in a dispute about a book, the lie was given and as a result Allison knocked Arrison down. The latter had given out on the Saturday evening previous that he was about to go to his home in Iowa but was seen in the city on the following Monday. Apparently the murderer had little scruple about human life for he told the boys to whom he gave the box he carried to stay and see it opened and they would see the prettiest thing they had ever seen in their lives. The object of this was of course to prevent their appearing against him. Arrison had disappeared however and could not be found. An accident disclosed his whereabouts. He wrote to a friend in the city asking if the excitement had subsided and if the police were still on his track. This letter was by accident delivered to a person other than the one to whom it was addressed who turned it over to Marshal Ruffin. Ruffin and another officer at once started for Iowa where they found Arrison. At first he denied his identity and made an effort to get possession of a revolver but he was handcuffed and brought to Cincinnati for trial. He was tried for the murder of Allison and for some strange reason escaped the death penalty, being sentenced to the penitentiary for 10 years. At the end of his term he had the assurance to return to the city. A movement was started to try him for the murder of Mrs. Allison and he prudently left the city and returned to Iowa.

Robert Russell, a Scotchman particularly interested in the agricultural development of the country, visited the city in October, 1854. He tells us that "the streets are wide, with rows of trees along the sidewalks, and many of the private dwellings, shops and hotels are built in a style of great magnificence. The streets however have long been noted for their filthiness, and are still overrun with hungry pigs that feed upon the offal that is thrown out of doors. These brutes act the part of scavengers, and belonging to no one, those who choose may catch and kill. The most of them however are lean and hungry looking, and do not tempt even the Irishmen who abound in the city to reduce their numbers." The beauty and magnificence of the country as seen from the brow of Mount Adams surpassed anything he had seen in the country. He visited Mr. Longworth's wine vaults, drank of the sparkling Catawba and was duly impressed. Mr. Buchanan's residence especially pleased him. While in the city there was a run for gold on several of the banks and several had suspended payment. The others followed suit shortly after his departure. (North America, p. 83.)

THE KNOW NOTHING RIOTS.

The municipal election held April 2, 1855, was bitterly contested and resulted in a riot "Over the Rhine" between the Germans and the Know Nothings. In this contest J. J. Faran was the candidate of the Democratic party for mayor. He was opposed by J. D. Taylor representing the American or Know Nothing party. During the day the story got about that in the German wards over the canal those designing to vote for the so-called American party were not to be permitted to exercise the franchise and at some of the voting places there were possibly some irregularities. This story was much exaggerated and finally a number of young men gathered in the lower part of the city and marched towards the Vine street bridge. The contest arose over a cannon which had been placed by the Germans in such a position as to sweep the bridge. Fortunately the intervention of more peaceful citizens stopped the violence for a time. In the evening a meeting was held at the Fifth street market place, as a result of which a squad of half grown men and boys with fife, drum and flag marched up Vine street and over the bridge. Here the Germans were gathered in considerable force and fired upon the attacking crowd from the windows of their houses wounding several. The "patriotic" Americans were swept back for a time. The German residents thereupon prepared a breastwork across Vine street near Freeman's Hall. Drays, wagons and carts were placed in great numbers along the sidewalks and across the street interlocked with each other and behind this invention were perhaps 5,000 people armed with "stones, sticks, bludgeons, revolvers, muskets, carbines, rifles, slingshots and all the various instruments of offensive and defensive warfare." In the crowd were the Sarstield Guards and several German military companies as well as a large number of Irish citizens. Patrols were parading about the streets preparing to give the alarm and the foreign citizens remained encamped for a day or so until all danger of the attack was over.

In the contest on election day the foreman of one of the breweries was killed by a Know Nothing and this, according to some accounts, precipitated the fight. Mr. Roe in his history of the police force quotes the account of the *New York Tribune* of April 7, 1855, to the effect that the

Americans took possession of the ballot boxes and destroyed the tickets and that they turned out en masse and taking a cannon from the Dutch and Irish turned it upon them and fired, as a result of which 10 or 12 persons were thought to be killed and many wounded. Another account told of a party of rowdies going to a German drinking house where they demanded beer. After receiving it, they broke up everything in the house, knocked the proprietor senseless and assaulted his wife and children. After this, they left the premises and meeting four Germans on the sidewalk knocked down three and fatally stabbed the fourth. Naturally the Germans armed themselves in self defense. In the work already cited the statement is made of the theory that this riot was caused by professional gamblers who had staked large sums of money on the election. These men had obtained admission to the Know Nothing society and gained possession of its signs and passwords and when they saw that the election bade fair to go against them they called the members of the party together with the purpose of destroying the ballot box in the strongest German ward in the city, hoping to gain the election by that means. The story of this riot is clouded in much obscurity and a careful reading of the local papers of the time gives little assistance in obtaining the real facts. Party passions ran so high that any and all stories were believed and at this late date it is impossible to determine the merits of the uprising.

On the evening of the day after election, a Newport citizen named Morgan was shot on Vine street from an upper window. Over 10,000 Americans wearing the small white soft hat known as the Know Nothing hat took part in his funeral.

MEETING OF LINCOLN AND STANTON.

In 1855 a meeting took place in Cincinnati between two men who were afterwards associated during the most critical times of the nation's history,—Edwin M. Stanton and Abraham Lincoln. In view of the fact that the latter subsequently in the darkest days of the war turned to Stanton for aid in saving the Union in spite of the fact that there was supposed to be a personal hostility between the two as a result of the Cincinnati association, some account of their meeting properly belongs in the history of the city where it took place. The occasion of the meeting was the suit of McCormick against Manny. McCormick was represented by the celebrated patent lawyer E. N. Dickerson and Reverdy Johnson. Manny had employed P. H. Watson to take control of the case for him. He associated with him George Harding, another celebrated patent lawyer. In those days in patent cases it was regarded as essential to employ associate counsel of high standing and of recognized ability in the general practice of law, who although not especially familiar with mechanical questions could discuss the general features of the case. Reverdy Johnson had been selected by Mr. McCormick for this part of his case. At the suggestion of Mr. Manny, Mr. Watson wrote to Mr. Lincoln sending him a retainer of $500 and asking him to read the testimony as it was taken so that he might be prepared to argue the case if called upon. Mr. Harding, however, had desired that Mr. Stanton who then lived at Pittsburg should act in this capacity for Mr. Manny. The case was a very important one, involving the monopoly of the reaping machines and a special claim of $400,000 damages. For this reason Mr. Watson visited Mr. Lincoln at Springfield and Mr. Stanton at Pittsburg. He finally engaged the latter and told him that he was to make the closing argument in the case. This conclusion was not learned by Mr. Lincoln until all the parties met at Cincinnati for the trial. Lincoln had written out his arguments in full and was very anxious to meet Reverdy Johnson in the contest. He was very much disappointed at Mr. Watson's decision, especially as the opposing counsel offered to permit all three defendant lawyers to speak, provided that Mr. Dickerson be permitted to make two arguments. Mr. Dickerson's well known ability, for he was at that time the leading patent lawyer in the country, precluded the defense from accepting this offer and it was decided that Mr. Lincoln should not speak. He attended the hearing however and submitted his brief to Mr. Harding, but would not consent that it should be shown to Mr. Stanton. He thought the latter should have insisted upon all the counsel participating in the argument, although Stanton was simply carrying out the positive directions of his client. As a result of this meeting Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton never came into close personal relations until after the latter's appointment to Lincoln's cabinet. It is probable that this disappointment was the principal cause of Lincoln's unquestioned bitter feeling towards Stanton. (Mr. Harding's statement in Tarbell's Lincoln, Vol. I, p. 260.)

The story that Stanton, who at that time simply saw in Lincoln his gaunt and rugged

features, his awkward dress and carriage and heard only his rural jokes, was so discourteous as to ridicule within his hearing his personal appearance and call him a baboon is probably untrue. Lamon puts in Stanton's mouth the declaration that he would not "associate with such damned gawky, long armed ape as that" and that "if he could not have a man who was a gentleman in appearance with him in the case he would abandon it." Lamon's account however is so inaccurate in all its details and his love of gossip so pronounced that his authority as well as that of Herndon is not of great value. (Lamon's Recollections of Lincoln, p. 231.)

The statement of Ralph Emerson of Rockford, Illinois, who was with Lincoln in the United States Court room during the trial gives an interesting view, not only of Lincoln's feeling at this time but the impression made upon him by the Ohio bar in which Mr. Stanton was a member although then living at Pittsburg. Mr. Emerson says that Lincoln was so disappointed that it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to remain during the hearing. After the case progressed two days however, he expressed satisfaction that he was not to take part in the argument as he had become convinced that he was not sufficiently prepared to cope with such giants in the law. The court room was crowded during the first few days but afterwards thinned out. Mr. Lincoln's interest in the case increased until he appeared to forget himself and he would walk to and fro in the court room and express such interest and delight in his countenance and action as the various points were unfolded as to make a marked impression upon all who were present, including the judges. Mr. Stanton's final summing up, to which he had devoted many weeks in preparation, occupied but three hours. It was very able and closed with a flight of impassioned eloquence. Lincoln listened with rapt attention and after the court adjourned walked away with Emerson apparently deeply dejected. Finally he said to Emerson that he was going home to study law. Emerson remonstrated stating that he stood at the head of the Illinois bar already. Lincoln's answer was: "I do occupy a good position there and I think I can get along with the way things are done there now. But these college trained men who have devoted their whole lives to study are coming West, don't you see, and they study their cases as we never do. They have got as far as Cincinnati now. They will soon be in Illinois. I am going home to study law. I am as good as any of them and when they get out to Illinois I will be ready for them." (Tarbell's Lincoln, Vol. I, p. 266.)

On February 16, 1855, a grand amateur dramatic performance for the benefit of charity was given at the National Theatre. The performance was opened by a reading from "Mazeppa" by Judge Timothy Walker, which was followed by a comic song written for the occasion by Judge Carter and sung by Master Carter. The song was filled with allusions to the performance and was a great success. The third act of "Hamlet" was the next feature. In this Charles Anderson took part of the "melancholy Dane," William H. Lytle was "the ghost" and Mrs. Gladstone, "Ophelia" and Mrs. Nourse, "Queen Gertrude." Other performers were Attorney Frank T. Chambers, T. A. O'Conner, Augustus Bradley, M. B. Coombs and William B. Cassilly. Mr. Anderson's performance was a great success and as is usual on all such occasions the audience concluded that as a lawyer he had mistaken his vocation. His make-up with black hair and beard was particularly successful, as he was commonly known as "White Headed Charlie." After this came some songs. These were followed by the third act of the "Merchant of Venice" in which M. B. Coombs took the part of "Shylock" and other parts were taken by George J. Guilford, Leonard Woodruff and A. B. Merriman. A scene from Coleman's "Iron Chest" was given by Charles M. Barras, W. Young and J. R. Johnson. The success of Barras was so great that he was called before the curtain where he made a highly humorous speech. Col. James Taylor of Newport followed with a recitation from "Manfred." Mr. Barras made another hit in a character scene in which he gave a Dutch song with hurdy gurdy accompaniment. The performance concluded with "Bombastes Furioso" in which William B. Cassilly, William J. Flagg, Henry Reed (the editor of the *Commercial*), Leonard Woodruff, Judge Flinn, John L. Stettinius, James McMasters, W. M. Owen and J. J. McDowell and Mrs. Chapman took part. Mr. Stettinius took the part of the fat boy. The performance was very successful financially as well as artistically.

A well known theatre of the time before the war, located at the southeast corner of Sixth and Vine, and known as the People's Theatre, was burned June 13, 1856. Not long afterwards on this site was erected the theatre so dear to the memory of many now living,—Wood's Theatre. Here for a time appeared some of the best

known actors of the country. It was finally demolished to make way for the Hulbert Building, erected for the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

On June 6, 1855, a serious accident happened at the Dayton Short Line tunnel on Walnut Hills. A party of men were engaged in excavating the tunnel at a point about 400 feet from the northern entrance and while thus employed the tunnel caved in, killing five of the workmen.

THE FILIBUSTERS CASE.

An interesting case that occupied the attention of the public in the early part of 1850 was the so-called Filibusters case in which the United States, represented by Thomas Corwin, George R. Sage and John Probasco, prosecuted Edward Kennifeck, Joseph W. Burke, and others, represented by William S. Groesbeck, Patrick Mallon and Donn Piatt under the neutrality act. The charge was that the defendants, members of the Robert Emmet branch of the Emigrant Aid Society in the State of Ohio were attempting an expedition against the territory of England with whom the United States was at peace. This proceeding was heard before Judge Leavitt and was remarkable not only for the ability of the counsel engaged but also for the intensity of feelings aroused among the public, particularly the Irish citizens who attended the hearings in very large numbers. The examination was full of dramatic incidents, some of which partook of a nature of an anti-climax. The streets were so obstructed by the crowds that the marshal of the court was obliged to take special steps to prevent the gathering of people in front of the Government Building. The case lasted for almost a month but in the end the defendants were discharged.

A curious note in the newspaper account of the proceedings during one of the days of this trial states that the court was obliged to suspend for a time to permit certain fugitive slaves to be taken through the room by the marshal. These slaves were the luckless Margaret Garner party.

THE CINCINNATI PIONEER ASSOCIATION.

On November 23, 1856, at a meeting at the Dennison House was organized the Cincinnati Pioneer Association. William Perry who arrived in the city on July 2, 1805, was chosen president and J. L. Vattier, a native of the city born in the same year, was selected as secretary. This organization was formed for the purpose of gathering and preserving reminiscences and information connected with the settlement and history of the city previous to 1812, and only those were eligible who could show a residence in the State prior to that year. At a later time as the ranks were thinned by the deaths of many of the older members, the year 1815 was fixed upon as the date to determine eligibility and again at a still later time a residence of 55 years became the test. The society incorporated in its membership many of the most prominent pioneer citizens and held regular meetings for a period of almost 40 years. Its secretary during most of the time was the veteran John D. Caldwell, to whom as much as to any other man the city is indebted for the preservation of the details of its early history. Under the auspices of this organization, Mr. Caldwell printed a number of interesting contributions concerning the history of Cincinnati. At its meetings the most distinguished citizens of the State delivered addresses, many of which are of permanent value. The minutes of the society, largely in Mr. Caldwell's handwriting, extend from the period of the organization to the meeting of December 28, 1889, and contain not only much information of great value but hundreds of signatures of pioneers together with genealogical and historical notes. These minutes have recently become the property of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

THE CONVENTION OF 1856.

The National Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati June 2, 1856. There were three prominent candidates before the convention: James Buchanan, Franklin Pierce and Stephen A. Douglas. The Southern delegates favored Pierce at the outset because of his policy in the Kansas struggle, but subsequently changed to Douglas. The Northern delegates were in the main for Buchanan. The convention continued for five days and on the 17th ballot James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky were nominated for President and Vice-President, respectively.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

In July, 1856, the Ohio School Library, the predecessor of our present Public Library, which had been organized under a law of 1853 by virtue of an arrangement with the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, opened its quarters in the building of that institution at the corner of Sixth and Vine with a collection of 11,630 volumes of which a little over half were the property of the Ohio Me-

chanics' Institute. During the first year 2,400 persons took 20,179 books from the library. A catalogue of 114 pages, prepared it is said by the high school boys, was printed in January, 1857.

By a vote of the citizens in February of this year the city loaned its credit to the extent of $100,000 to the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad.

THE WINTER OF 1856-57.

The early part of the year 1857 was a period of great distress. The winter was a very severe one and fuel was very scarce. As a result of the coal famine, the price of coal went as high as 75 and 80 cents a bushel. It is said that in the extremities of the time the poor were obliged to burn furniture and household goods to withstand the zero weather. The City Council was finally prevailed upon by Hon. Benjamin Eggleston, then chairman of the finance committee, to pass an ordinance by which $100,000 was donated by the city as a loan fund. The railways were prevailed upon to devote the exclusive use of freight trains for a time to the handling of coal and deliveries were restricted to three bushels at a time. As a result, the price of coal soon fell and matters readjusted themselves. As a matter of fact the city lost very little of its loan fund, as it was almost altogether repaid.

Benjamin Eggleston was born January 3, 1816, at Corinth, New York. In 1831 his family moved to Ohio and he became engaged in commercial pursuits and associated with the business of the Ohio Canal. In 1845 he moved to Cincinnati and entered into partnership with James Wilson. His firm continued under the name of James Wilson & Company until the death of Mr. Wilson in 1867, when the latter was succeeded by his sons and the firm became known as Wilson, Eggleston & Company. For many years Mr. Eggleston held various positions of trust in the city, State and national government. He was chairman of the Board of Public Improvements, president of the Council, State Senator and Member of Congress. During his chairmanship of the finance committee in 1857, he succeeded as just stated in securing an appropriation of $100,000 to relieve the distressed and in reducing the price of coal from 80 to 25 cents per bushel. Again in 1863, upon a repetition of the coal famine, he succeeded in relieving the distress of many. At the outbreak of the Civil War he secured an appropriation of $100,000 from the Council which was disbursed in small weekly sums to some 3,700 families, many of these the families of soldiers at the front who were left without means of support. He was instrumental in 1862 in passing a bill levying a tax for a relief fund for the State volunteers. It was due to his efforts that the Legislature ceded to the city that portion of the canal extending from Broadway to the river over which was built a street now known as Eggleston avenue. In 1864 he was elected to Congress from the First District, defeating his Democratic opponent in what was regarded as a Democratic district by over 3,000 majority and two years later he defeated George H. Pendleton in the same district. Owing to his efforts, Cincinnati was made a port of entry. He was defeated in 1868 by Gen. P. W. Strader. He was at a later time reelected to the Board of Councilmen. He was throughout his life largely interested in newspapers of the city, particularly of the *Times*.

The continued cold weather of the winter of 1856-57 caused the Ohio River to freeze solid from shore to shore and the papers of those days record repeated escapes on the part of the slaves who took advantage of this unusual addition to the "Underground Railway" to make for the North. The breaking of the ice which occurred on the 4th of February was accompanied with much damage. Six steamers were wrecked and a large number of ferries and boats of all sorts seriously damaged.

Throughout the year 1857 the matter of fugitive slaves excited much interest and occupied much time of the courts. A number of bitter trials were held in the United States and State courts and there were numerous conflicts of jurisdiction between Federal and State authorities.

A terrible tragedy of July was the murder of Nicholas T. Horton, a very prominent merchant who lived on Ohio avenue on Vine street hill. He was stabbed to death by a servant named Loefner who had also killed his own wife in an insane fit of jealousy. Loefner tried to commit suicide but failed in spite of repeated attempts. He was finally sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

An interesting advertisement which appeared quite frequently in the papers during the time of the Kansas-Nebraska excitement was that of Hinkle, Guild & Company of No. 365 West Front street. This firm offered "frame buildings for Kansas and Nebraska entirely different from the portable cottage we formerly built." The

advertisement shows the plans of four houses, the smallest of which—15 feet square and seven feet 10 inches high—sold for $80. Another house covering twice the ground surface contained two rooms and cost $145. A third house was much more pretentious; it was 15 by 30 feet and two stories high with two rooms in each story, containing 10 windows and 10 doors and sold for $200. An even more elaborate structure was a double house, 30 by 30 feet square, two stories high, which sold for $485 and weighed 19,378 pounds. These houses were made so that they could be taken apart and transported by railroad or steamboat. They were delivered by the manufacturers "all framed with lumber, carpenter work, hardware, paper and paint for roof, all packed and delivered at railroad depot or wharf" and but a few days' carpenter work was needed to set them up and finish them.

THE OHIO & MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD.

An incident of this year (1857) of interest to Cincinnati was the laying of the last rail of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad which took place at a point six miles east of Mitchell, Indiana, on Wednesday, April 15, 1857. A large party left Cincinnati to join an equally large party from St. Louis in the celebration of this important event. The last spike was driven by Daniel D. Bacon. Among others who drove spikes were S. S. L'Hommedieu and C. W. West. The party then entered engines which passed over the newly laid track after which they indulged in a banquet and returned to their homes, announcing that the trains would run regularly over the road about the first of May. The grand celebration of the completion of this road and the opening of a route by railroad from Baltimore to St. Louis took place in June at Baltimore and St. Louis. A large party passed over the road from end to end. When the guests reached Cincinnati, they were welcomed by Mayor Thomas and taken to the Burnet House where both Governor Chase and General Cass addressed them. An exhibition of steam fire engines was given in the Fifth street market space, which was a great success. In the evening the crowd collected in front of the Burnet House and were addressed by Hon. T. F. Marshal of Kentucky and others. At St. Louis the exercises were very elaborate. Responses on behalf of the State of Ohio and Cincinnati were delivered by Professor Mitchel and William J. Flagg. One of the speakers in St. Louis was Charles D. Drake, formerly of Cincinnati. The celebration beginning at Baltimore and ending at St. Louis lasted practically throughout the week ending June 6th, and was said to have been the most elaborate and costly affair of the kind ever seen in this country.

THE OHIO LIFE INSURANCE & TRUST COMPANY FAILURE.

On Wednesday, August 26, 1857, the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company failed to open its doors. Third street became for a time the center of the city life. The morning papers had announced that the bank would not open and this drew an enormous crowd to this point. By nine o'clock it was impossible to pass through the streets. The crowd lingered all day long and the excitement was great. Fortunately there was no run at the time on other banks of the city. It was felt that the trust company's misfortune was the result of bad management in its New York branch and there was every expectation that it would soon reopen its doors. As the news came in from New York during the day, it became apparent that the matter was more serious than was supposed. The liabilities of the company were estimated by the *Tribune* at from five to seven millions and the assets of the bank to the extent of two millions were attached by foreign creditors. It soon became apparent that the stockholders would lose everything. This seemed all the more remarkable as the stock had sold in New York during the preceding week almost at par and but a few days before the directors themselves had bought a number of shares. The local branch of the bank issued a statement of its affairs in Cincinnati, claiming to show assets of over five millions with liabilities of less than three millions, making an excess of assets over liabilities exclusive of capital almost two millions and a half. It became apparent very soon that the demoralization in financial circles was not confined to any one institution. The Central Bank of Messrs. Hatch and Langdon finally suspended payment, to be followed a little later by the Citizens' (Smead, Collard and Hughes) and the City Bank. All these institutions claimed to have assets largely in excess of their liabilities. The return of the investigating committee composed of W. W. Scarborough and William Hooper, who had been sent East to examine into the affairs of the trust company, brought little consolation to Cincinnati financial circles. It

was perfectly clear that the company was a wreck. The hope that the difficulties would be tided over very soon disappeared. The trust company's checks fell to 25 cents on the dollar and the market generally showed great weakness. In October came the general suspension of the New York banks, followed quickly by suspensions throughout the country. The Ohio banks, however, fared better than most of the banks of the country and although there was great distress as a result of the scarcity of money and a panic throughout the country there were no further serious failures. It became necessary, however, by reason of the hard times to distribute food to the poor citizens which was done at public expense.

The disposition of the assets of the trust company became the subject of a controversy between the United States Court and the Superior Court of Cincinnati. It finally reached the point of absolute disagreement. The Superior Court obtained possession through the sheriff and refused to turn over the property to James P. Kilbreath and N. C. McLean, the receivers appointed by the United States Court. Matters came to a deadlock and finally the attorneys agreed upon an arrangement by which Messrs. Kilbreath and Charles Reemelin became the trustees under the appointment of the Superior Court and to them were turned over the assets listed at the time at a little over a million dollars.

EMERSON, SCOTT AND JENNY LIND.

A prominent visitor of the year 1857 was Ralph Waldo Emerson who delivered his lecture "The Conduct of Life" at Smith & Nixon's Hall in January. He was entertained by the Literary Club and other organizations during his visit to the city.

Gen. Winfield Scott was the guest of the city on April 8th. He was greeted at the Public Landing by about 10,000 people while a military salute was fired by the Red Rover Artillery. Accompanied by a vast procession he drove to the Burnet House, where he was met by the citizens.

Less than a week later arrived the great Swedish songstress, Jenny Lind, accompanied by her manager, P. T. Barnum. She was also received with enthusiasm despite the fact that Barnum succeeded in misleading the awaiting crowd as to her identity. She made her first appearance at the National Theatre on April 14th, where she sang "I Know that My Redeemer Liveth," selections from "La Sonnambula," "Il Turcoin Italia," "Bird Song" and "Home, Sweet Home." Critical opinions for once coincided with the popular approval. She gave several concerts while here and met with great success.

On Saturday, March 7, 1857, occurred the obsequies of the celebrated Arctic traveler, Elisha Kent Kane. His remains which were on their way East were received by a committee of citizens at Vevay, Indiana, and were brought to the foot of Fifth street on board the "Champion." Here they were met by a large procession of citizens which escorted them to the depot on Front street. The bells in the city tolled and the Red Rover Artillery fired minute guns during the exercises. At the Little Miami depot the body was placed upon a train and forwarded on its way to Columbus.

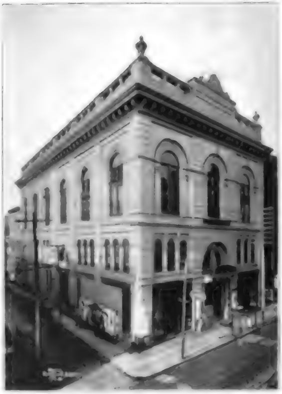
A prominent citizen, Jacob Wykoff Piatt, died May 28th. His wife survived him almost 57 years.

Among the deaths of this year was that of Mary Goforth Gano, which occurred July 5, 1857. She was the daughter of William Goforth and wife of John S. Gano and landed with the first party that came to Columbia in November, 1788. She lived in Cincinnati or its neighborhood almost 70 years and died in her 89th year. She lived to see two of the fifth generation of her family,—one a daughter of Dr. O. D. Norton and another a son of D. G. Ray.

On almost the last day of the year, Thomas Emery fell through a hatchway in his new building at the corner of Vine and Water streets. When he was picked up in the cellar, he was found to be dead. Thomas Emery was born in Bedford, England, in 1799. He came to Cincinnati in the early "thirties" and almost immediately took a prominent part in the business life of the city. In 1841 he became seriously embarrassed financially and was obliged to enter into a composition with his creditors. Subsequently his business once more prospered and he discharged every dollar of his former obligations with interest. He became a man of great wealth and was interested in most of the public affairs of the city. His death was regarded as a public misfortune and his funeral at the Ninth Street Baptist Church was attended by a very large number of citizens, including the entire Chamber of Commerce and many other commercial bodies.

A fire of July 14, 1857, destroyed the well known museum and theatre of Colonel Wood, at


THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY BUILDING.
(Joseph G. Steinkamp & Bro., Architects.)


THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE.


THE THIRD NATIONAL BANK.


THE CINCINNATI LAW SCHOOL.

the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut in the Broadwell Building.

The City Council at a meeting held January 29, 1858, passed an ordinance directing the purchase of the Orphan Asylum lot at the southeast corner of Elm and 14th streets for the purpose of a public park and also an ordinance for the purchase of the Episcopal Burying Ground lying between 14th, 12th, Race and Elm streets. This is the property now covered by Washington Park.

A distinguished visitor of the year 1858 was the well known song writer, Dr. Charles Mackay, who was the guest of the Burns Club at a banquet at the Burnet House in January. Mackay wrote a series of letters relating to his travels in this country which, published shortly after his departure, gave great offense to the slaveholders of the South.

Shortly after the death of Charles McMicken, which occurred on March 30, 1858, it became known that he had left a will by which provision was made for the education of the white children of the city. Litigation almost immediately followed the probating of the will and it was some time before any actual results were apparent; however the city almost immediately took action by passing an ordinance establishing McMicken University and electing a board of directors, of which Rufus King was the first president. The war and litigation with regard to the funds so interfered however with the plans of the directors that it was not for 10 years that any instruction was given under the auspices of the University.

One of the first deaths of the year 1858 was that of Capt. Presley N. Guthrie, who had been a soldier in the Mexican War and after the war was over had organized a volunteer company in this city which became known as the Guthrie Greys.

Among the casualties of the year were an explosion which took place in the gas pipes leading into the basement of the Methodist Church on Sixth street and an explosion of an infernal machine by which one Pryor P. Lee, the engineer at the Cincinnati Type Foundry, was injured. There were also several murders; in fact during the dozen or more years prior to the war murders seemed to be in the ordinary course of events.

PIKE'S OPERA HOUSE.

An interesting event of February, 1859, was the opening of the new Pike's Opera House, which took place on Washington's Birthday. This temple of amusement was regarded at the time as the finest of its class in the country and stood with the greatest theatres of the world. The building itself was five stories high and built of bluish gray sandstone. Its front was 134 feet and its depth 190 feet. The front of the building was elaborately ornamented with colossal figures, representing music, poetry, agriculture and astronomy as well as a bas-relief of Shakespeare and Mozart. There were three grand entrances, that in the center being 12 feet in width. At the head of the stairs a grand lobby laid in black and white marble tile ran the entire width of the building. This opened into reception rooms and a large promenade hall used on grand opera nights which was 130 feet long, 33 feet wide and 25 feet high. The auditorium itself was 98 feet square and 82 feet high and contained three tiers. The ceiling was most elaborately decorated as was in fact the entire interior of the house. The proscenium was 22 feet wide and 50 feet high and 50 feet in the clear from right to left. It contained six private boxes 15 by 18 feet, each lighted by an interior chandelier and gorgeously furnished throughout. The stage was 58 by 90 feet. The building had a seating capacity of 3,000. The cost of the structure exceeded a half million dollars. The architect of the front was H. White of New York and of the interior John Trimble of New York. A number of local houses took part in the building of the structure. The building was by William Wiswell, stone work by Isaac Graveson, the iron work by Miles Greenwood, gas work by McHenry & Carson, doors by Daniel DeCamp, marble work by Charles Rule, plastering by D. Dale and plumbing by Gibson & Company.

The opening of this beautiful theatre was signalized by a testimonial festival given by the citizens to Samuel N. Pike, the proprietor. A copy of the invitation preserved in the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, reads, as follows:

INAUGURATION FESTIVAL
OF
PIKE'S OPERA HOUSE,
FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 22d, 1859.
BY THE
CITIZENS OF CINCINNATI,
COMPLIMENTARY TO SAMUEL N. PIKE, ESQ.

The pleasure of _____
company is respectfully solicited at the Festival,
Inaugurating Pike's Opera House, on the
evening of the 22d of February, 1859.

COMMITTEE ON INVITATIONS.

Judge Jas. Hall,	Chas. Hartshorne,
Jacob Strader,	Peter A. White,
Wm. Key Bond,	G. G. Enyart,
Larz Anderson,	Joshua Yorke,
Geo. H. Shoemberger,	G. W. Woodward,
Geo. Shillito,	J. L. Stettinius,
Sam'l Wiggins,	T. M. Winston.
T. J. Gallagher,	

The staging for the ball was built over the parquette and extended back to the extreme south of the stage. Here was erected a little platform with a scene behind of palaces and colonnades, in front of which played a fountain which supported conical figures and twirled a Chinese umbrella. Around about were growing trees and plants. The seats were in the dress circle as well as in the boxes. The music was given by Menter's Band and Jonas' Orchestra and included 26 selections of which but two were waltzes. There were four promenade grand marches and 13 quadrilles. The company was estimated at 2,000, many of whom it is said had never seen a ball before. Supper was served by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and the catering establishment of Mr. Morris.

The grand inaugural opera night of Pike's Opera House was March 15, 1850, on which occasion was produced the opera of "Martha" under the direction of Maurice Strakosch. In the cast were Madame Pauline Colson, Madame Strakosch, Signor Brignoli, Maurel, Junca and Nicola Klebs. On the following night "La Favorita" was given with Madame Parodi, Barili and Brignoli, which was followed on the third night by "La Traviata," in which appeared Madame Colson, the tenor Henry Squires and the baritone Amodio. The admission (including reserved seat) was $1.50. The management of the opera house was in charge of Charles M. Barras.

On May 10, 1850, the corner-stone was laid of the well known building at the corner of Betts and Linn streets known as the Betts Street Hospital. This was in charge of the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, a Catholic order. Six sisters of this order had come to America at the invitation of Archbishop Purcell in September, 1838. At first they had occupied as a hospital the Boys' Orphan Asylum on Fourth street, at that time in charge of a German Catholic society, but the necessity for further accommodations was soon apparent. The buildings have been from time to time enlarged and the institution has always been of the greatest benefit to the community. Although controlled by the Catholic Church, it has been open not only to people of all religions but to non-residents.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

Cincinnati was especially privileged in the fall campaign of 1859 in having the opportunity of hearing Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. On Friday, September 9th, Senator Douglas spoke to an assemblage of 7,000 persons in the Court street market square. On Saturday of the following week Mr. Lincoln delivered his well known Cincinnati speech from the balcony of Mr. Kinsey's house in Fifth street market space. Standing within sight of the Kentucky hills, he addressed himself especially to the citizens of that State: "It has occurred to me to-night," said Mr. Lincoln, "that if ever I do shout over the line at the people on the other side of the line in the Slave States and purpose to do so keeping my skin safe that I have now about the best chance I shall ever have. I should not wonder that there are some Kentuckians about this audience; we are close to Kentucky; and whether that be so or not we are on elevated ground and by speaking distinctly I should not wonder if some of the Kentuckians will hear me on the other side of the river." With this introduction he seemed to address himself especially to the Kentuckians, prefacing his remarks with the statement that he thought slavery wrong, morally, socially and politically.

LAST MAN SOCIETY.

In this year was held the last meeting (attended by but one person) of a curious organization founded on Sunday, September 30, 1832, in the studio of Joseph R. Mason, a portrait painter, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Main, known as the Last Man Society. The conversation turned on the dreadful scourge of the cholera which was raging in the villages about, but had not yet reached the corporate limits of the city and the uncertainty of life in view of such a scourge. A solemn compact of friendship was entered into, each vowing to aid the other and arranging for meetings at regular intervals. The first meeting was held on October 6, 1832, and it was determined that that day and month should be celebrated each recurring year so long as there should be a survivor. A casket in the shape of an obelisk about 10 inches high and on a base seven inches square was made and in it placed a bottle of wine which was to be opened and drank by the last survivor at the

first meeting after the death of the other six members. In the base of the receptacle, which now stands in the rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, is a little drawer in which were placed slips of oil paper containing the names, ages, places of birth, residence and occupation of the members in their own handwriting. The obelisk was built of solid mahogany and passed in succession to each of the seven and was retained by him one year. At each supper seven plates were provided and if any were absent the place remained vacant. The first meeting was the only meeting at which all were present, although it was some years before death entered their ranks. The members of the organization in order of their death were as follows: Dr. James Mason 1798-1837; William Stansbury 1805-1839; Joseph R. Mason, portrait painter, 1808-1842; William Disney, Jr., druggist, 1807-1849; Fenton Lawson, 1808-1853; Henry H. Tatem, 18—-1853; and Dr. John L. Vattier. On the 6th day of October, 1853, Dr. Vattier for the first time sat alone. He broke the bottle and drank its contents in memory of those who had gone before. The papers in the base of the obelisk give an account of each of the meetings of this club closing with that of October 6, 1859. For a number of years Dr. Vattier celebrated the anniversary alone.

THE STREET RAILROADS.

Prior to 1859 there seems to have been no concerted system of carrying citizens to their homes. In those days there were a number of omnibus and stage coach lines but no street railroads. The first street railroads in Cincinnati were authorized by an ordinance bearing date of July 1, 1859, which described the terms and conditions under which they could be operated. By this ordinance it was provided that the consent of the City Council must be obtained to lay down rails along any of the streets of the city and that the street railroad company was to purchase any omnibus line with which the street railroad might come in competition at a price to be ascertained by arbitration. The cars with all modern improvements were to be run as often as the public convenience might require under the direction and regulation of the Council. Tickets were to be sold in packages of 25 and no fare was to be more than five cents. The cars were not to be run at a greater speed than six miles an hour and when turning a corner not faster than a walk. Cars driven in the same direction were not permitted to approach each other nearer than 300 feet. A number of other regulations were with reference to the ordinary details of passenger traffic. The provision requiring the purchase of the omnibus and stage lines is said to have resulted in bankrupting all the original street railroad companies. At that time the rates of fare prevailing on the different omnibus lines varied considerably. On the Brighton-Cumminsville line the fare was five cents to the corporation line on Liberty street and 10 cents to Cumminsville. By the Sedamsville line, to Walker Mill road it was five cents and to Sedamsville 10 cents. The fare to Liberty and Sycamore streets on the Mount Auburn and Clifton line was five cents, to Mount Auburn 10 cents and to Clifton 25 cents, afterwards reduced to 15 cents. The fare to Avondale was 15 cents. On the Pendleton line, to Front and Washington streets it was five cents, to Pendleton 10 cents, to Columbia 15 cents. An omnibus left for East Walnut Hills and Madisonville every day at three in the afternoon. The starting point for Walnut Hills was Fifth and Sycamore. Here too started the bus for Mount Auburn, the Four Mile House on Reading road, and that to Storrs, Sylvan, Symmes Pavilion and Buckeye House and Delhi. The omnibus for the Brighton House, at that time a very important landmark, started from Fourth and Main. That to Spring Grove and Cumminsville started a block farther up on Main at Sixth street. The coaches on the line to Fulton, Sportsman's Hall, Pendleton and Columbia left the southeast corner of Broadway and Lower Market every 10 minutes. Here too started the lines for Batavia, Newtown and way points every day at two o'clock. The Mount Washington and Montgomery line left this same point every day at three. The omnibus to Cleves, Lawrenceburg and Napoleon started three times a week from the Ross House at the southeast corner of Court and Walnut. Omnibuses ran regularly from the Miami Canal packets to all parts of the city, starting at Main and Canal and also from the Little Miami and other depots and from the boats at the Public Landing, where as well as at Second and Broadway there was a regular omnibus and hack stand, similar to those that were common in the city down to the "eighties."

At a meeting of the City Council held on July 13, 1859, six street car routes were determined upon. Route No. 1 was afterwards granted to Rufus King, John C. Thorpe, James C. Moores, S. M. Ely and William Keck, under the name and title of the City Passenger Street Railroad

Company. The cars of this line were painted red and displayed a red signal at night. This extended from Fourth and Main to Fifth and Western row to the Brighton House, returning on Baymiller to Findlay to John and to the place of beginning. The direction of the route was subsequently reversed; this was the well known John street line. Tickets were sold at the rate of 25 for $1. Route No. 2 was afterwards granted to the Cincinnati Street Railroad Company and started at Fourth and Walnut and ran up Walnut to Ninth to Baymiller to Maple to Freeman to Western row, returning on Freeman to Seventh to Vine to Fourth to the place of beginning. This was the so-called Seventh or dark blue line. The direction was subsequently reversed. Route No. 3 extended from Fourth and Sycamore to Liberty to Broadway and back and also from Hunt and Sycamore to Lebanon road. This was never constructed. Route No. 4 was afterwards granted to J. P. Kilbreath, N. Headington, J. W. Donahue, Samuel N. Pike and Thomas G. Gaylord under the name of "The Passenger Railroad Company of Cincinnati." This commenced at Third and Lawrence and ran to Fifth and Freeman and back. These were the yellow cars and the line is that known as the Third street line. Route No. 5 was afterwards granted to John J. Hooker, Solomon L. Green, A. E. Jones, A. M. Scudder, O. P. Thorpe and Charles Rule under the name of "The Pendleton and Fifth Street Market Space Street Passenger Railroad Company," the so-called "Democratic Company." This as modified ran from Fifth and Main to Front and Washington streets. Route No. 6 established at the same time, which was never constructed, was to run from Fifth and Main to Vine and Hamilton road. Almost immediately after these routes were laid out, a number of ordinances were passed providing for alterations and extensions but the lines mentioned as altered were practically all that were in use at the beginning of the war.

Route No. 7 was established on July 25, 1860, providing for a line on Front street from Washington to the east line of the city and this route finally passed to the Pendleton line and was connected with Route No. 5.

In the spring of 1859 the agitation in favor of street railroads began and five companies made application for the privilege of laying tracks in the streets of the city. They were the Cincinnati Street Railroad Company, the City Passenger Street Railroad Company, Queen City, Buckeye and the Metropolitan. These were quickly followed by a number of other companies and routes were projected in all directions, including those to Walnut Hills, out Vine street to Clifton and to Cumminsville. At meetings held on July 28 and 29, 1859, routes Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 were awarded. Long before this time efforts to lay tracks had been made by various companies and a number of conflicts between the authorities and the various street railroad companies had taken place.

On Wednesday morning, September 14, 1859, the first street car in the city of Cincinnati ran over the route of the Cincinnati Street Railroad Company from the corner of Fourth and Walnut streets to the city buildings on Ninth street. A large crowd gathered at the starting point to see the car start. It was drawn by four beautiful gray horses and carried the officers of the company, the mayor and a number of councilmen and members of the press. At the corner of Ninth and Walnut the car was thrown off the track, one of the rails being sunk too low; thereupon the passengers jumped out and put their shoulders to the car and put it once more on the track. As the car passed the Ninth District School the children joined in the procession which numbered several thousand. Opposite the residence of Dr. J. L. Vattier, who was the president of the company which was on Ninth street, the car stopped and cheers were given for the company and for the Doctor and in the language of the chronicler "he gave them that which cheers." At the corner of Ninth and Plum a small negro boy about 14 years of age, who had been hanging to the platform, fell from the car which passed over his left leg making necessary its amputation. Throughout the day the car continued to make free trips and was packed with passengers anxious to have the pleasure of riding in the first street railroad car that ever ran in the city.

THE FOURTH STREET PROTEST.

The fact that all the routes ran for a short distance on Fourth street brought about conflicts as soon as an attempt was made to lay a track at this point. The Cincinnati Street Railroad Company began to locate its line on Fourth between Vine and Walnut at midnight on Wednesday evening, September 28th, but was stopped by the authorities. The following morning the City Passenger Street Railroad Company took possession of the street, took up the boulders and proceeded to lay their tracks. They were stopped by an injunction of Judge Storer granted upon the application of George Carlisle, Will-

iam Hooper, S. N. Pike, L. B. Harrison, W. H. Harrison, Robert Mitchell and others. As a result Fourth street was impassable for some time. Each of the three companies whose routes passed over this square claimed the right to lay their own tracks, which naturally aroused great opposition. A meeting of the owners and occupants of property on Fourth street was held on Saturday evening, October 1st, at Pike's Opera House. William Hooper occupied the chair. A committee appointed at a previous meeting reported that the various railroad managers had refused to compromise by building and using one track and that in the middle of the street; thereupon a committee was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting with reference to the occupancy of Fourth street by street railroad companies. This committee consisted of Winthrop B. Smith, D. W. Corwin, John Shillito, Robert Mitchell, Charles Stetson, W. H. Harrison, S. B. Keys, Wilson K. Nixon, John Carlisle and J. LeBoutillier. This committee reported resolutions reciting that the owners of property on Fourth street were opposed to the laying down of tracks on said street, "believing that same will be of serious detriment to our property and business by obstructing the thoroughfare, preventing the free receipt and delivery of goods and by driving off the carriage travel which constitutes to so great an extent the peculiar business of that street. Fourth street being the best adapted has concentrated into it the principal retail light goods and fancy trade of the city and it has become the most frequented thoroughfare in Cincinnati; and after Broadway in New York the most crowded by private vehicles of any in this country. The extent of this traffic has given value to the property abutting on the street. Its owners have at a great cost erected buildings which have made the street a credit to Cincinnati. Whatever tends to limit or drive off the vehicles or travel from the street would diminish business upon it and in that degree would reduce rents and impair the value of the property. We therefore feel it to be a great wrong and grievance that the City Council regarding the demands of mere speculators from distant cities above the rights and interests of their fellow citizens should give authority to said corporations, whose only purpose is speculation, to cover the whole street with railroad tracks under the pretense of serving the public convenience." The resolutions protested against the power of the Council to give any corporation the exclusive right to the streets and appointed a committee of seven to take steps to defend the rights of all. This committee consisted of George Carlisle, S. N. Pike, W. H. Harrison, W. B. Smith, W. Hooper, J. W. Baker and William Phillips.

In a short time sentiment changed and double tracks became quite frequent.

SOUTHERN LEGISLATORS IN CINCINNATI.

An interesting event of the year 1860 was the visit of the Legislatures of the four States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio in celebration of the completion of the Louisville & Nashville road. This took place on Friday, January 27, 1860. The party coming from Columbus and Dayton reached Cincinnati in the afternoon where it was greeted by an immense concourse of people. The military were under the command of Maj.-Gen. William H. Lytle commanding the first division O. V. M. and Maj. W. K. Bosley commanding the Guthrie Greys battalion. The grand marshal of the procession was Miles Greenwood and he was assisted by Enoch T. Carson, Benjamin Jenifer, C. J. W. Smith and Jeremiah Kiersted. In the procession were a number of military companies so soon to take part in actual warfare such as the Washington Dragoons, Lafayette, Rover Shields and Sarsfield Guards and German Yagers. In the carriages were Governors Magoffin of Kentucky, Newman of Tennessee, and Dennison of Ohio as well as Mayor R. M. Bishop. It took 36 carriages and 27 omnibuses to carry the invited guests. The procession moved up Sixth street and by a circuitous course to the Opera House where the exercises were to take place. The building was crowded with enthusiastic citizens who applauded vigorously the various speakers. Mayor Bishop presided and welcomed the guests. The principal orator for Cincinnati was Judge Storer who took occasion to insist that there could be no dissolution of the ties that bound the various sections of the Union together. The first respondent was Governor Magoffin and in view of subsequent events his speech is especially interesting. He insisted that Kentucky and Ohio stood together in their loyalty to the Union. He also insisted upon *the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions.* While his speech was most complimentary, it reflected clearly the bitter disputes of the time. Other speakers were Governor Newman of Tennessee, Gordon Tanner of Indiana and Governor Dennison who insisted that the difficulties between the North and South would be adjusted within the

limits and by the power of the Union. In the evening there was a banquet at the Burnet House in which took part 800 guests. The principal inscription on the walls read "The States of the Union,—distinct as the billows, one as the sea." Arrangements were in charge of Hon. Benjamin Eggleston and at the dinner the mayor presided. The bill of fare was appallingly elaborate. The guests were required to choose for instance between four kinds of fish, oysters prepared in 12 ways, about 15 salads and cold dishes, 20 entrees while the more solid dishes such as roast and game were about 20 in number. The toasts were significant of the times. The first which was drank in silence and responded to by Judge Johnson amidst such an uproar as to make it almost impossible for him to be heard was as follows: "The fame of Washington,—a legacy too great and too glorious to belong to anything less than the whole Continent; it shall never be divided." The toast of welcome proclaimed the era of good feeling and Senator Fisk of Kentucky in responding to it designated the talk of dissolving the Union as idle nonsense. Other speakers were the visiting Governors, Lieutenant-Governor of the State Robert C. Kirk and the Speaker R. C. Parsons, the mayor of Nashville, Mr. Eggleston, John Young Brown of Kentucky, and a number of visitors. A glee club furnished a number of songs and the banquet which began at half-past seven terminated at two in the morning. On the following day the visitors were entertained by Nicholas Longworth who assisted by Joseph Longworth and William J. Flagg as well as by his wife dispensed among other things sparkling catawba of his own vintage. The guests were also taken through Mr. Longworth's wine cellars on Sixth street between Broadway and Culvert. In the afternoon of Saturday the party departed on the "Jacob Strader" for Louisville, via the Covington & Lexington Railroad to Frankfort on a special train provided by Robert B. Bowler. The decorations of the city during this excursion are said to have been the most elaborate in the memory of those then residing here. The public buildings, business houses and a large number of private residences in all parts of the city were decorated with flags, banners, transparencies and mottoes. The Carlisle Building at Fourth and Walnut was voted the most successful in this particular. The feature of the entertainment was the fire display on Saturday morning which terminated in a call to an actual fire on Sixth street west of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot.

On the 1st of March, 1860, a very serious accident happened on the site of the New St. Francis Xavier Church on Sycamore street between Sixth and Seventh. The church had been undergoing demolition preparatory to the erection of the new and more commodious one and was about half torn away. Some 30 or 40 laborers were employed in the work and upon 13 of these, who at the time were arranging to tumble down the north wall, without a moment's warning fell the entire wall. Within a few minutes many hundreds of people were at work endeavoring to exhume the bodies of the men. Every one was killed and in many cases the bodies were so disfigured as to make identification difficult. The calamity excited universal sympathy and a large fund was raised for the families of the survivors. Almost all were married men and the total of the surviving members of the families exceeded 60 in number.

On March 25th, the corner-stone of the new St. Francis Xavier Church was laid by Archbishop Purcell in the presence of a large gathering, including various Catholic societies as well as many other citizens. Bishop Purcell delivered an address relating the history of the old structure whose corner-stone laid 35 years before was used again on this occasion. He told several stories with relation to the old frame cabin which two miles outside of the city served as a place of worship for the early Catholics. This cabin was afterwards brought on rollers to the site now occupied by the St. Francis Xavier Church.

In April of this year (April 18, 1860) the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association celebrated its "Silver Festival" in honor of the completion of its first quarter century. The celebration was held at the Opera House and was in charge of Theodore Cook. The speaker of the evening was William Hooper, who gave a brief history of the association which was followed by a number of readings by the distinguished tragedian James E. Murdoch which were interspersed with selections by Menter's Band. After the literary entertainment followed a banquet and the celebration concluded with dancing.

A citizens' meeting held at the Burnet House on April 25, 1860, was for the purpose of arousing interest in the Arctic expedition of C. F. Hall, who expected to sail from New London in a few weeks. This meeting was presided over by Mayor Bishop and was addressed by Mr. Hall, Judge Force, Professor Christy and Captain Frazer who had accompanied Sir John Franklin on his first expedition. A committee

consisting of Miles Greenwood, John D. Jones, John W. Ellis, George H. Hill and George Dominick was appointed to raise funds for the expedition.

THE TORNADO OF 1860.

On Monday afternoon, May 21, 1860, Cincinnati had her most serious experience with a tornado. The air grew suddenly dark and the heavy clouds to the southwest were repeatedly torn with brilliant flashes of lightning and as the storm advanced the city was almost engulfed by the rain. In a few minutes immense damage was done. Steeples were prostrated, dwellings overthrown, roofs whirled on high, shade trees uprooted, signs torn from their fastenings, chimneys beaten down, windows burst in and carriages driving along the streets were overturned and persons hurled from their feet. The roof of the new office building of the *Commercial* at the northeast corner of Fourth and Race streets, into which the staff of the paper had just moved, was torn off and large sections of it carried into different parts of the town. The most serious accident was at the 14th District School where the roof was torn from the building and swept to the oposite side of the street to the corner of Dayton and Baymiller. This exposed the infant department to the full fury of the storm and several children were badly injured, one having both legs broken. The roof of the Tabernacle Church at the corner of John and Clark was also torn off and the same fate befell a dwelling house at Liberty and John, a soap factory on Poplar near John, a factory at Western row and Poplar street, a carriage factory on Western row near Bank, Lane & Bodley's machine shop and many other buildings. The cupola was blown off the Brighton House and a frame beer saloon at the head of Dunlap street disappeared from the face of the earth. The heavy brick wall at the west side of Reuben R. Springer's residence at Seventh and Plum was blown to the ground. A three-story brick building in process of erection on Fifth near Wood was blown to the ground and two workmen mashed into an unrecognizable mass. Another man was killed in a brick-yard at Eighth and Freeman. The roofs of the Mechanics' Institute and also the United States Marine Hospital were blown off and the dome of the Little Miami depot floated away as if of feather weight. The minor casualties filled several columns of the papers.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Among the events of the year 1860 was the visit of the Prince of Wales, at that time making a tour throughout the United States under the incognito of Lord Renfrew. The members of the party were given by the mayor a special invitation to visit the city and were elaborately entertained during their stay.

The Prince arrived in the city on Saturday, September 29th. Rooms had been engaged at the Burnet House to which he was immediately taken. The great crowd of people who surrounded the hotel made necessary special police protection; even the passage ways of the hotel were so crowded that it was impossible for the guests to make their way to their apartments. When the Prince and his party went out to drive in the morning the streets were so blocked as to make it almost impossible for them to get away from the hotel. In the carriage with him sat Mayor Bishop, the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Germaine and in the carriages following were Lord Lyons, Major-General Bruce, Major Teasdale, Captain Gray, Dr. Ackland, President J. W. Sibley of the Chamber of Commerce, President John F. Torrence of the City Council, Judge Bellamy Storer and Rufus King. The party drove rapidly through the principal thoroughfares and finally went out to Clifton where it was entertained at "Mount Storm," the beautiful residence of Robert B. Bowler. Here an elaborate banquet was served and Menter and his band discoursed various selections including of course the national airs. The party was here joined by Bishop McIlvaine. In the evening a magnificent ball was tendered the Prince at Pike's Opera House. "There was present at the Opera House a large and brilliant assemblage. A more select company never convened to worship at Terpsichore's shrine. As the ladies accompanied by their devoted attendants entered the auditorium they ranged themselves in the lower tier of boxes. Never did the Opera House present a gayer appearance from proscenium to proscenium and at the rear and on either side of the stage were living exotics that rendered the house redolent with their grateful perfume. At the head of the grand stairway were draped together on the wall in peaceful confraternity the banners of England and the United States. The Prince and suite made their entry at twenty minutes before ten o'clock accompanied on the right by the Duke of Newcastle and on the left by Mayor Bishop. He walked down the center aisle to the parquette.

The orchestra played 'God Save the Queen' as he entered while the assemblage rose to their feet. He retired to a private box for a few moments and then reappeared which was a signal for commencing the festivities for the evening. The Prince opened the dance with Mrs. Samuel N. Pike as his partner, and successively danced with Miss Rebecca Groesbeck, Miss Mattie Taylor of Newport, Miss Helen McGregor of Mount Auburn, Miss Alice Hilton and Miss Edith Burnet. His partners were selected for him by the floor managers at his request. He danced in every quadrille and as the merry notes of the music stilled to silence the sixth set the hour of twelve arrived. The Prince and his party then retired highly pleased with the entertainment." It is interesting to note that of the 12 dances on the programme for this evening but one was a waltz. There were two polkas, a schottische, a mazourka, five quadrilles and two lancers. The composers whose names figured on the program were Strauss (five selections), Flotow, Julian, Oberst, Tilney, Wallerstein and Labitzky.

The following morning the royal party attended divine services at St. John's Church at Seventh and Plum, where Bishop McIlvaine conducted the services assisted by Rev. Dr. Greenleaf of St. Paul's and Rev. Mr. Heather of St. John's and Rev. Mr. Bronson of Sandusky. Here again the crowd was so great as to make it necessary to surround the church by police and at the end of the services to spirit him away by a side entrance. In the evening the Prince left the city for Pittsburg.

THE UNITED STATES FAIR.

In September, 1860, the United States Fair was held at the Cincinnati Trotting Park which was on the line of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway about eight miles from the city. The fair included a power hall, an art hall, and accommodations for stock of every character. There were over 2,000 entries of various sorts and the exhibition of machinery and stock was said to have been the finest ever seen in the country. There were also trotting and running races and the attendance ran as high as 25,000 a day. The fair lasted for seven days.

In 1860 were organized two charitable institutions which have become of great importance in the city life. The Children's Home which was first located in a basement room on Mill street below Third owed its foundation to Murray Shipley. The Home of the Friendless was also incorporated under the title of the Protestant Home for the Friendless and Female Guardian Society for the purpose of reclaiming fallen women and taking temporary charge of abandoned infants. This institution has always been under the charge of a board of lady managers representing the various sects of the city.

A fire in August destroyed the little German Tivoli Theatre in the third story of a building at Sycamore and Canal streets. Connected with this place of entertainment was a beer garden.

POLITICAL EVENTS OF 1860.

Stephen A. Douglas, one of the candidates for the presidency, visited Cincinnati in October, 1860. A large torchlight procession escorted him from the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot to the Court street market space where at a meeting presided over by Gen. W. H. Lytle, Mr. Douglas, Senator Pugh and others discussed the issues of the day very briefly.

Another event of the year 1860 that is frequently referred to is the visit of the great Southern fire-eater, William L. Yancey of Alabama, who addressed the citizens of Cincinnati on October 20, 1860, at Pike's Opera House. The meeting was presided over by Dr. J. L. Vattier and Mr. Yancey delivered an address which as phonographically reported occupies almost five long columns of fine print in the papers of the day. It was of course a speech intensely Southern in its character and the main interest in it today arises from the fact that it was received with such enthusiasm and that the Opera House was packed with the most prominent people of the community. Mr. Yancey's reception which seems so cordial is usually contrasted with that of the abolitionist, Wendell Philips, who was practically driven from the same stage a little later.

In the November election of 1860 the total vote cast in the city was 26,603 of which 12,250 were for Lincoln, 11,135 for Douglas, 3,000 for Bell and 242 for Breckenridge. The election passed off very quietly and the day was free from the disorders which in those days usually accompanied the exercise of the voting privilege. In the spring election the city had gone Democratic by a majority of about 650 in a total vote of 16,500.

CHAPTER XL.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—V.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

NEGRO COLONIZATION—THE RACE RIOTS OF 1841—ABOLITIONISTS IN 1842—THE VAN ZANDT AND WATSON CASES—LEVI COFFIN—THE "UNDERGROUND RAILWAY"—ELIZA HARRIS' ESCAPE—THE SCANLAN MOB—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—THE McQUERRY CASE—A HEARING BEFORE COMMISSIONER CARPENTER—THE ROSETTA CASE—THE MARGARET GARNER CASE—THE CONNELLY CASE—THE EARLY CASE.

The general feeling of the community with reference to the negro population of the city and also with reference to slavery at the South has been referred to at some length in connection with the account of the mob of 1836, which destroyed the printing office of the *Philanthropist*. Matters became more and more acute as the question was bound to recur again and again and for the 20 years prior to the war Cincinnati was much distraught by her varying sympathies. The city was directly on the line of the "Underground Railway," as the mysterious scheme of aiding negroes escaping into the land of freedom was called and the runaway was a well known feature and quite in the natural course of events. In no other city of the Union was the situation more difficult and nowhere did the events leading up to the gradual change of sentiment in the North follow each other so frequently.

NEGRO COLONIZATION.

An illustration of the discussions that were constantly taking place on the burning question of slavery is given in a notice published in the daily papers on January 7, 1839, signed by Judge J. Burnet, Daniel Gano and Jesse Justice and calling attention to a course of lectures against abolitionism which were being delivered in College Hall by a Mr. How. According to this notice the object of the lectures was to bring the doctrine of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the test "of Scripture, of Justice, of Philosophy, of Experience and of the Constitution of the United States" and in the view of the gentlemen signing the notice the lectures could not fail to produce full conviction of the truth of the doctrines maintained,—that is to say of the futility of any interference with the institution of slavery. (*Gazette*, January 12, 1839.)

Another evidence of the universal interest was the "Abhorrence Meeting" called it is said on suggestion of Robert T. Lytle to show the abhorrence of the citizens to the doctrines of abolition. This was held March 9, 1839, at the Court House and was presided over by David Griffin. General Lytle was the principal speaker and resolutions offered by him were to the effect that the colonization plan was the only sure and safe and feasible project to avoid the ills of slavery and that the abolitionists were pursuing a course calculated to prevent all amelioration of the condition of the colored race.

Another meeting, held at the chapel of the Cincinnati College of February 18th, presided over by Judge Burnet endorsed the object of the American Colonization Society and organized a branch of the society for Hamilton County. The committee on nominations was Robert T. Lytle, Joseph Graham, Hezekiah Flint and E. B. Reeder. Among the officers were Jacob Burnet, president, Josiah Lawrence, Rev. J. T. Brooke, Rev. T. A. Mills, Rev. L. L. Hamline, Rev. M. M. Henkle, Rev. S. W. Lyon, vice-presidents, William Greene, secretary and Ephraim Robbins, treasurer. Among the managers were Rev. William H. McGuffey, P. S. Symmes, H. E. Spencer, George W. Neff, N. C. Read, E. Woodruff and William Tift. The purposes of this organization were by its constitution to aid in the colonization in Africa of the colored race and freed slaves. This general movement was regarded by the abolitionists as a dangerous obstacle in the struggle for freedom.

That there was some opposition to slavery often at the expense of the loss of business and social position is shown by a meeting held at the Court House on Tuesday evening, January 5, 1841, for the purpose of protesting against slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. At this meeting Samuel Lewis presided and D. F. Meader and W. T. Truman acted as secretaries and resolutions were prepared by Nathan Guilford.

THE RACE RIOTS OF 1841.

On June 25, 1841, Cornelius Burnett, his three sons and three other persons were haled before a magistrate charged with assault and battery upon a constable, Robert Black and a Kentucky slave owner. The mulatto slave had escaped across the river and was traced to Burnett's house on Fifth street between Walnut and Vine. Here the constable, who was in search of him, and the master attempted to take the slave but were resisted by Burnett, his sons and the others of the party. During the scuffle the slave was taken away and carried before George Ayres where he acknowledged himself a slave and agreed to return to Kentucky. Burnett and his associates were bound over for the assault and upon refusing to give bail in the sum of $3,000 they were committed to jail. After the scuffle in the house, a mob collected about the place and for a time violence was feared but the crowd was dispersed by the sheriff without doing any injury other than breaking a few panes of glass. After supper time the mob gathered again at Burnett's house to the number of several hundred and were dispersed only after addresses by Squire Doughty and Mr. Avery, the sheriff, and assurances that Burnett and his associates were in jail.

The *Gazette* says that the mob was rather courted than shunned by Burnett who was "a mischievous and swaggering Englishman oftener in trouble of this kind than half the other abolitionists of the city together." He was discountenanced by the leading and influential abolitionists who relied upon moral persuasion to accomplish the reform they hoped for and objected to acts. This trifling occurrence called for much discussion in the papers of the South which had a tendency to solidify the anti-slavery sentiment of the city. Among those who had objected to what they regarded as the violence of Burnett, many resented the Southern theory that it was the business of the city officers to track slaves. The papers felt it necessary, however, a short time afterwards to disclaim any connection between this Burnett and the family of Judge Burnet, calling attention to the fact that the abolitionist's name was spelled with a double "t." In the riot of the following September, Burnett's establishment was wrecked by a mob.

Another of the terrible riots that have formed so large a part of the history of Cincinnati took place in September, 1841, and for several days the city was at the mercy of a lawless mob varying in numbers from 200 to 1,500 people. The old antagonism to the negroes was the cause and a quarrel between a party of Irishmen and some negroes on the corner of Sixth and Broadway the occasion. Two or three of each party were wounded in the affray. The following night the quarrel was taken up again and a little after midnight a large party armed with clubs and boulders attacked a house on McAllister street just east of Broadway between Fourth and Fifth streets, which was used as a negro boarding house. They demanded the surrender of a negro whom they thought was secreted in the house and accompanied their demands with threats against the negro race in general. As this was a negro neighborhood, the mob was resisted by the colored people and a free fight ensued and several more were wounded on each side. Again on the following night there was more violence in Lower Market and several boys were wounded, one quite badly with a knife. By this time what had been nightly broils developed into a riot and Friday about eight o'clock in the morning a mob composed largely of river men and

Kentucky toughs took possession of the Fifth street market where is now the esplanade, where they so terrorized the police and citizens as to be unmolested. They were armed with clubs and stones and weapons of various sorts and finally marched in a regular procession towards Sixth and Broadway, where they attacked a negro confectionery located next to the Jewish Synagogue. They demolished the doors and windows of the establishment, but their work of destruction was very soon stopped by the arrival of a number of negroes provided with firearms.

The well known lawyer, J. W. Piatt, thereupon addressed the crowd and endeavored to prevail upon them to respect the law and disperse. He was greeted with angry shouts and a volley of stones. Thereupon Mayor Davies attempted to address the crowd, but his remarks were greeted with savage yells. "Down with him! Run him off!" and oaths and exhortations to the mob to move onward. The disturbers seemed in the main to be outsiders, river rats and boat hands. Regardless of the appeals of the mayor and Piatt, they repeatedly advanced to charge the negroes with stones and were again and again met by volleys from the latter's pistols. Many were wounded on both sides and many were reported as being killed. The negroes fired into the crowd a number of times, unjustifiably according to the contemporary account but very naturally and properly as viewed at the present day. About one o'clock that night the mob procured an iron six-pounder cannon from some place along the river and loaded it up with boiler punchings and missiles of all kinds. Against the exhortations of the mayor and others, they hauled it to the scene of action and posted it along Broadway pointing down Sixth street. There was still a good deal of yelling but not so much firing, as many of the negroes had fled to the hills. The cannon was discharged several times, which called for an answering fire, filling the streets as was then supposed with killed and wounded, although it was never learned how many were killed. About two o'clock the military who had been called out by the mayor arrived at the scene of disorder and succeeded in maintaining a semblance of quiet. For the whole of the next day the neighborhood was patrolled by the militia and kept under martial law. The negroes were kept within bounds and the whites kept out. On Saturday morning a meeting of citizens was held at the Court House. The mayor, sheriff and other speakers addressed the citizens and resolutions, reported by J. W. Piatt, J. C. Avery, B. Storer, D. T. Disney and others, were passed disapproving all mobs and asking the civil authorities to stop the violence, but adding fuel to the flame by discountenancing abolitionists, whose proceedings they viewed with abhorrence. The citizens in those days seemed more afraid of offending the slavery adherents than of lawlessness of the criminal elements. The City Council held a special session to consider the situation and to devise measures to vindicate the majesty of the law and reestablish peace. The negroes held a meeting in their church in which they made statements to the mayor and citizens that they would do all within their power to maintain good order and to suppress imprudence on the part of their own people. They stated that they were willing to conform to the law of 1807 and give bonds required by that act or to leave the State in a specified time. They tendered their thanks to the mayor, watch, officers and gentlemen of the city for the efforts made to save their property, their lives, their wives and children. The mob, however, and its leaders continued to keep the streets and no serious effort seems to have been made to arrest them or disperse them. About three o'clock in the afternoon the mayor of the city and sheriff of the county, accompanied by the marshal and police, proceeded to Sixth and Broadway, surrounded by soldiers to keep the mob in the background. They received bonds for a number of negroes and gave them permission to go away with their sureties, who were among the most respectable citizens. As they attempted to leave, the mob, in spite of the presence of the soldiers, required them to return. Thereupon it was decided to form the male negroes in a body to take them to jail for protection. Two hundred and fifty to three hundred of them formed in a compact body, surrounded by soldiers and officers, and marched to prison accompanied by a dense mass of men, women and boys, who filled the air with deafening yells and threats. Here the poor negroes, separated from their families, were lodged for several days and the crowd for a time dispersed. The military was ordered out at nightfall and with the firemen assisted the police. Over eighty citizens enrolled themselves as aides and deputies and the marshal and the troop of horse and several of the volunteer infantry companies remained on duty during the night, some guarding the jail and others being posted near the battleground. The disturbance was by no means over, however, for as Sunday morning dawned

the mob, which seemed to have been regularly organized, began its operations once more. To distract the attention of the police, attack was made simultaneously on a number of different points. The printing office of the *Philanthropist* was one of the first points chosen. Once more the establishment was sacked and the press broken up and carried into the street and down Main street to the river, into which it was thrown. The military appeared in the alley near the office and stopped the mob for a time, but as soon as they withdrew the work of destruction continued. A number of negro houses, including the negro church on Sixth street, were broken into and windows, doors and furniture completely destroyed. An effort was made also to destroy the printing establishment of Truman & Smith at No. 150 Main street. They were driven from this, however, by the police and shortly afterwards they quieted down and dispersed, more from exhaustion than from any other reason. The excitement continued for some days and the Governor of the State, Thomas Corwin, was obliged to come to the city, where he issued a proclamation. A committee of safety, including the mayor, sheriff, president of the Council and George W. Jones and David T. Disney, was appointed to confer with him. In this affair, in which twenty or thirty people were seriously wounded and several probably killed and forty of the mob arrested, the principal inspiration seems to have come from Kentucky. On that side of the river bonfires were lighted and every manifestation of satisfaction was indulged in by shouts and in other ways. The whole performance was of the most cowardly character and after the men had been disarmed and taken to prison for safe-keeping, under a solemn pledge that their wives and children should be protected, a band of white men were permitted to renew their brutal attacks on these women and children. The affair was one of the most disgraceful in the history of a city noted for its helplessness in times of mob violence. (*Gazette*, September 6, 1841.)

This mob of 1841 was the occasion of a prolonged discussion in the newspapers of the time. The statement of the papers that it was actuated by Southerners called, of course, for very bitter comment on the part of the Kentucky papers. The *Gazette*, in an effort to explain the causes, estimates that the number of negroes in the city did not exceed 3,000. Many of these, whose usual employment was on the river, had been out of work by reason of the low water. The idle negroes, too, resented the charges of the whites that they had been active in aiding in the escape of slaves. The Burnett case, which has already been mentioned, as well as other cases, had a tendency to inflame the public mind. Burnett was tried and convicted and punished. In August a German, defending his blackberry patch, was attacked by a number of negroes and cut to death. A little later a white woman, returning from the sick bed of a friend, was assaulted by two negroes on Broadway early one morning. Another circumstance was the frolicking and singing of the idle negroes on McAllister and Sixth streets. Then, too, there was printed in the city an abolition paper, although few of those following abolition doctrines were known to the *Gazette*. Most of the abolitionists, said the chronicler, were quiet and orderly citizens, but some few, generally foreigners, were fanatics,—perfect monomaniacs,—whose conduct excited universal reprehension. Several slaves may have escaped from their masters to Ohio and may have been aided by some few individuals although the *Gazette* was careful to state that it knew of no such aid and that there were but few who would aid fugitives or interpose any obstacle to the master's reclamation of his property.

The result of the riot was the organization of a citizens' police force composed of thirty to forty middle aged and active resident citizens in each ward, who were to be armed and hold themselves in readiness to turn out to quell riots. The general spirit of lawlessness was indicated by an attempt to burn the Reformed Presbyterian Church on Church street between Race and Elm.

In October of this same years the Western Methodist Anti-Slavery Convention held its meeting in Cincinnati. No church of its own denomination was willing to open its doors to it and it was obliged to accept the hospitality of the Baptist Church. This meeting had for its chairman Hon. Samuel Lewis.

ABOLITIONISTS IN 1842.

In the year 1842 a paper known as the *Anti-Abolitionist* published in Cincinnati gave a list of abolitionists in the city for the purpose of informing Southerners and enabling them to avoid carrying on their trade with these people. The list, which is now a roll of honor, included the following: Thomas Morris, attorney; Nicholas Longworth, property holder; G. Bailey, Jr., editor *Philanthropist*; Samuel V. Alley, printer

on the same paper; Rev. William H. Brisbane; Rev. George Blanchard; James Dean, shoemaker; George D. Fry, secretary Anti-Slavery Society; Harvey Hall, attorney; E. F. Brush, D. De Forest, tinware; C. Donaldson, eye; David Williams, William Carson, C. M. Merrill, N. H. Merrill, Salmon P. Chase, Samuel Lewis, Amos Moore, tanner; H. Miller, stove store; A. Kellogg, auctioneer; Murphy & Son, grocers; A. W. Hicks, shoemaker; William Birney, notary; Caleb S. Burdsal, William Lewis, Joseph N. Hueston, James Blin, Rev. Dr. Park and Jabez Reynolds.

THE VAN ZANDT AND WATSON CASES.

In this same year (1842) occurred another famous fugitive slave case, that of John Van Zandt. Van Zandt had been a Kentuckian but he had turned abolitionist and his small farm near the city was known as a station of the "Underground Railway." On the 22nd day of April nine slaves who had escaped from Horton Jones of Kentucky landed on the Ohio side and were found on the road on Walnut Hills by Van Zandt as he was driving home. Van Zandt had the party climb into his covered wagon and one of them sat on the box and drove. When they reached a point about 15 miles out of the city, they were stopped by two persons, called by Chase "bold villains," who carried off eight of the slaves to Kentucky. Andrew, the driver, the ninth, escaped. The two "bold villains" had no authority from their master or any one to interfere and thereupon Chase procured their prosecution for abduction, but by reason of the lack of interest of the officials and public sentiment generally they were acquitted. Jones, the owner of the slave, afterwards brought suit for the value of the runaway slave Andrew and for the expense of recapturing the others and another suit to recover the penalty allowed by the law of 1793 against a person who harbored a fugitive. The cases were tried in July, 1842, in the United States Court before Judge McLean. Chase and Thomas Morris defended Van Zandt, but the court held against them and Van Zandt was obliged to pay $1,200 damages. In the other case William H. Seward associated himself with Chase in the argument in the Supreme Court. Van Zandt, however, was beaten and obliged to pay the damages and expenses.

A slave case of considerable interest was that concerning Samuel Watson, who went on shore in January, 1845, from a steamer laying at landing. The case was taken up by Chase by writ of habeas corpus to the Ohio Supreme Court on the ground that the escape was made within the low water mark and therefore undoubtedly within the territory of Ohio. Judge Read decided against Chase on the ground that the jurisdiction of steamers navigating the Ohio was, as far as slavery was concerned, in the State of Kentucky. As a result when the abolitionists held the balance of power in 1849 they dropped Judge Read from the bench.

This was the year, too, that the Southern and Western Anti-Slavery Convention was held in the city.

LEVI COFFIN.

With the arrival in Cincinnati on April 22, 1847, of Levi Coffin, this city became the most important station on the "Underground Railway." Coffin was of Nantucket ancestry but born in North Carolina in 1798. His Quaker training early enlisted his sympathies in behalf of the slaves and in 1826 he opened a store in Wayne County, Indiana, to which came many runaways. The anti-slavery interests began, a few years later, the agitation of the "free-labor goods" movement and at a convention held in Salem, Indiana, in 1846, Coffin was chosen to open a store for such goods in Cincinnati. His undertaking proved quite successful as a business proposition and his labors in behalf of the slaves increased with the increased opportunities of a large border city. He came to be known as the president of the "Underground Railway" and as such he gained a world-wide reputation. After the war he assisted in the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau and went to Europe in behalf of this institution. He died in Avondale near Cincinnati, September 16, 1877.

Mr. Coffin says in his "Reminiscences" (page 297) that he had hoped to find in Cincinnati enough active workers to relieve him from further service but that he soon found that he would have more to do than ever. The abolitionists whom he had known at the time of his former trips had died or moved away and when he arrived in the city in 1847 he found that fugitive slaves generally took refuge among the colored people and were often captured and taken back to slavery. The colored people were not good managers in such affairs and the white people, however friendly they might be, were too timid. Abolitionists were so unpopular both in religious

and political circles that to work openly would involve a loss in business and social position.

To quote his own words:

THE "UNDERGROUND RAILWAY."

"I was personally acquainted with all the active and reliable workers on the Underground Railroad in the city, both colored and white. There were a few wise and careful managers among the colored people, but it was not safe to trust all of them with the affairs of our work. Most of them were too careless, and a few were unworthy—they could be bribed by the slave-hunters to betray the hiding places of the fugitives. * * * We were soon initiated into Underground Railroad matters in Cincinnati, and did not lack for work. Our willingness to aid the slaves was soon known, and hardly a fugitive came to the city without applying to us for assistance. There seemed to be a continual increase of runaways, and such was the vigilance of the pursuers that I was obliged to devote a large share of time from my business to making arrangements for the concealment and safe conveyance of the fugitives. They sometimes came to our door frightened and panting and in a destitute condition, having fled in such haste and fear that they had no time to bring any clothing except what they had on, and that was often very scant. The expense of providing suitable clothing for them when it was necessary for them to go on immediately, or of feeding them when they were obliged to be concealed for days or weeks, was very heavy. Added to this was the cost of hiring teams when a party of fugitives had to be conveyed out of the city by night to some Underground Railroad depot, from twenty to thirty miles distant. The price for a two-horse team on such occasions was generally ten dollars, and sometimes two or three teams were required. We generally hired these teams from a certain German livery stable, sending some irresponsible though honest colored man to procure them, and always sending the money to pay for them in advance. The people of the livery stable seemed to understand what the teams were wanted for, and asked no questions. * * *

"Learning that the runaway slaves often arrived almost destitute of clothing, a number of the benevolent ladies of the city—Mrs. Sarah H. Ernst, Miss Sarah O. Ernst, Mrs. Henry Miller, Mrs. Dr. Aydelott, Mrs. Julia Harwood, Mrs. Amanda E. Foster, Mrs. Elizabeth Coleman, Mrs. Mary Mann, Mrs. Mary M. Guild, Miss K. Emery, and others—organized an Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, to provide suitable clothing for the fugitives. After we came to the city, they met at our house every week for a number of years, and wrought much practical good by their labors.

"Our house was large, and well adapted for secreting fugitives. Very often slaves would lie concealed in upper chambers for weeks, without the boarders or frequent visitors at the house knowing anything about it. My wife had a quiet, unconcerned way of going about her work, as if nothing unusual was on hand, which was calculated to lull every suspicion of those who might be watching, and who would have been at once aroused by any sign of secrecy or mystery. Even the intimate friends of the family did not know when there were slaves secreted in the house, unless they were directly informed. When my wife took food to the fugitives she generally concealed it in a basket, and put some freshly ironed garment on the top, to make it look like a basketful of clean clothes. Fugitives were not often allowed to eat in the kitchen, from fear of detection."

Mr. Coffin tells many stories of the expedients to which he was put in endeavoring to aid escaped slaves. On one instance while two negroes, evidently plantation hands, were eating heartily in the kitchen, the marshal of the city accompanied by two planters came up the street. After a little parleying with Coffin who in response to questions described the escaping negroes very accurately, they passed on misled by his equivocations. Coffin said that he had seen two such boys not a half hour since pass his gate and that they inquired where the depot was and that if the marshal would make haste he might reach the depot before they left. This was all true, but he failed to state that the boys had returned after passing the gate and had no further use for the depot, as Coffin took them out of the city in his buggy.

At another time a slave girl from Covington was eating her breakfast in the kitchen and a slave hunter was heard to make inquiries in the front part of the house. The girl was hustled up the back stairway dressed in the best black silk dress that the house afforded and on her head was put a fashionable bonnet to which was attached a heavy veil. Thereupon she and a fellow servant passed boldly out of the front door and followed the man who was inquiring after her a part of the way until she came to a side street where she turned off to a negro settlement.

in which she was secreted until opportunity afforded itself to permit her to escape to Canada.

At another time 28 slaves crossed the river at Lawrenceburg under the conduct of a white man, John Fairfield, a true friend of the slave, who according to Coffin was utterly devoid of moral principles in that he believed that the end justified the means and that as slaves were always stolen property he was entitled to steal boats or anything else that might help to gain their liberty. This party crossed in three large, leaky boats, which were so heavily loaded as to endanger the lives of all of them; in fact as they approached the Ohio bank it became necessary for Fairfield to jump out of the boat and he sank to his waist in mud and quicksand, but he was pulled out by the negroes. They finally reached the bank some miles below the city, soaking wet and many without shoes. They were obliged to walk to the city, which they did not reach until daylight. Here they were concealed in ravines below Mill creek while Fairfield went to Coffin's house to obtain assistance. The expedient resorted to was certainly a novel one. Two large coaches were hired from a livery stable and a number of colored people accompanied them in buggies to the place where the fugitives were concealed. The slaves climbed into the vehicles and thereupon a procession was formed in the semblance of a funeral and the whole party marched solemnly along the road to Cumminsville to the Methodist Episcopal Burying Ground where was also a colored cemetery. They passed the cemetery and continued on the Colerain pike to College Hill, where they were attended to by Rev. Jonathan Cable, a Presbyterian minister. The procession was in fact a funeral, for when they arrived at College Hill it was found that a young babe, which had been muffled closely to keep it warm and to keep its cries from being heard, had died on the way. The party was forwarded by Cable, whom Coffin calls a stockholder in the "Underground Railway," to West Elkton, 25 to 30 miles from College Hill, which was the first "Underground Railway" depot where always plenty of locomotives and cars, figuratively speaking, were in readiness. After Elkton the first stop was Newport, Indiana, and from this point they were forwarded from station to station in two-horse covered wagons through Indiana and Michigan to Detroit, until at last they reached Canada.

Another story was that of a slave family of 10, —a man and wife and eight children (some grown),—who lived about 15 miles back of Covington. The old mother was a much trusted servant whose liberty had been frequently promised to her and who was permitted to go to Cincinnati from time to time with a wagon and two horses to take vegetables to market. Though often urged to escape, she had refused to do so until she learned that her master intended to sell some of her children. One night her master's family had retired and she got out the horses and wagon and loaded it as if for market, putting clothing and bedding beneath the vegetables. She induced a little white boy who lived in the neighborhood to go with her, promising him the pleasant prospect of the sight of a large city. Early in the morning the party started with the father and children concealed under the clothing and vegetables and with the white boy mounted by her side. Whenever they passed any persons, she would hand the reins to the boy, which would have a tendency to mislead any spectators as to the character of the party. She crossed on a ferry in safety and drove to the house of a colored friend on North street, where the wagon was unloaded and the family scattered to different places of concealment. She then drove to Broadway and finally told the boy that she must go to market and that he must remain and watch the horses. Coffin by this time had been appealed to and he planned an arrangement by which the team could be returned without affording any clue to the whereabouts of the fugitives. A colored man went to a German who could speak but little English and hired him to drive the team across the ferry to Covington, where he was told that some one would take charge of it. The plan worked successfully. The pursuing owner found his team with the little boy and the German in Covington. He had the latter arrested, but the German soon showed entire ignorance of any slave delivery. The police were put upon the search but failed to gain any clue as to the fugitives. These last were taken out of the city in open daylight. The males were disguised as females and the females as males and were driven in elegant carriages from the city at different points exactly at noon when most people were at dinner. In connection with this escape Mr. Coffin tells an amusing circumstance. As he needed money to defray expenses he called at the pork house of Henry Lewis, one of the stockholders of the "Underground Railway." Here he found Mr. Lewis, his brother Albert and Marcellus B. Hagans, at a later time Judge Hagans, but then Henry Lewis' bookkeeper. There

were also three slaveholders sitting in the office. Mr. Coffin asked for some money to help some poor people, knowing that Lewis would understand him. Thereupon not only did Lewis, his brother and Hagans contribute but the three Kentuckians also added their mite, unconscious of the fact that they were assisting slaves to escape from their masters. Some time later when some slaveholders from the same neighborhood sitting in Lewis' office were cursing the abolitionists, Lewis informed them of the fact that some of their own neighbors had helped the abolitionists with their money.

Another escape was that of Jack and Lucy, husband and wife, a very valuable pair of slaves living about a dozen miles from Cincinnati. Their master sold them to a Southern slave trader to be taken down the river, the greatest calamity that could happen to a slave family in those days. Hearing of this misfortune, they managed to escape during the night by tying bed clothing together and climbing from an upper window. They found a skiff in the river and rowed to Cincinnati, where they were immediately brought to Coffin's house. Here they were secreted for several weeks and from a small window in the garret they would frequently see their master pass the house, which of course was suspected. Coffin thereupon started out to raise money to assist in a trip to Canada. On this occasion he seems to have asked people with whose sentiments he was but slightly acquainted. His usual formula was an inquiry as to whether the person approached owned stock in the "Underground Railway" and if the answer was favorable he notified him that an assessment had been levied on the stock. The first merchant gave him a dollar and the second, who was a Jew and had never expressed any sentiments on the subject, gave him two dollars and several others gave him a dollar apiece. A prominent citizen, a wholesale grocer on Pearl street, was very indignant when approached and did not believe in helping fugitives. Coffin told him the story of the misfortunes of this particular couple and of the great return on the investment realized by the stockholders in his undertaking in the shape of the satisfaction felt by the donor, but his arguments seemed in vain until he was about to leave the store, when the merchant surreptitiously slipped some money into his hands.

He did not hesitate to take great chances. On one occasion a pro-slavery merchant, profane of speech and violent in temperament, was bantering Coffin about stealing negroes whom he supposed were kept in the cellar. Thereupon Coffin told him there was a fugitive at his house who had escaped from Mississippi, where he had been beaten until the blood ran down his back because of his inability to do the amount of work the overseer expected of him. He had been pursued and torn by dogs, captured and put in jail and had broken from jail and finally after much suffering had reached Cincinnati and Coffin's house. The pro-slavery man was induced to go into the house and see him. He there heard the negro's story and also of the means adopted to assist in his escape and even went so far as to contribute a dollar to the expenses. Coffin frequently twitted him with having laid himself amenable to fine and imprisonment under the Fugitive Slave Law for assisting a slave to escape to Canada.

Another fugitive was Jane, a handsome slave girl who lived in Covington, where she was very kindly treated as a house servant. Upon the death of her old master, she became the property of his son, who was attracted by her beauty and she became the mother of a little girl, who was perfectly white. When the girl was about three years old, the master concluded to sell Jane and his own child down the river. Jane was able to escape with her daughter by reason of the assistance of Coffin and finally reached Canada, where she married and lived very happily for many years.

Another slave girl who had taken refuge at Coffin's house at the corner of Sixth and Elm was accompanied by Mrs. Coffin, who attired herself in her most fashionable clothes. The girl carried a rag baby properly dressed and covered with a veil and as the couple passed along they presented the appearance of a fashionable lady and her nursery maid with an infant in her arms. They made their way out of the public part of the city to a house of a friend, where the girl was properly cared for.

Jackson, the property of Vice-President King of Alabama, escaped to Cincinnati, where for some years he plied his vocation as a barber. Finally a slave hunter attempted to take possession of him without procuring a writ as required by law. Accompanied by a posse of armed men, he seized Jackson one day at noon at the corner of Fifth and Walnut and dragged him down the street to the wharf where the ferry boat was in readiness. As most of the people of the stores had gone to dinner at that hour, Jackson's cries for help were not heeded and he was taken across to Kentucky and finally to Alabama. He remained several

years in slavery and finally married a free woman, a creole of Mobile who possessed some property. She was quite handsome but dignified in appearance with straight hair and olive complexion and when properly attired presented the appearance of a well-to-do Southern woman of position. She disguised her husband, who was small, as a woman, and the two went on board the regular vessel for New Orleans and took passage as a lady traveling on business accompanied by her servant. At New Orleans they took an up-river boat for Cincinnati. She ordered her servant about in a very haughty manner and treated him at all times in accordance with his assumed character. Some of the Southern ladies on board advised her not to land at Cincinnati as Ohio was a Free State and under the laws of the State all slaves were free who were brought there by their owners. On the other hand some of the Northern ladies advised the supposed slave girl of the opportunity she would have of escaping when they reached Ohio. The supposed mistress expressed confidence in the servant and the servant insisted upon her devotion to the mistress. When the boat reached the wharf at Cincinnati, a carriage was taken and they were driven to the Dumas House, a public hotel kept by a colored woman. Jackson, who was well acquainted with the city, had Coffin sent for with a statement that a lady wished to see him on business. Accompanied by John Hatfield, a colored man who had received a similar message, Coffin called in the ladies' parlor, where he was introduced to the fine looking, well dressed creole from Alabama. She was very polite and dignified in her manner and told them that she wished to consult them with regard to emancipating her slave "Sal." "Sal" was brought out, but although both of the Cincinnatians had known Jackson they failed to recognize him. After some conversation and a change in garments Jackson appeared in his own person and was finally sent to Cleveland, where his wife followed him.

The device of dressing men in women's clothes was paralleled by the similar one of dressing women in men's clothes, which sometimes resulted in rather amusing situations. A slave woman Sally belonging to a couple of maiden ladies in Covington was the mother of five children. Her husband had been sold South when her youngest child was but three months old and she never heard of him again. Learning that she and her three youngest children had been sold, she succeeded in making her escape and secreting herself in the house of a friendly neighbor. A search was made among the colored people but the very proximity of her refuge to her former home saved her. When the ardor of the search had abated, she was dressed in a man's apparel of black summer cloth in which she made a very presentable appearance, although it was rather thin for the season. She was taken across the river by William Casey, a colored man who aided many of his people in their escape, to Coffin's house, at that time on the corner of Franklin and Broadway, near Woodward College, and arrived there after midnight. Coffin, deceived by her appearance, took her for a boy. After an explanation he sent her up to the fourth story of the house to the room of their colored hired girl and neglected to explain that it was a woman and not a man that was asking for lodging. This resulted, in some confusion, which, however, disappeared after proper explanations. Much against her will, as she was loath to leave the neighborhood of her children, she was finally sent to Canada. One of her daughters finally escaped to Canada, but the mother died before she ever saw any of her family again.

Another slave girl living near New Orleans was so slightly tinged with negro blood as to be perfectly white and a white mechanic engaged in work in a sugar mill desired to marry her. This was impossible under the laws of that State. The girl's master became suspicious of the relationship existing between the two and although she had been a house servant he sent her to the plantations to work as a common field hand. Her husband in all but name finally procured her escape and paid a man $200 to take her to Cincinnati. The man gambled away the money and when she arrived at this city the captain of the boat attempted to hold her for passage money. Fortunately communication was had with Coffin and the attorney Jolliffe and a writ was obtained and served just as the captain was about to leave the Ohio shore in a skiff carrying the slave girl with him to Kentucky. Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court ordered her released as there was no proof that she was a slave. She was sheltered by the Coffins for some time but finally a letter written by some of her friends to her husband was intercepted and her whereabouts learned by her master. The latter came to the city and obtained a writ from United States Commissioner Pendery, but the marshal let the secret out to a newspaper man and Coffin was properly warned. With the assistance of Birney,

the attorney, and Salmon P. Chase, the girl was taken from Coffin's house, at that time on Elm and George, to a more secluded place on Mount Auburn. She was dressed in clothes of much better quality than her master had ever seen her wear and accompanied by two young ladies all closely veiled passed her master, who was standing at the corner of Sixth and Elm watching the house. He was apparently entirely unsuspicious of the character of the people whom he saw leave the house. Her husband was subsequently arrested in the South while endeavoring to gain possession of his children. He escaped to Louisville but was finally captured there. At St. Louis, however, he succeeded in escaping again and finally joined the girl in Michigan, where they were married under the laws of that State in order not to leave any question as to the legality of their union. One of the children died in slavery but the other rejoined the parents after the war.

Another slave girl who escaped through Coffin's aid was so white and so absolutely free from any trace of negro blood that she remained for some time in the city and was introduced by Coffin to a large number of citizens, including Judge Storer and other members of the bar, who were utterly unable to discover either in her appearance or in her conversation any indication of her servile origin.

Among the people who assisted Mr. Coffin in his efforts to free so many from the curse of bondage were Joseph Emery (the city missionary), Henry Lewis, John J. Jolliffe, Robert Birney, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Harwood, Samuel Reynolds, John H. Coleman and particularly the Burnett family, who lived on Fifth street.

ELIZA HARRIS' ESCAPE.

Probably the slave whose escape became most known throughout the world was Eliza Harris, whose story was afterwards told by Mrs. Stowe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Mr. Coffin and his wife were the originals of the Quaker family mentioned in that book under the name of Halliday and although the episodes of Eliza's escape happened before Coffin came to Cincinnati to live it occurred so near this city and became so generally known as to be a part of the history of the "Underground Railway" operations at this point. Eliza was the property of a man who lived a few miles back of the river below Ripley. She had been treated kindly but her master had become involved financially and she heard that she was to be separated from her two-year-old child. This determined her to make her escape at once and at nightfall she started with her child in her arms for the Ohio River, which was usually frozen over at that season of the year. When she reached its bank at daylight, she found that the ice had broken up and was slowly drifting by in large cakes. She concealed herself in the neighborhood during the day but in the evening learned that pursuers were after her. Although the ice had become more broken and more dangerous during the day she determined to cross the river or perish in the attempt. Clasping her child in her arms she dashed to the river followed by her pursuers, who had just dismounted from their horses when they caught sight of her. Without fear of personal danger, as she was determined to drown rather than be separated from her child, with her babe clasped to her bosom, she sprang to the first cake of ice and from that to another and then to another. At times the ice would sink beneath her, when she would slide her child to another cake and pull herself on with her hands and thus continue her journey. She became completely soaked with ice water and her hands were benumbed with cold, but she made her way from one ice floe to another until she reached the Ohio side near Ripley, where she sank exhausted. Here a man standing on the bank, who had been watching her with amazement and horror, assisted her and shortly afterwards she was forwarded to Coffin's house, then a few miles below Cincinnati. She afterwards reached Canada, where she lived many years.

THE SCANLAN MOB.

In 1843 Cincinnati had the shame of harboring a mob, which however did no damage. A man from New Orleans named Scanlan visited the city and in his family was a little slave girl about 10 years old, named Lavinia. The mother of this child had carefully instructed her daughter as to her rights whenever, with the consent of her father and master, her feet touched the free soil of Ohio. She told her that if she did not attempt to escape when in Ohio she would punish her severely on her return. She herself intended to escape and to identify her daughter if she should meet her years afterwards in Canada she put about her neck a small gold chain. When the child reached Ohio she remembered her instructions and wistfully looked into the face of each stranger in the hopes of finding aid. A colored couple finally assisted her in escaping to the house of Samuel Reynolds, the Quaker, who lived near the foot of Sycamore hill, near

Broadway and Liberty. The little girl was dressed in boy's clothes and remained concealed for some days but her whereabouts were discovered. Finally for better safe-keeping she was moved to the house of Edward Harwood, a neighbor, with whom lived John H. Coleman and family, all strong abolitionists. One evening as the children were playing in the yard a big watch dog was heard growling and taking this as a warning that strangers were in the neighborhood she was called in just in time it seems to escape the grasp of her father, who was concealed in the shrubbery. The following night Scanlan walked boldly into the house and demanded his child, but as he was unable to find her he went after assistance. He went down town to the Alhambra saloon on Third street, between Main and Sycamore, where after dispensing liquor freely he succeeded in gathering a crowd of roughs about him to assist him in catching his slave. The Harwoods and Colemans on the other hand took advantage of the interval to collect their friends about them. Finally a large crowd gathered about Coleman's house headed by an officer notorious for his zeal in capturing slaves. A demand on the part of Coleman that he should show his warrant disconcerted the officer, as of course there was no process by which he could search the house under such circumstances. The crowd continued to increase, however, owing to the speeches and liquor of Scanlan and the Colemans assisted by young Alf Burnett proceeded to fill the house with guns and ammunition, fearing that they would be obliged to resist violence. The sheriff of the county, John H. Gerard, had been appealed to for protection by the Colemans but he had refused any assistance with the statement that if they made themselves obnoxious to their neighbors they must suffer the consequences. The little girl in the meantime was once more clad in boy's clothes and accompanied by Mr. Harwood, Mr. Coleman, Albert Lewis and others was taken to the house of Mr. Emery at the foot of the hill. The howling mob continued to occupy the streets for some hours, but as they knew that there were about 30 or 40 abolitionists all armed within the house they were afraid to make any attack. Finally they drifted down town where a number of them attacked the house of Mr. Burnett on Fifth street, storming it and breaking in the windows. Mr. Burnett collected the stones in barrels and kept them for years as specimens of pro-slavery arguments. The little girl remained at Mr. Emery's for a week or so when, once more dressed in boy's clothes, she followed some boys who drove cows out to pasture on the hills and was taken by them to a station on the "Underground Railway" and sent North.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

As is well known, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 and the scenes accompanying its enforcement involved greater political consequences to this country than probably any other legislative act in its history. The irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery which had been going on for so many years was brought to a climax by this brutal law which in its horribly minute details and in the refusal of jury trial was in the opinion of the best authorities both at that time and the present not only unconstitutional but absolutely inhuman. By its provisions United States commissioners were given the powers of judges with relation to fugitive slaves and the marshals were required to execute writs under penalty on refusal of $1,000 fine or the full value of the slave. The commissioner upon application was directed to give the claimant a certificate to enable him to remove his fugitive slave to the place whence he had escaped. In no case was the testimony of the fugitive to be received and the certificate of the commissioner was conclusive, thus practically suspending the writ of habeas corpus. The passage of the act gave a sudden and great impetus to the search for fugitive slaves in the North, which was accompanied by various revolting circumstances, brutality in the captors, bloodshed, and attempts at suicide. Many persons who had been residents of the North for years were suddenly seized and taken South as fugitive slaves and these arrests and the circumstances attending them as well as the provisions of the law which made all citizens subject to be called on as slave captors served to arouse feeling against the act.

Several of the most celebrated cases under the act were tried in Cincinnati and during the few years prior to the war this city became the scene of the most revolting episodes in the long struggle against the curse of bondage.

THE M'QUERRY CASE.

The first case to be tried under this act in this district was that of Wash McQuerry before Justice John McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States on August 16 and 17, 1853. The fugitive was a bright, well built and intelligent mulatto about 28 years old. He with

three others had escaped some four years before from their master, Henry Miller, who lived about 50 miles back of Louisville. In the pursuit that followed one was captured but the other three crossed the Ohio above Louisville in the night on a skiff which in the absence of oars was propelled with pieces of bark. McQuerry finally settled near Troy, Ohio, where he married a free colored woman and became the father of several children. Being industrious and of a fine character, he soon gained a very respectable position among the neighbors, but a white man whose name should be handed down to eternal shame, John Russel, who lived not far from Piqua, having learned that McQuerry was a fugitive, in the hopes of obtaining a reward sent information to the master as to the whereabouts of the slave. McQuerry was arrested by Deputy-Marshal Trader while working on a canal boat and was brought in irons to the Galt House in Cincinnati. Peter H. Clark, the well known colored citizen, made application for a writ of habeas corpus at about two o'clock in the morning to Justice McLean in Clifton, about three miles from the city, asking that McQuerry be brought before the latter. The writ was granted and made returnable about ten o'clock in the morning. In the meantime Miller, the claimant, had made application to the United States Commissioner S. S. Carpenter who fixed the hearing at seven o'clock in the morning. McQuerry was brought before the commissioner in irons, which Carpenter at once ordered off. A continuance was had until two o'clock and the fugitive was ordered to be kept in the custody of the marshal. At ten o'clock Justice McLean found that the writ had been directed to the wrong deputy and that the fugitive had been brought before the commissioner, whereupon the matter was referred to the commissioner. As this was the first case under the law the latter preferred that the hearing should be held before Justice McLean and at two o'clock McQuerry was brought in by Marshals Black and Trader. The court room was crowded to the doors with both whites and blacks, and the jury box was filled with ladies. The mayor of the city, David T. Snelbaker, was present and, as much feeling had been shown both by the colored and white people, he had placed large numbers of police in the neighborhood of the Court House. The claimant was represented by T. C. Ware and McQuerry by John Jolliffe and Birney. There was little dispute as to the facts. It was proved beyond question that McQuerry was a fugitive slave belonging to Miller and the defense unfortunately had but little legal ground to stand on. Mr. Jolliffe delivered a long and impassioned argument upon the iniquity of the process by which an intelligent and upright human being who had lived for four years a sober, industrious and respected citizen of the State of Ohio could be dragged from his home and the wife of his bosom, from the graves of his children and bound hand and foot, hurried forever away from them and from all that he held dear into a bondage by the side of which Egyptian thraldom was a mercy. He took the position that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional and void, particularly in the denial of trial by right of jury. Dr. Brisbane of South Carolina was also permitted to make an argument for the fugitive and the court adjourned to hear the argument of Mr. Birney on the following morning. The prisoner was returned to the jail surrounded by a strong guard of police. Some demonstrations were made by the colored people but they were checked by the authorities. In the morning Birney also made an argument, which was followed by Ware for the claimant. Justice McLean, after reviewing the evidence and the law, was obliged to announce that sympathy could cut no figure in his decision and following the strict letter of the law he remanded the fugitive to his master. Jolliffe moved for a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court. McLean reminded him that no appeal lay from the decision of a justice of the Supreme Court made in chambers and at his suggestion the claimant entered into a bond for $2,000 conditioned upon returning the slave to this State in case it was found that the case could be taken to the Supreme Court. McQuerry was at once turned over to Miller by the marshal and taken over to Covington on his way back to slavery. An effort was made to purchase the slave from his master, who was willing to sell him, but enough money could not be raised and McQuerry disappeared from history into the darkness of Southern slavedom.

A HEARING BEFORE COMMISSIONER CARPENTER.

Another fugitive slave case was heard by Commissioner S. S. Carpenter in October, 1853. In this case the slave had escaped from Kentucky to Columbus and was brought back by the marshal to Cincinnati on the way back to slavery. John Jolliffe was assisted by Rutherford B. Hayes in defending this fugitive. The defense was that on a former occasion the slave had been brought by his master into the State and that

under the law of Ohio this voluntary act of the master freed the slave. The trial lasted for several days and at the conclusion of the evidence and the arguments Commissioner Carpenter deferred judgment until the next day at two o'clock. When the time came for the decision, the court, which was being held in the second story of Wilson's Building on Court street on account of the building of the new Court House, was crowded with interested listeners both black and white. Mr. Carpenter was quite slow in reviewing the evidence and spoke in a low tone which necessitated most rapt attention on the part of the audience. The slave sat between his master and the marshal of Columbus and behind him were a number of white people, many of whom were abolitionists, and as he was a little crowded he slipped his chair back a little way to gain more room. As he was not noticed by any one he slipped it back again; as he still was unnoticed he rose quietly to his feet and took a step backward. A friend put a good hat on his head and he moved cautiously toward a part of the room where the colored people were gathered. A number of the abolitionists watched his every movement with anxious fear lest he should be discovered. At the door a passageway was made for him and he passed into the street, through an alley, crossed the canal through the German settlement and stole by an indirect route to Avondale, where he knew the sexton of the colored burying ground. His absence was not discovered for some minutes. Of course it created a great sensation and a search was immediately instituted. The reading of the commissioner's opinion was immediately suspended and as the slave was never captured it was never concluded. Coffin and others disguised him in woman's apparel and brought him into the city. They located him in a house on Broadway near Sixth, where he remained about a week. One Sunday evening he walked up Broadway to Eighth street, whence he followed Coffin through the throng to Vine. Here he was concealed in the basement of the Congregational Church and after a long time sent to Canada. This case excited a good deal of sarcastic comment, particularly as it became known that he had been aided by the church people. Mr. Coffin said that Carpenter afterwards told him that he expected to decide that the Fugitive Slave Law conferred on him, as commissioner, judicial powers which he could not constitutionally exercise. Carpenter, who was for many years one of the most respected members of our bar, resigned from office in June of the following year, at which time he gave to the public press a lengthy statement of his reasons.

THE ROSETTA CASE.

Another celebrated case under the Fugitive Slave Law was the Rosetta case. Rosetta Armstead, a light mulatto girl of 16, belonged to Rev. Henry Dennison of Louisville. She was sent by her master in care of a man named Miller to take her back to Wheeling, where the family had formerly lived. Miller started by river but by reason of the heavy ice was obliged to leave the boat at Cincinnati. He concluded to visit some friends in Columbus and took Rosetta with him to that city. By this act Miller as agent of her master had under the law of Ohio emancipated her. Some colored people in Columbus interested themselves and she was taken before the Probate Court of Columbus, Ohio, on a writ of habeas corpus. Here she was declared free and the court appointed a guardian for her. Shortly afterwards her former owner appeared in the city and called upon her at the house of her guardian, where he endeavored to induce her to return to Kentucky with him. She refused, however, and thereupon he applied to Commissioner Pendery at Cincinnati, who issued a writ under which she was brought to this city. Here on another writ of habeas corpus she was brought before Judge Carter, who again held that she was free and that the marshal had no right to hold her in custody. In this matter she was represented by Rutherford B. Hayes and Salmon P. Chase. At the suggestion of Chase, the court directed the sheriff to deliver her to her guardian at the Woodruff House, which he did. Immediately upon her release by the sheriff, United States Marshal Robinson rearrested her on Commissioner Pendery's warrant and thereupon Judge Carter issued a citation against the marshal for contempt. She was taken before Pendery, where Flamen Ball argued the matter for her. He claimed that she had been brought into the State by Miller's agent and she was therefore entitled to freedom and had been pronounced free by two of the State courts. The claimants insisted that the State courts had no jurisdiction and that she must be held by the Federal Court under the Fugitive Slave Law. Rosetta's counsel argued that that law referred only to slaves who had escaped from a Slave State to a Free State, which was not the case of Rosetta. The decision was deferred from Saturday until Tuesday, during which time Rosetta was kept

in the county jail. On Tuesday, Commissioner Pendery decided that the slave owner was bound by the act of his agent and that there had been no escape by Rosetta but an emancipation and amidst the hearty applause of the audience she was declared free and allowed to go back to her guardian at Columbus.

In a test case made of the conflict between the State and the Federal courts, Justice McLean held that the machinery of the Fugitive Slave Law could not be interferred with by a State Court. This case was an episode of March, 1855.

THE MARGARET GARNER CASE.

The most remarkable case tried under the Fugitive Slave Law and one which aroused the interest of the entire country was that of Margaret Garner in the latter part of January, 1856. At this time the Ohio River was frozen over and a party of 17 slaves escaped from Kentucky by crossing the ice just below Western row (now Central avenue). When they reached the shore on this side, they separated and eight of them belonging to the same family made their way to the house of a free colored man named Kite below Mill creek. They were obliged to make inquiries to find his house and these inquiries subsequently led to their discovery. There were in this party an old man named Simon and his wife Mary, their son Robert and his wife Margaret Garner and four young children. Kite went up to the city to see Coffin, who at that time had his store at Sixth and Elm. Coffin told him that they were in an unsafe place and advised him to move them to the colored settlement farther up Mill creek. It was too late, however, for shortly after Kite's return the house was surrounded by the pursuers, a large number of officers, the masters and a posse of men. The escaped slaves prepared to battle for freedom and barred the windows and doors, refusing admittance to the officers of the law. Margaret particularly declared that she would kill herself and children before being taken back to slavery. The men fought desperately but the window was finally battered down and the pursuers rushed in, to be greeted by a volley of shots, one of which put one of the deputy marshals out of the fight and another of which struck a police officer. Margaret's husband was soon overpowered and dragged from the house. At this moment Margaret, seeing that resistance had been in vain, seized a butcher knife and with one powerful stroke almost severed the head of her youngest child, a little girl whom she loved the best. She attempted to take the life of the others as well as her own, but was overpowered and carried off to jail. This tragic episode threw the whole city into a state of excitement and the trial which lasted two weeks was listened to by vast crowds of people. The daily papers of the time reported the testimony and arguments of counsel in full. In fact little else appeared but the account of this trial and that of the Filibusters which was going on about the same time before Justice McLean. In the trial before Commissioner Pendery, Colonel Chambers of Cincinnati and Wall and Tinnell of Covington appeared for the claimants, and John J. Jolliffe and James M. Getchell for the slaves. The defense was on the ground that Margaret Garner had been brought by her owners years before into the State of Ohio to act as a nurse girl and hence by that act had been freed. It followed, of course, that if she was free her children, all of whom had been born before that time, were also free. Jolliffe also attempted to procure their freedom by obtaining an indictment for murder against Margaret as a principal and the rest of the party as accessories and attempted to have them arrested at once on this charge. The fugitives he said had assured him that they would all "go singing to the gallows" rather than be returned to slavery. The reason why he was anxious to have this writ served at once was that the Fugitive Slave Law provided that no warrant could be served on them after they should have been returned to bondage. He also argued the unconstitutionality of the act, but the commissioner was obliged to remand the fugitives back to slavery. He held that had Margaret asserted her freedom upon the occasion of her former visit to the State she would have been free, as in allowing them to come to Ohio the master had voluntarily abandoned his claim upon them, but that she by returning had abandoned her claim to freedom. Jolliffe insisted that even a savage tribe reserved to itself the right to try a charge of murder committed within its border. Archibald Gaines, the owner of Margaret, agreed to have her in safe-keeping to be delivered up to the State of Ohio if the murder charge was

pressed. The fugitives were delivered to their owners and taken in an omnibus to the wharf of the Covington ferry boat followed by an enormous crowd composed of sympathizers with the slaves and many Kentuckians who were interested on behalf of the Gaines family. Gaines kept the slaves for a few days in Covington, but when the requisition was made for Margaret she was not to be found as he had sent her down the river. It is said that during her trip down the river she sprang from the boat into the water with her babe in her arms but as she came to the top she was rescued by the boat hands, although the child was drowned. She disappeared in what her counsel called the "seething hell of American slavery."

This trial excited, as has been said, much attention and many prominent citizens attended the hearings. Margaret Garner was a mulatto about five feet high, showing about one-fourth white blood. The upper part of her face was that of an intelligent person, but her nose and lips were decidedly those of an African. She was 22 or 23 years of age and during the entire trial held in her arms her nine-months baby, which looked like herself. The other two children, little boys four and six years old, played about the mother's feet during the entire proceedings. The murdered child was said to have been almost white and of rather remarkable beauty. Margaret, throughout the trial, insisted that there would be no alternative for her but freedom or death, a sad commentary on the treatment she had received from her aristocratic owners. The other slaves seemed reconciled to slavery rather than death.

Among those who visited Margaret while she was in prison was Lucy Stone and it is said that she gave Margaret a knife with which to kill herself and her child in case of an adverse decision. Colonel Chambers, counsel for the claimant, referred to this in court and Lucy Stone, subsequently hearing of it, addressed the crowd in the court room after the adjournment. The peculiar case of the ignorant colored woman, through her acts showing the unconquerable force of a great despair, impressed her most deeply and she likened her spirit to that of the heroes of Bunker Hill.

An episode of the trial, which was recounted in all the newspapers and which afterwards was narrated by Mr. Coffin in his book, relates to the conduct of a deputy marshal who, ignorant of the habits of the Quakers, insisted upon the removal of Coffin's hat. As Coffin refused to remove his hat, the Kentucky marshal took it off for him but to his dismay Coffin would not accept it when he attempted to hand it to him. The marshal was somewhat discouraged at this and finally relieved himself of the hat by placing it upon a table in the corner. A friendly policeman returned it to Mr. Coffin, who again put it on his head. This put the obstreperous marshal into a dilemma in which his dignity was involved. He once more pulled off the hat, but was thereupon interrupted by a policeman who took the hat from him and placed it back on Coffin's head.

This story told about the city induced another well known citizen, Jonathan Cable, a Presbyterian minister from College Hill, to wear his hat in the court room. The marshal repeated his performance of taking off the hat, but upon offering it to Cable he was instructed that as he was United States marshal and as such a servant of the people, he should hold Cable's hat for him until the latter wanted it. The perplexed marshal, realizing that the whole town had by this time begun to ridicule him, did hold the hat until adjournment. This little incident served to inflame the feeling of the public against the iniquitous law and Cincinnati, which had been for so long a time rather pro-slavery in its sentiments, was experiencing a very decided change of conviction produced by such insults as those of the confident slave owners and their officious assistants. Another ground for resentment was based upon the fact that when Governor Chase on March 4th sent a requisition to the Governor of Kentucky asking for the return of the murderers on the ground that slaves could not be permitted to cross the river into Ohio and there commit crimes of impunity, it was found that Margaret had been sent down the river.

The sequel of the Margaret Garner case was the assault by Gaines on the attorney John Jolliffe which took place in Covington, June 1, 1857. Mr Jolliffe had crossed the river to dine with a friend when he was accosted by Gaines whom he did not remember. Gaines used very violent language towards him, calling him a negro thief and warned bystanders to look out for him as he

had probably come over to steal their negroes. This collected quite a crowd to whom Jolliffe appealed for protection. The mob, however, seemed to sympathize with his assailant but fortunately Mr. Warnock happened along and took him under his protection. Gaines struck Jolliffe with a cowhide and had it not been for the protection of the officers of the law, the latter would undoubtedly have been roughly handled by the mob who threatened to lynch him. Gaines was arrested for the assault and finally after a trial was fined a small sum.

Another case was that of the fugitive Anderson in 1857 wherein Judge Leavitt of Cincinnati in the habeas corpus proceeding discharged the sheriff's prisoners. At this proceeding at which George E. Pugh and Clement L. Vallandigham appeared for the slave catchers, the Attorney General of the State appeared at the request of Governor Chase.

THE CONNELLY CASE.

A case that aroused much excitement in 1858 was that of ———— Connelly, then a reporter on the local staff of the *Commercial*. He aided two fugitive slaves from Covington and concealed them for some days in a room back of his office. Their whereabouts were discovered by their master and in his absence the officers broke into the room. The negroes fought desperately and in the struggle the colored man received a pistol shot from which wound he subsequently died. A writ was thereupon sued out to arrest Connelly for harboring fugitive slaves. He fled from the city and went to New York. He was however brought back by the Cincinnati marshal and placed on trial before Judge Leavitt. The district attorney was Stanley Matthews and counsel for the defendant, ex-Governor Corwin and Judge Stallo. The trial lasted a number of days and aroused great public interest. The proceedings were published at length in the newspapers as well as the entire speeches of counsel and the charge of the court. The jury however found Connelly guilty and he was given a very light sentence,—imprisonment in jail for 20 days and a fine of $10. He was installed in the best room of the jail and furnished by the abolitionists of the city with bedstead and bedding and writing materials and with the best board that could be furnished. A large number of people visited him every day. It became the fashion of the ladies of the city to carry him fruit and dainties. The teachers of the public schools headed processions and ministers of the churches called upon him in organized bodies. The Methodist Conference which was in session at the time visited him in a body. A week later the Unitarian Conference met here and its members headed by Horace Mann also called upon Connelly. At the end of his imprisonment the Turners and other societies of the city escorted him from jail with a torchlight procession headed by a band of music and a number of carriages, in which were seated Judge Stallo and other prominent citizens. The procession paraded through the principal streets of the town and finally went to Turner Hall where Connelly delivered a speech. He subsequently delivered a number of speeches on the subject of the "Underground Railway," devoting the proceeds to the anti-slavery cause.

THE EARLY CASE.

A fugitive slave case that aroused a great deal of indignation was heard in March, 1850, before United States Commissioner C. C. Browne. According to the evidence, a colored man Lewis Early who had been a slave of one George Kilgour of Cabell County, Virginia, was brought in 1850 to the house of a Mr. Robinson in Ross County, Ohio. With him was an emancipation paper signed by his master who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Robinson and attested by three witnesses. Mr. Robinson who had known of the intention of Mr. Kilgour to free Early gave him employment and there he had remained until the time of his arrest, almost three years later. Unfortunately the house in which his papers were kept was destroyed by fire in 1850 and with it his "free papers." On March 25, 1850, he was arrested by a United States official as a slave and brought before the commissioner at Cincinnati. He was represented by Messrs. Jolliffe and J. W. Caldwell, who naturally set up the fact that he had been freed by his master. A son of the former master was present with the power of attorney directing him to recapture Early as a fugitive. Robinson testified as to the paper and the authenticity of the signatures and to the fact that his master had told him that he had freed this slave. In spite of the fact that the owner himself and the attesting wit-

nesses were not before him and against what seemed overwhelming evidence, the commissioner remanded Early to the charge of the officers and he was spirited away in time to avoid the writ of habeas corpus issued by Judge Leavitt.

The foregoing are but few of many cases of escaping slaves. The operations of Mr. Coffin and his friends continued to the days of the war and even the children of the city grew to understand that too many questions were not to be asked about any negroes whom they might see in unusual surroundings.

Another episode that almost precipitated a riot was the effort of a negro at the end of April, 1860, to obtain possession of two of his children for the purpose of selling them into slavery. Fortunately the unnatural desire of this heartless father was frustrated.

At the end of the following month, on May 28th, considerable excitement was aroused by an effort to kidnap a free negro for the purpose of selling him into slavery. A man named Jeremiah Johnson accosted the negro whose name was Upson and offered him a position on the river. When the Walnut street ferry landing was reached, Johnson endeavored to induce the negro to go upon the boat but the latter became suspicious and refused to obey. Thereupon Johnson pointed a revolver at his head and threatened to kill him if he made any resistance. The negro's screams gathered a large crowd to whom Johnson affirmed that the negro was a fugitive slave and offered a reward of $20 for assistance in getting him upon the boat and across the river. The negro insisted that he had never been a slave and called for assistance, whereupon two gentlemen riding along the levee in a carriage insisted upon Johnson letting him go. The result of the affray was the release of Upson and a thorough beating for Johnson who was afterwards arrested on the charge of kidnapping.

CHAPTER XLI.

FROM THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL TO THE WAR—VI.

THE PROFESSIONS.

THE BENCH AND BAR—THE CHURCHES—THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND ITS COLLEGES—THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL—GERMAN IN THE SCHOOLS—PRIVATE SCHOOLS—SECTARIAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES—THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

Many of the judges of the various courts during the two decades prior to the war were men of distinction and the bar itself possessed many able lawyers. Some of them have been referred to in earlier chapters; a number belong properly to a later period. It is impossible of course to enumerate all, but a few should be mentioned in detail.

Stanley Matthews was born at Cincinnati, July 21, 1824. He was a son of the celebrated professor of mathematics at Woodward College and Transylvania University,—Thomas J. Matthews. His boyhood was passed in Kentucky but upon the removal of his father to Cincinnati in 1832 to accept the presidency of Woodward, he accompanied him and studied in that institution until 1839. He then entered Kenyon College at Gambier where he graduated the following year, showing special proficiency in the classics. He studied law for two years in Cincinnati and subsequently taught school two years in Tennessee. There in February, 1843, he married Mary Black, the daughter of a resident of that State. He began the practice of the law there and also edited for a time a weekly political paper called the *Tennessee Democrat*. In 1844 he returned to Cincinnati where he formed a partnership with Judge Key and Isaac C. Collins. By the favor of the president judge, William B. Caldwell, he was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney. His interest in the anti-slavery cause induced him temporarily to abandon the law and in 1846 he became the principal editor of Dr. Bailey's anti-slavery paper,—*The Cincinnati Herald*,—which he edited for about a year. He was elected clerk of the Ohio House of Representatives in 1848 and served at the time Chase was elected Senator. He returned to the practice of the law in 1850, almost immediately to go on the bench as one of the new judges. After his resignation in 1853, he associated himself with Vachel Worthington. He served a term in the Ohio State Senate and in 1858 became United States district attorney by appointment of President Buchanan. He resigned at the outbreak of the war to accept a commission in June, 1861, as lieutenant-colonel of the 23rd Regiment Ohio Vol. Inf. The colonel of the regiment was W. S. Rosecrans and the major, Rutherford B. Hayes. He subsequently became colonel of the 51st Regiment Ohio Vol. Inf., and served with the Army of the Cumberland in Kentucky and Tennessee. He was for a time provost marshal of Nashville, after which he was put in command of a brigade.

While in camp in April, 1863, he was elected a judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, having for his associates Storer and Hoadly. This office he resigned in July, 1865, and at once became one of the leaders of the bar. Although formerly a Democrat, he subsequently acted with the Republican party. Although in 1872 he was temporary chairman of the Liberal Republican Convention, he refused to support Mr. Greeley, the nominee. In 1876 he was defeated for Congress by Henry B. Banning. He appeared before the Electoral Commission as counsel for Rutherford B. Hayes and took an active part in the political events of that troublous period. Upon the resignation of Mr. Sherman to go into President Hayes' cabinet, he was selected to serve out Sherman's unexpired term. Subsequently President Hayes and afterwards President Garfield nominated him for a vacancy on the Supreme bench of the United States, caused by the resignation of Justice Swayne. He was confirmed May 12, 1881, and served on the bench until his death, March 22, 1889. Justice Matthews was a man of prodigious learning, great force as a debater and advocate and of eminently judicial temperament. He stands among the nation's greatest lawyers.

George R. Sage was born in Pennsylvania in 1828 and moved with his family to Cincinnati in 1849. He was educated at Granville College, afterwards Denison University and at the Cincinnati Law School. He was admitted to practice in Kentucky in June, 1852, and on the day of his admission argued his first case in the Court of Appeals. The case involved almost a half a million dollars and among the counsel were some of the ablest lawyers of the State. He was admitted to practice in Cincinnati in the fall of that year and two years later became a member of the firm of King, Anderson & Sage. In 1855 he married the daughter of Thomas Corwin and entered into partnership with his father-in-law in 1857. The firm removed to Lebanon in 1858 but before Governor Corwin's death in December, 1865, Mr. Sage returned to Cincinnati. He soon formed a partnership with Thornton M. Hinkle, who had married his sister, and this partnership continued until his appointment to the District bench of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio on March 21, 1883. Prior to this time, he had held the office of prosecuting attorney of Warren County for six years. A peculiar circumstance connected with the beginning of his judicial career was the fact that the oath of office known as the "iron-clad oath" which was to the effect that he had never voluntarily borne arms against the United States, etc., was administered to him by Judge Hammond of Tennessee, who had himself been obliged to take the special oath provided for those who had participated in the Rebellion. After a most successful career upon the bench, he retired in 1898 and died a few months after his retirement.

Rutherford B. Hayes for the dozen years prior to the war was quite prominent at the bar of Hamilton County, of which he was a citizen until his removal to Fremont in 1873. He was born in Delaware, Ohio, in 1822 and educated at Kenyon College and afterwards at the Harvard Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1845 and finally established himself in practice in Cincinnati in 1849. Here he took an active interest in social and literary life. His connection with the Literary Club established about the time of his arrival was always regarded by him as of the greatest value, as it brought him into contact with such men as Chase, Ewing, Corwin, Matthews, Conway and Force, who were leaders in the community at that time and afterwards. In 1856 he was nominated for the office of Common Pleas judge but declined and in 1858 he was elected city solicitor to be reelected the following year. In 1861 he was defeated for reelection with his party. Prior to the war he had been a Whig and joined the Republican party in 1856. He was chairman of a committee on resolutions selected by the mass meeting held in Cincinnati after the news of the attack on Fort Sumter and became captain of the military organization formed by the Literary Club. In 1861 he was appointed a major of the 23rd Regiment Ohio Vol. Inf., and ordered to West Virginia. He served throughout the war with distinction, showing conspicuous bravery at South Mountain, Cloyd Mountain and particularly at Winchester. His distinguished services at Cedar Creek won him a brigadier-general's commission and towards the close of the war he received the rank of brevet major-general. While in the field he was nominated by the Republicans of the Second Congressional District of Ohio and elected to Congress. He was also nominated by the soldiers in the field for the governorship of the State. He was again elected to Congress in 1866 and in 1867 was nominated and elected Governor of the State, being reelected two years later. At the end of his term in July, 1872, he was again nominated for Congress but was defeated with his party. In the following year

he removed to Fremont with the firm intention of retiring from public life. Contrary to his wishes he was nominated for the governorship in 1875 and was elected. His subsequent career is a part of the history of the nation. He was the Republican standard bearer in 1876 and began his administration as President in the following March. At the conclusion of his administration, he retired to his home in Fremont, where he lived until the time of his death in 1893, devoting his time to benevolent and educational matters.

Robert B. Warden was born in Kentucky in 1824 but his early life was spent in Cincinnati, where he was educated at the Athenaeum,—the Catholic college in this city. He began the study of the law in 1840 under the tuition of Judge Read and afterwards that of Judge Timothy Walker. At the age of 17, he was made a deputy clerk of the court and remained in that office until 1845, when he was admitted to the bar. Just after attaining the legal age in 1850, he was elected by the Legislature president judge of the Common Pleas Court and in 1851 the people chose him as one of the judges of that court. He became the reporter of the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1853 and in December of the following year he was appointed by Governor Medill to the Supreme bench of the State to fill the unexpired term of Judge Corwin. He served but a little over a month when he was succeeded by Judge Swayne, who had been regularly elected to the office. He then resumed his position as reporter of the court. He subsequently removed to Washington in 1873, where he was for a time engaged in writing the life of Chief Justice Chase. He also practiced law before the Supreme Court in that city. He was subsequently a member and attorney for the Board of Health for the District of Columbia. Judge Warden was the author of many books largely of a political character and a scholar of wide attainments and an accomplished orator. He died in 1888.

Johann Bernhard Stallo was born in 1823 in Oldenburg, of a race of schoolmasters. He came to Cincinnati in 1839 and engaged as teacher in a private school. A German school book written by him led to his appointment as an instructor in the newly founded Catholic St. Xavier College. Here he taught for three years almost every department of knowledge. He specially devoted himself to higher mathematics, physics and chemistry. In 1843 he was chosen to teach these subjects at St. John's College in New York City. There he remained for four years, at the end of which time he published a work entitled "General Principles of the Philosophy of Nature." He subsequently returned to Cincinnati, where he was admitted to the bar in 1849. He was appointed by the Governor to succeed Judge Stanley Matthews as judge of the Common Pleas Court and afterwards elected to that position. After his resignation in 1855 he entered upon the general practice, in which he made a great reputation. A case that won him world-wide fame was the so-called Bible case, in which there were engaged with him George Hoadly and Stanley Matthews and opposed to him William M. Ramsey, George R. Sage and Rufus King. This was an effort on the part of certain citizens to prevent the enforcement of a regulation adopted by the School Board, forbidding the reading of the Bible in the public schools as being contrary to the spirit of free schools intended for the children of parents of all religious sects and beliefs. Stallo was for the board. The arguments in this case have been published and have won the admiration of the bar and the public generally throughout the country. He did much to establish the standing of this bar as among the first in the United States. The case was heard originally before Judges Storer, Hagans and Taft, who decided against the board (although Judge Taft wrote a dissenting opinion of great force), but this decision was reversed by the Supreme Court. Judge Stallo took an active part in the Liberal and Reform movements in 1872, although he was not able to support Mr. Greeley. In 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland, United States Minister to Italy and after the expiration of his term he resided in Florence until the time of his death on January 6, 1900. In 1882 he published in the "International Scientific Series" his "Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics," and afterwards, in 1893, "Abhandlungen und Briefe." He was for years associated in the practice with E. W. Kittredge and afterwards with Joseph Willy under the firm name of Stallo, Kittredge & Willy. Throughout his life Judge Stallo was regarded as one of the leading German citizens of his adopted country.

Donn Piatt was more distinguished as a journalist than as a lawyer. He was a younger brother of Jacob Wyckoff Piatt and was born in Cincinnati in 1816. He was educated at the Athenaeum, afterwards St. Xavier College. He subsequently studied law. The practice of the profession was not especially congenial to him

and he distinguished himself as a correspondent of the leading newspapers. He became noted as one of the wittiest of American journalists. After his brief service as judge of the Common Pleas Court, he became secretary of legation at Paris under John Y. Mason. He took an active part in behalf of Fremont in the campaign of 1856. During the war he served on the staff of General Schenck. He was subsequently the chief of the staff of Col. William Birney. After the war he became the Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. He edited the *Washington Capitol* for several years with such vigor that during the controversy of 1876 he was indicted for conspiring to disturb the peace of his country. After 1888 he edited *Belford's Magazine* for a time. The later years of his life were spent at his well known residence at Mac-o-chee. He died November 12, 1891. Colonel Piatt wrote several books of biography, a novel, some plays and even indulged in poetry. He was a striking figure both in the life of the city and of the nation.

Patrick Mallon, who was born in Ireland, began the study of the law in Troy, New York, and came to Cincinnati in 1845, where he entered the law office of Judge Alphonso Taft. Immediately upon his admission to the bar in 1848, he entered into partnership with Judge Taft and Judge Key under the firm name of Taft, Key & Mallon. An account of the main features of his life appears in the second volume of this work. Although a lawyer of force and learning and a zealous advocate, Judge Mallon's charm of manner and undoubted sincerity saved him from much of the asperity to which the practice of the law is subject. His death a few years since took from the bar one of its most popular members.

M. W. Oliver was of a very distinguished ancestry from an Ohio standpoint. He was a son of David Oliver and a grandson of the Revolutionary colonel, Robert Oliver, who came West with General Putnam in 1788. His mother was a daughter of David E. Wade, one of the early settlers of the city whose name has been mentioned so frequently in this work. He was born in Indiana in 1825 and was afterwards educated at Woodward. He graduated at Miami University in 1847. He afterwards studied law under Judge O. M. Spencer. He graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1849 and was admitted to the bar in 1850. He was elected to the Common Pleas bench in 1850 and served until 1859, when he resigned. In 1861 he was again elected to the bench and served the full term of five years. At the expiration of his term he again resumed the practice but retired in 1871. He served at various times as a member of the Legislature, on the Board of Aldermen, as trustee of the Miami University, as park commissioner and as a member of the Union Board of Cincinnati High Schools. He was also the president from its organization of the Price Hill Inclined Plane Railroad Company.

William Martin Dickson was born in Indiana in 1827; he came to Cincinnati in 1850 after graduating from the Harvard Law School, and tutored for a while in Judge Wright's family, was employed as instructor in Greek at St. John's College, and also acted as a reporter on the old *Cincinnati Times*. In 1852 he married Annie Marie Parker, a cousin of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. He was the first to hold the position of prosecuting attorney of the Police Court, to which he was elected in 1853. During his term occurred the Bolini riots and the agitation against the Germans. His conduct in these matters was such as to win him the everlasting support of the German population of the city. He took an active part in the fugitive slave cases on behalf of the slaves. His term of service on the bench was short but he succeeded in winning for himself the confidence of the bar. He was a Lincoln elector in 1860 and it was at his house that Lincoln stopped when visiting the city. He organized the first colored regiment during the war and during the threatened attacks upon the city he had charge of a negro brigade at Camp Shaler over the river. His interest in the colored people never flagged and he was instrumental in procuring for them the right to ride in the Cincinnati street cars. He retired from active life in 1866 at the age of 39. During the next 23 years he devoted much time to literary work and his initials "W. M. D." became well known in the leading journals of the country. He was killed October 15, 1889, by the accident on the Mount Auburn Inclined Plane Railway. A sketch of Judge Dickson, appearing in the second part of this work, contains other facts of his life not mentioned here.

Oliver M. Spencer was born in what was afterwards West Walnut Hills in Cincinnati in 1809. He was a third son of the well known Oliver M. Spencer, whose capture by the Indians was so interesting an incident of the early history of the city. He was educated at the Cincinnati College and afterwards at the Reeves

Law School at Litchfield, Connecticut. Upon his return to Cincinnati he was associated with a number of prominent lawyers, among them Judge Bellamy Storer. He soon became attorney for the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company and enjoyed a large practice until 1854, when he was elected to the newly organized Superior Court. He was reelected in 1858 but died in 1861 before the expiration of his second term. As a judge he was especially remarkable for his painstaking industry and his extreme dislike for the technical details which he thought had a tendency to obscure the general principles of the law. He was regarded as the great common lawyer of the bar and it is said that no opinion delivered by him was overruled by the Supreme Court of the State. By temperament and training he was eminently fitted for judicial training, although he had taken some part in politics prior to his election to the bench. In 1851 he with George W. Runyan was elected to the House of Representatives, but they were displaced by George E. Pugh and Alexander Pierce, who were declared to be elected in conformity with the law dividing the State into districts. He also opposed George H. Pendleton as candidate to Congress but was defeated.

William Y. Gholson was a native of Virginia, born in 1807, who had been educated at Princeton and had practiced for a time in Mississippi. He came to Cincinnati in early life. Here he soon earned for himself the respect of the bar to such an extent that he was regarded as worthy of the seat on the bench of the new Superior Court. He was appointed in 1859 to the Supreme Court of the State and served until 1863. At the conclusion of his service he returned to the practice in Cincinnati where he died in 1870. He has been called the embodiment of clear, legal logic. Another eminent judge who succeeded him on the bench says that "he knew nothing of the parties but their names on the docket; nothing of the cause but from the evidence; nothing of the result and its consequences but the judgment which the law pronounces." As a judge, whether on the bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati or on the Supreme bench of the State, he measured up to the standard of Lord Bacon. (Judge Force in Bench and Bar of Ohio.)

Any discussion of the lawyers of Cincinnati that leaves out of consideration the name of George E. Pugh is incomplete. Although his fame is national as a politician, as a lawyer he achieved even greater distinction. Many citizens of Cincinnati have occupied prominent positions in the public mind, but at the bar there has been but one George E. Pugh. He was born in this city in 1822 and graduated at Miami University in 1840. He immediately took up the practice of the law, in which he was very successful. At the beginning of the Mexican War he became a captain of the Fourth Ohio Regiment and also served as aide to Gen. Joseph Lane. In 1848 he was elected to the Legislature. In 1850 he became city solicitor of Cincinnati, in 1851 at the age of 29 Attorney General of the State. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat in 1855, his term extending from December of that year to March of 1861. His career in that body is a part of the history of the nation. He was very active and soon became a leader of the Northern Democrats. He was a delegate to the national convention held in Charleston in 1860 and made the reply to the celebrated speech of Yancey, pointing out that the Northern Democracy would not follow the South in its extreme measures. At the outbreak of the war he joined with William S. Groesbeck, Rutherford B. Hayes and others in telegraphing the President the suggestion that General McClellan be placed in charge at Cincinnati. He made the principal speech in the Vallandigham habeas corpus case in 1863, and in that year was a candidate for Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Vallandigham. He was defeated, as he was the following year for Congress. He was elected delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1873 but declined to act. As an advocate and as an orator he was regarded as without a rival. His intellectual powers matured early in life and for some years his wonderful memory, little short of the marvelous, and his power of collecting and using his materials even under the most adverse circumstances made him almost invincible. In an argument before the court he was able even without preparation to cite with verbal accuracy decision after decision pertaining to the question in point. He was never at a loss for an authority and was equally forcible in his presentation of it. He died July 19, 1870.

Thomas M. Key, the only judge of the Commercial Court organized February 4, 1848, was a Kentuckian who came to this State in early life. He was very eccentric, although quite an able man. During the war he was associated with General McClellan as judge advocate on the latter's staff. The stories told of his military service are numerous and amusing.

Another eccentric character was the judge of

the Criminal Court.—Jacob Flinn. According to Judge Wright, his peculiarities were so great that it became necessary to abolish the court in 1854 to get rid of the judge.

William Johnston moved to Cincinnati in 1839, after having taken some part in politics as a member of the State Legislature and as prosecuting attorney of Carroll County. The first year of his residence (1840) was taken up with the campaign for General Harrison, during which he made a great reputation as a stump orator. In the following year he was appointed United States Surveyor General, a position he held for four years. After this he was elected judge of the old Superior Court. In 1850 he was nominated as the Whig candidate for Governor, but was unsuccessful. After this he returned to the practice, where he was very successful, particularly before juries. He was a man of most remarkable peculiarities of manners and dress and very original in his style of oratory and made a marked impression upon all who heard him. He was also very careful to prepare his cases with great thoroughness. In 1861 he moved to Washington, where he was appointed by President Lincoln on the commission to revise the statutes of the United States. After this work was completed, he retired from the practice of the law and lived the life of a student until his death, at the age of 88 in 1892.

George Hoadly, who was elected Governor of Ohio in 1883, came to Cincinnati in 1846 and entered the office of Chase & Ball. He was admitted to the practice of the law in the following year and entered upon a brilliant career at the bar and in public life. His sketch appears on Page 17, Volume II, of this work. Few men among the residents of Cincinnati have been more respected and beloved. He was one of the ablest lawyers that Ohio has given to the country.

Another of the great lawyers of this period and subsequently one of the greatest lawyers of the country was Aaron Fyfe Perry, who came to this city in 1854. A sketch of his life is given in the second part of this work.

The name of Rufus King is hard to classify. He stood among the first of the practitioners of his day but was equally distinguished in the advancement of the educational interests of the city. He was born in 1817 at Chillicothe, the grandson of the celebrated man of the same name and the son of Edward King, who has already been mentioned in this history. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Worthington, who afterwards became so prominent in Cincinnati life as Mrs. Sarah Peter. He came to Cincinnati in 1841, after completing his studies in the Harvard Law School, and almost immediately took a position of prominence. His first public service was as member of the City Council, but soon he became much interested in the schools of the city. He was elected school visitor of the Third Ward in the year 1851 and served 14 years, being president from 1852 until the time of his withdrawal. Upon the consolidation of Woodward and Hughes high schools, in 1851 he was elected president of the board of managers, in which position he continued until the time of his death in 1891. He became a director of the University in 1859 and continued on the board until 1887, when he declined a renomination. He was president of the board from 1871 to 1872. He became a member of the Library Board in 1867 and president in 1870, which position he retained until 1873, when he retired from the board. He became connected with the faculty of the Cincinnati Law School in 1875 and served as dean and president of the faculty for some years. He was particularly active in the organization of the Cincinnati Law Library. He was elected vice-president of the board in 1851 and president in 1855, which position he held until the time of his death 36 years later. He took an active part in the organization of the College of Music and in the Art Museum. He was also a trustee of Kenyon College. It is apparent from this long record of service in the educational institutions of the city that Mr. King was a man of the broadest views with regard to the subject of education. No name stands higher in the educational history of the city than does his. He was also active in other directions. He was a member of the Board of Tax Commissioners from its organization in 1883 until it was abolished in 1891. He served throughout that time as vice-president and was the actual presiding officer as the mayor was president *ex officio*. He was one of the organizers of the Committee of One Hundred and director of Spring Grove Cemetery and director of the Cincinnati Southern and Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton railway companies and connected with the boards of several other organizations of this character. He refused to accept any office to which emoluments were attached. During all these years he occupied a leading position at the bar. As a teacher of the law he was remarkably successful and many of the ablest lawyers at the bar to-day acknowledge their indebtedness to him for their knowledge of a large part of the

principles of their profession. Other facts of his life are presented in his sketch, which appears in the second volume of this work.

William Haines Lytle, another prominent member of the bar of this period, was a son of Robert T. Lytle and grandson of Gen. William Lytle. He was born in the famous Lytle house on Lawrence street on November 2, 1826, and was educated at the Cincinnati College, where he graduated in 1843. He studied law with his uncle, E. S. Haines, but was led by his military enthusiasm to enlist in service in the Mexican War in the summer of 1847. He spent 10 months in Mexico and returned at the end of the war, having attained the rank of captain. Here he entered upon the practice of the law and met with almost immediate success. He was elected by the Democratic party to the State Legislature in 1852. Here he served two terms, during part of which time he was Speaker. In 1857 he was the candidate of his party as Lieutenant-Governor, but was not elected. During this year Governor Chase appointed him major general of militia in command of the first division of the Ohio militia. In July, 1858, he wrote the poem which perhaps has done more to perpetuate his memory than any other accomplishment of his life. General Lytle's career at the bar and in the war was brief but brilliant. He organized the first camp in Cincinnati at Camp Harrison. In June, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the 10th Regiment, Ohio Vol. Inf., and shortly afterwards departed for the seat of war. Prior to his departure he was presented by members of the bar with a sword and by other friends with a handsome black horse. The regiment was presented with a stand of colors by the women of Cincinnati. He fought at Carnifex Ferry, where he and his horse were both wounded. He was brought back to the city to the residence of his brother-in-law, Samuel J. Broadwell, and was received with great enthusiasm. The colors of the regiment were exposed in Shillito's store window and, covered with blood, were among the first sad realities of war that attracted great attention. He subsequently returned to the service and was assigned the command of a brigade. He was again wounded at Perryville and left upon the field for dead. He was taken prisoner and released on parole and once more was home in October, 1862. He was subsequently exchanged and promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. In the battle of Chickamauga on the morning of the second day, while leading a charge, he was struck in the face and died shortly afterwards, September 20, 1863. His funeral, which took place at Cincinnati on October 22, 1863, was one of the most touching incidents of the war.

Jacob Wykoff Piatt was a Kentuckian born in 1801. He came to Cincinnati in his early manhood and soon became one of the best known members of the bar. He was a fluent and witty speaker and a hard student and was also much given to politics. He soon became a leader among the Democrats and was particularly popular with the Irish element of the party. He was for a time clerk of the Common Pleas Court and member of the Council and especially active, as described elsewhere, in the change from the old volunteer to the paid fire department. Judge Dickson describes him as a "tall slim erect man with high forehead, long grey hair gracefully falling on either side, perfectly regular features, handsome mouth, chin and nose with an alert, keen, penetrating eye, a twinkle in it when lit up by sarcasm, altogether an imposing, dignified figure—Wykoff Piatt." His particular field was the matter of appropriation bills, which he watched with the greatest care to prevent extravagance and dishonesty. He was for many years a victim of bad health, which made him rather irascible in temper.

Another eminent lawyer who came to the city in 1839 was Alphonso Taft, a native of Vermont, born in 1810. He was a graduate of Yale and also of the law school of that institution. He was associated as counsel in many of the most important cases of his time. For almost fifty years Judge Taft was one of the most prominent of Cincinnati's citizens. The one act of his life, the decision of the Bible case, which at times seemed to interfere with his political ambition won for him the respect of every lover of independent thought and action, regardless of religious proclivities. A sketch of his life is given in Volume II of this work.

Bryant Walker, the son of Judge Timothy Walker, was a young man whose early death cut short a most promising career. He had been city solicitor and judge of the Superior Court for a short time. He was killed in his early manhood before Atlanta in 1864. His death aroused deep feeling throughout the community.

William S. Groesbeck was another of the giants of the bar of those days. He was admitted to the bar in 1836 and continued actively in practice until 1857, when he was elected to Congress. His preeminence as a lawyer is shown by the fact that he was one of those chosen by President

Andrew Johnson to act as counsel in the impeachment case and his address on that occasion has always been regarded as one of the greatest American forensic efforts. He easily carried off the honors of the trial. As a result his fame became national and on numerous occasions he was suggested as a candidate for the presidency. In Volume II of this work a full sketch of his life is given.

George H. Pendleton, a grandson of Nathaniel Pendleton and of Jesse Hunt, the pioneer, born July 19, 1825, in Cincinnati, began his career at the bar in 1846. In 1853 he was elected Senator and during the rest of his life he devoted his attention to politics. He represented Hamilton County in Congress from December, 1857, to March, 1865. He was the nominee of the Democratic party for the vice-presidency on the ticket with McClellan, the real choice of his party for the presidency four years later, although defeated for the nomination by a few votes at the last moment, and Senator from Ohio from 1878 to 1884. His connection with the civil service law has given his name a prominent place in the annals of the country. In 1885 he was appointed United States Minister to Germany. He died in Brussels four years later. Although throughout his life a partisan, Mr. Pendleton was almost as popular among his opponents as among the members of his own party. He was one of the ideal statesmen of the school that is fast passing away. The sobriquet by which he was commonly known, "Gentleman George," is an index of the view that was taken of him by the public in general. No man ever stood higher in the estimation of his fellow citizens.

Andrew J. Pruden began the practice of the law in Cincinnati in 1841. Richard Henry Stone was admitted to the bar in 1844. He was a member of the first Ohio Legislature under the new constitution in 1852-53 and clerk of the courts in 1858 to 1861. Edward A. Ferguson, "Father of the Southern Railway," and for many years one of the leaders of the local bar, began the practice of the law in 1848. In this year, too, another well known lawyer, George B. Hollister, came to the city and entered the law office of Thomas J. Strait. Thomas A. Logan came to the bar in 1851. Two years later Alexander B. Huston was admitted to the practice. Samuel T. Crawford began the practice of the law in this city in 1854. John Burgoyne, who so recently died, began the practice of the law in the fall of 1853; he was a son of Judge John Burgoyne. The well known firm of Hagans & Broadwell was formed in 1857. E. P. Bradstreet began the practice in this year. The year later John Fassett Follett was admitted to the bar in Newark County, Ohio, but he did not locate in Cincinnati until 10 years later. In 1858 Gustav Tafel entered upon the practice of the law. Thomas Barbour Paxton was admitted to practice in 1860. Sketches of nearly all these leaders of the Cincinnati bar appear in Volume II of this work.

THE CHURCHES.

Owing to the growth of the city, the number of churches increased so rapidly that it is impossible in a work of this character to be able to give a detailed account of each. After all it is the origin of things that is most interesting and the greatest evidence of success in any undertaking is the fact that it moves along with so little friction as to present no special points of interest. The churches multiplied and religion seemed certainly to be as well established as in other cities of the same size. All that can be done is to note briefly a few points with reference to the changes that were taking place.

The First Presbyterian congregation erected, in the year 1853, the church building now occupied by the society on Fourth street a few doors west of Main on the site not far from the site of its first church. The tall spire, 280 feet high, which is 10 feet higher than that of Trinity Church in New York, surmounted by a large gilt hand pointing upward, has made this church known for so many years as the "tall steeple church." Since that time the audience room of the church has been refitted on several occasions and the land on Fourth street in front of the church has been occupied by stores and offices. Joshua L. Wilson was minister of the church until the time of his death and subsequently his son, Samuel R. Wilson, was pastor for many years.

The Second Presbyterian Church continued in the classic building on the south side of Fourth street. Its pastor for a period of years was the distinguished Lyman Beecher. After his resignation in 1843, Rev. John P. Cleveland was pastor for a short time and was succeeded in 1846 by another much beloved pastor, Rev. Samuel W. Fisher, who remained at the head of this church until 1858, when he resigned to assume the presidency of Hamilton College. His successor was Rev. M. L. Thompson.

In 1840 seven Presbyterian churches are men-

tioned. In 1859 this number had increased to 25, including the Presbyterian Old School, New School and Reformed Presbyterian churches. The Old School churches were the Walnut Hills, the First, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Central, Ninth and the First churches at Glendale and Cumminsville. The New School churches were the Second, Third, Eighth, Tabernacle, German, West End Mission, Fulton, Walnut Hills and College Hill. Under the head of Reformed Presbyterian were given the Church of the Covenanters, the George Street Church, the Associate Reformed Church, Associate Church and also the three Congregationalists,—the First and Second Orthodox and the Welsh Congregationalist. The last named church, the Welsh Congregationalist, was the first society of Orthodox Congregationalists and was founded in 1840. The Vine Street Congregationalist Church after its break from the mother First Presbyterian Church, from which it had been organized as the Sixth Presbyterian Church in 1831, changed to Congregationalism in 1840. It was known at first as the Sixth Street Congregational Church but after its removal in 1848 to its present building on Vine street it took the name by which it has since been known. At the time of its change to Congregationalism, it reaffirmed its old resolution on the question of slavery, resolving that no candidate could be received who held slaves or believed in the holding or using of men as property. It also took a firm stand against the use of alcohol. Its principal pastor during this time was Dr. Charles B. Boynton, who was its pastor at three separate times. Dr. Dudley Ward Rhodes tells us that he was a man of firm and positive character, whose convictions were not mere opinions and that the Vine Street Church can never have any pastor who will be to it what Dr. Boynton was.

The First Orthodox Congregationalist was the old George Street Presbyterian Church. It made its change of name and allegiance in 1847. The corner-stone of its new building on the north side of Seventh street between Western row and John was laid by Lyman Beecher on July 16, 1845. The building was first occupied in 1849.

The congregation of Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal) had become permanently installed in its present location on Fourth street. Its pastor during the early part of this period was Dr. John T. Brooke, who seems to have been one of the ablest ministers in the history of the city. Other pastors were Rev. Alfred Blake, Rev. Dudley T. Tyng and Rev. C. M. Butler. At the opening of the war the pastor was Rev. Kingston Goddard. Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine, who officiated for a short time at this church, was throughout his life a strong force in the city life. He was born in New Jersey in 1799, graduated at Princeton in 1816 and after service as professor at West Point and the University of the City of New York as well as at the head of churches both in Georgetown and Brooklyn he was consecrated Bishop of Ohio in 1832. He was president of Kenyon College and the Theological Seminary at Gambier. From the time of his incumbency until 1859 he was very active in the life of the community. After this time his health made it necessary for him to curtail his labors. He died in Florence, Italy, in 1873. A church that is still very prominent in the city life, the Church of the Advent on Walnut Hills, was formed in 1855.

But two Episcopal churches, Christ and St. Paul's, are given in 1840. Twenty years later there were seven in the city. In addition to Christ Church and St. Paul's were St. John's at the southeast corner of Plum and Seventh (now St. Paul's), Trinity, Church of the Redemption, Church of the Atonement and Calvary in Clifton.

The most important event in the Catholic Church at this time was the completion of St. Peter's Cathedral and the creation in 1851 of the Archiepiscopal See of Cincinnati with Archbishop Purcell at its head and suffragans at Detroit, Cleveland, Louisville, Vincennes, Fort Wayne, Sault Ste. Marie and Covington.

But two Catholic churches are mentioned at the beginning of the second half century of Cincinnati life: St. Peter's Cathedral, at that time on the west side of Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh, and the Church of the Holy Trinity on the south side of Fifth between Smith and Park; this latter was a German congregation. At the end of this period the number of Catholic churches and religious societies had increased to 24. The old name of St. Peter's Cathedral had been transferred to the new structure on Eighth and Plum and to the original congregation was given the name by which it is at present known—St. Francis Xavier.

A similar increase is to be observed in the Methodist churches. In 1840 there were but nine of these, including such well known churches as Wesley Chapel (which possessed the largest auditorium in the city), Asbury Chapel, Ninth Street Chapel and the Fourth Street Chapel. In 1859 there were 22 Methodist

churches in the city. Included in this number was the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist (on the west side of College street) of Rev. Howell Powell, which dissented from the Methodist Episcopal Church both in doctrine and discipline; the First Wesleyan Church on Sixth street, which was called the "Anti-Slavery Church," and the Colored Methodist Church on Sixth street east of Broadway, which was independent.

The Baptist churches, of which there were in 1840 but three, including the well known Ninth Street Church, twenty years later were seven in number.

The Campbellite Baptist Church, headed by Elder James Challen, had become the church of Christian Disciples by 1841, at which time it was on the west side of Sycamore between Fifth and Sixth. At a later time the Central Christian Church grew out of this organization and built a new church on Eighth and Walnut in 1847. In addition to this church, three other Disciples churches were formed, including the Church of the Messiah and a colored church and a mission church, the latter being the church of the celebrated Elder Stratton.

Of the three churches of the New Jerusalem which were in existence in 1841, but one survived to 1859,—the Temple on the north side of Longworth between Race and Elm. The Second Society of Rev. Adam Hurdus, which met at Talbott's school house on College street and the Third Society of Rev. N. C. Burnham seem to have dropped out of existence.

The Unitarian Church, called originally the First Congregational Society, continued to be one of the strongest factors in the intellectual life of the city. Rev. W. H. Channing resigned in January, 1844, after a pastorate so brilliant as to make his church one of the best known in the country. He was succeeded by his cousin, James Handasyd Perkins, also a man of distinction. Mr. Perkins was born in Boston in 1810 and was educated at Exeter. He was for a time a clerk in the counting room of his uncle, the well known philanthropist Thomas H. Perkins. After a tour of England and the West Indies, he settled in Cincinnati in 1832. Here he studied law but soon drifted into literature. He conducted the *Western Monthly Magazine* and the *Evening Chronicle* for a time. In 1830 he became a lay reader or minister at large. During his pastorate he succeeded in maintaining the high standard set by his distinguished predecessor. He was much interested in the cause of prison reform and in all educational matters. He is perhaps best known for his historical work, being the first president of the Cincinnati Historical Society and the compiler of the well known "Annals of the West." In a fit of depression he drowned himself in the Ohio River on December 14, 1849. His "Memoirs" in two volumes were written by his predecessor. For a short time in 1846 the poet, Cornelius George Fenner, occupied his pulpit. He died in this city on January 4, 1847, when Mr. Perkins resumed his place at the head of the society. Mr. Perkins was succeeded by Rev. Abiel Abbott Livermore, a graduate of Harvard in 1833 and of the divinity school three years later. He was called to Cincinnati in May, 1850, from Keene, New Hampshire, where he had been pastor for 14 years. He remained here for seven years, when he removed to New York. He died in 1892. Mr. Livermore was succeeded by a pastor probably the best known to Cincinnatians of the present day and a most conspicuous figure in the literary world.

Rev. Moncure Daniel Conway was born in Virginia in 1832. He was educated in his native State and finally at Dickinson College, where he graduated in 1849 and where he united with the Methodist Church. He first began the study of the law but soon abandoned this for the Methodist ministry. He contributed for a time to various Southern newspapers and magazines. By reason of the influence of a settlement of Quakers in which he lived for a time, he suffered a change of political and religious convictions, as a result of which he left the Methodist ministry and entered the divinity school at Harvard, where he graduated in 1854. He then returned to Virginia filled with humanitarianism and transcendental and rationalistic ideals. He had become particularly pronounced in opposition to slavery, as a result of which he was obliged to leave his native State because of the assistance he had rendered to the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns. He subsequently became pastor of the Unitarian Church in Washington, but was dismissed by reason of an anti-slavery address delivered after the brutal assault of Preston Brooks on Charles Sumner. He came to Cincinnati to preside over the Unitarian Church in 1857. Here in the old church on the southwest corner of Fourth and Race he preached against slavery and wrote many books and pamphlets on this and other subjects. Just prior to the Civil War he delivered a number of addresses on the subject of slavery in New England and throughout the country. During the war his father's slaves es-

caped from Virginia and were settled by him in Yellow Springs, Ohio. In 1863 Rev. Mr. Conway went to England, where he preached and wrote anti-slavery doctrines. There he became the minister of the South Place Religious Society in London and remained there until 1897, at which time he returned to the United States; he has lived in New York since that time. Rev. Mr. Conway was for many years the London correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* and throughout his life has been a regular contributor to the daily press and magazines of all classes in both England and America. He is said to be one of the most prolific of living writers. In addition to his many contributions to periodical literature, he has published a number of works of great literary merit. A bibliography of his writings would demand too much space for reproduction here.

During Conway's pastorate a part of the congregation withdrew and formed the Second Unitarian Society at the southwest corner of Sixth and Mound. Here a number of famous divines preached, including Dr. Henry W. Bellows, Dr. A. P. Peabody, President Thomas Hill, Dr. W. G. Elliott and Horace Mann. Shortly after Rev. Mr. Conway's resignation in 1862, the old church was sold to the brothers Simon, who erected upon the site the building which stands there at present.

In 1859 is also mentioned the First Christian Church on the north side of Longworth between Western row and John and the First Universalist Society. The Second Universalist Society was the seceding congregation of Mr. Conway's church. Twenty years before, the Universalist Church was that of Rev. John A. Gurley on the west side of Walnut between Third and Fourth streets.

In 1839 the only Lutheran Church mentioned was the German one of Rev. P. Schmucker. Two years later William Seib was its pastor and the church was on the west side of Walnut between Eighth and Ninth streets. In 1859 Rev. Carl Tuerck was the pastor of this church.

In 1841 Rev. Abraham Reck passed through the city at the time of the negro riots. The intense feeling against churches friendly to the abolition of slavery convinced him that here was a place for an English Lutheran Church. As a result, on December 8, 1841, Mr. Reck preached his first sermon here in the upper room of the engine house on the corner of Vine and Canal. There were at first but eight Lutheran members ready to enter an organization, but by December, 24, including Michael Straeffer, Henry Kessler, Thomas Heckewelder, Isaac Greenwald, Adam Epply, Andrew Erkenbrecher, Frederick Rammelsberg, Henry Stuckenborg and Samuel Startzman formed a society and rented the old hall of the Cincinnati College. Several years later a church was purchased on the south side of Ninth street two doors east of Walnut. The next pastor was Rev. W. H. Harrison, who served for more than twenty years, dying of the cholera in 1865. In 1859 there were mentioned eight Evangelical and Lutheran churches, of which but one, that of Dr. Harrison, held its services in the English language.

The other churches of the city at the time of the opening of the war included three German Reformed churches as well as the two congregations of Friends, one Orthodox and one Hicksite, which worshiped side by side.

In Mr. Cist's volume published in 1859 there are 108 churches and religious societies mentioned, in addition to those of the Jewish persuasion, of which there were eight organizations. The city is said to have contained 100 Sabbath-schools (without including those of the Roman Catholics and the Jews), in which 13,890 children received religious instruction from 1,918 teachers.

There were eight Jewish congregations in 1859 with a resident population of 7,013. The subject of the Jewish churches is treated in the special chapter written by Mr. May.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND ITS COLLEGES

In 1841 the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio is given as consisting of Drs. John T. Shotwell, John Locke, R. D. Mussey, Daniel Oliver, M. B. Wright and Jared P. Kirtland. Ten years later Drs. H. W. Baxley, L. M. Lawson, T. O. Edwards, Landon C. Rives, John Bell and John Davis were the new names. Of the old faculty the only survivors were Drs. John Locke and R. D. Mussey. In 1859 Dr. Lawson, who had been the dean, was still in that position and the only one of the faculty still connected with the college. Other members were Drs. Jesse P. Judkins, George C. Blackman, George Mendenhall, C. G. Comegys, James Graham, H. E. Foote, Thomas Wood, John Alexander Murphy, B. F. Richardson and William Clendenin.

The Eclectic Medical Institute had been organized in 1845 as a result of the removal to the city of Worthington Medical College. In 1851 its faculty included Drs. Z. Freeman, Joseph R. Buchanan, Lorenzo E. Jones, R. S.

OLD HUGHES.—1853.

OLD WOODWARD.—1841.

THE (FIRST PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCH OF THE PIONEERS.

DISTRICT SCHOOL HOUSE.—1841.

Newton, Benjamin L. Hill, I. Gibson Jones and J. Milton Sanders. Eight years later Drs. Jones, Newton and Freeman were still members of the faculty. The new members were Drs. H. D. Garrison, W. Byrd Powell, G. W. L. Bickley, J. Cam Massie, J. M. Scudder, A. H. Baldridge and Edwin Freeman. The Institute was located at the northwest corner of Court and Plum streets in the building still occupied by it and by the wholesale drug store of Lloyd Brothers. Connected with this institution was Newton's Clinical Institute at the southeast corner of Sixth and John in the building still standing on that corner and occupied for almost forty years by the drug store of Dr. Theodore L. A. Greve. In 1850 there split off from the Eclectic Medical Institute the Eclectic College of Medicine and Surgery, located on Walnut between Fourth and Fifth, whose faculty in 1859 included Drs. J. F. Judge, T. E. St. John, A. Jackson Howe, C. H. Cleaveland, William Sherwood, John King and J. R. Buchanan. Shortly after this time the two Eclectic schools reunited.

The Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery was organized in 1851 and held its sessions for many years at Longworth street and Central avenue. In 1859 its faculty included Drs. A. H. Baker, B. S. Lawson, P. M. Crume, R. Spencer, T. W. Gordon, Thaddeus A. Reamy, J. C. Beck, J. W. Baker, William Spencer and William H. Swanderer.

Under the head of medical colleges there was also given in 1851 the so-called Physio-Medico College of Ohio at the corner of Fifth and Western row. Its faculty included Drs. E. H. Stockwell, J. A. Powers, E. Morgan Parritt, Joseph Brown, R. C. Carter and H. F. Johnson. This had been commenced at Columbus in 1836 and afterwards moved to Cincinnati. In 1859 its faculty included Drs. D. B. Wiggins, D. McCarthy, Z. Hussey, W. H. Cook, S. E. Cary and T. W. Sparrow. This institution taught what it called reformatory medicine. Its rooms in 1859 were in the Cincinnati College Building.

The Miami Medical College began its first course of lectures in 1852 in a building at the northwest corner of Fifth street and Central avenue with a faculty consisting of Drs. R. D. Mussey, Jesse P. Judkins, C. L. Avery, John Davis, John F. White, George Mendenhall, John Alexander Murphy, C. G. Comegys and John Locke, Jr. In 1857 the College was consolidated with the Medical College of Ohio, which consolidation continued until the spring of 1860.

The Ohio College of Dental Surgery was organized in 1845 with B. P. Aydelott as president. Its faculty included Jesse W. Cook, Melancthon Rogers, James Taylor and Jesse P. Judkins. At a later time Dr. Elijah Slack was added to the faculty. In 1847 J. F. Potter and William M. Hunter became members of the staff. A year later Drs. George Mendenhall, John P. Shotwell, A. M. Leslie and Charles H. Raymond took the place of some of the older members, who resigned. In 1851 the faculty consisted of Drs. James Taylor, George Mendenhall, Thomas Wood, John Allen and G. L. Van Emon. In 1859 the faculty consisted of Drs. C. B. Chapman, J. B. Smith, James Taylor, Jonathan Taft, Joseph Richardson, George Watt and Henry A. Smith. Previous to 1851 the College had leased quarters in Talbott's school but during that year the members of the dental profession generally were induced to become interested in the institution and as a result the building was purchased and the session of the fall of that year opened in a building owned and especially dedicated to the dental profession. The new organization resulted in the election of James Taylor to the presidency. In 1854 a new building was erected on the same site on College street between Sixth and Seventh.

Among the physicians of prominence during the period just prior to the war has been mentioned Dr. Marmaduke B. Wright, who came here from Columbus in 1838. He was a professor in the Medical College of Ohio for about ten years and a general practitioner for many years more. In 1860 he again became a member of the faculty of the College and retained his chair until 1868, when he resigned by reason of old age. He died in October, 1879.

Dr. Thomas Wood came to the city in 1845. He became a member of the faculty of both the Medical College of Ohio and the Ohio College of Dental Surgery, and was for a time connected with the *Lancet and Observer*. He rendered useful service during the war and at Shiloh contracted blood poisoning, which resulted in the loss of his thumb. Strangely enough many years afterwards, in 1880, while attending a number of persons who had been injured by an accident on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway, he again contracted blood poisoning, from which he died.

Dr. John Bell was for a number of years a professor in the Medical College of Ohio and an active practitioner.

Samuel G. Armour, who had been a distinguished lecturer in Chicago, in the Ohio Univer-

sity and in the Cleveland University, came here in 1853 to accept a chair in the Medical College of Ohio. He remained but a short time, however, moving first to Dayton and afterwards to St. Louis, to the University of Michigan and eventually to Brooklyn, New York.

Dr. Reuben Dimond Mussey, one of the most prominent surgeons and medical practitioners that has ever lived in Cincinnati, was born in New Hampshire in 1780. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1803 and received his degree in medicine two years later. He subsequently graduated at the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania in 1809. During his studies at this institution he occupied much time in experimental research and as a result succeeded in adding considerable information to the knowledge of his subject. He practiced medicine for a time in Salem, where he was in partnership with Dr. Daniel Oliver, who subsequently was associated with him in the Medical College of Ohio. A few years later he assumed a chair in the medical department at Dartmouth College and later at Middlebury College, Vermont. During the next few years he traveled abroad and also lectured at various colleges throughout New England and in New York. In 1838 he was invited to come to Cincinnati as a member of the staff of the Medical College of Ohio, where he became professor of surgery, which position he retained for 14 years. He was the president of the American Medical Association in 1850. Two years later he aided in the founding of the Miami Medical College and continued as its professor of surgery until it united itself with the parent institution. After this time he practiced for a few years in Cincinnati and then retired at the age of 80 from active practice, returning to the East for the purpose of continuing his studies in the hospitals. He died in Boston in 1886, having completed within two days his 86th year. Dr. Mussey has been generally recognized as one of the leading surgeons and ablest physicians not only of the West but of the country. He was a man of very determined and somewhat erratic temperament. He was a strong believer in total abstinence and eventually became a vegetarian. He had decided convictions with regard to hygiene, fashions in dress, and the habits of life and never hesitated to express them both in lectures and in conversation.

Dr. John Locke has been frequently mentioned in connection with the numerous enterprises to which he was a party. He was born in New England in 1792. From his earliest days he displayed great mechanical taste and ingenuity and a love of science. He devoted special attention to the study of medicine, chemistry and botany. In 1818 he began delivering lectures in Maine, after which he resumed his medical studies and received his degree at New Haven. He subsequently attempted to practice medicine but did not succeed and thereupon became a teacher in a female academy in Windsor, Vermont. He subsequently came west in 1822 and established himself in Cincinnati. Here he was befriended by Ethan Stone and soon became well known. His school for young women acquired a high reputation. He took an active part in the founding of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and in 1835 became professor of chemistry in the Medical College of Ohio. He subsequently made several trips to Europe in the interest of scientific investigations. His work on magnetism won for him the gift of a full set of magnetical instruments from the English government. The dissensions in the College in 1849-50 which grew out of politics lost him his professorship and although at a later time he was again connected with the institution he was never able to resume the active method of his life. His health broke and he died in 1856.

Dr. Leonidas M. Lawson was a Kentuckian, born in 1812. He was educated at Augusta College and afterwards at Transylvania University. He came to Cincinnati in 1841 and a year later founded the *Western Lancet*, which he edited for 13 years. In 1847 he entered the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio, where he continued with a short interruption of two years until his death in 1864. His work on *phthisis pulmonalis* was a standard work for many years.

Dr. James Graham was an Ohio man born probably in 1818. He became a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio in 1854 and lectured here for twenty years. He died in 1879 after a long illness.

Dr. Jesse Parker Judkins graduated from the Medical College of Ohio in 1838 and the year later was appointed to a position in the institution. In 1845 he became a member of the faculty of the Starling Medical College at Columbus and returned to Cincinnati in 1852 to take a chair in the Medical College of Ohio. He was a very successful practitioner. In 1846 the loss of a brother affected him so seriously that his health broke down and he died three years later at the age of 53.

Dr. William Judkins, an older half-brother of Dr. Jesse Parker Judkins, was born in North

Carolina in 1788. He came to Cincinnati in 1832 and almost from his earliest residence occupied a leading position as a physician and surgeon. His is among the great names of the profession. He died in 1861.

Another great name is that of Dr. George C. Blackman, who came to Cincinnati in 1854. He had graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, had served as a surgeon on an Atlantic packet ship and studied in Great Britain and France. In his early life he suffered from pulmonary troubles, which it was thought would speedily result in death. In order to combat this tendency he crossed the Atlantic 36 times, besides visiting South America. He was very successful as a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio and particularly so as an operator in the hospital, where his enthusiasm for his profession communicated itself to all about him. He served as a surgeon and medical director during the war. He died in 1871.

Still another distinguished name is that of Dr. George Mendenhall who was born in 1814 of Pennsylvania Quaker ancestry. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania and removed to Cleveland in 1835. An attack of pulmonary disease in 1843 caused him to abandon the lake region for what was regarded as the more genial climate of Cincinnati. He soon gathered about him some of the ablest of the younger men of his profession and organized a summer school and subsequently, in 1852, the Miami Medical College. Afterwards he became a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio. Perhaps his greatest service for the public was that of president of the Cincinnati Branch of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. A sketch of Dr. Mendenhall's life appears in the second volume of this work.

A name much beloved by the citizens is that of Dr. Cornelius George Comegys for many years so prominent in every department of civic life. He was born in Delaware in 1816. He came West, first settling in Indiana where he married a daughter of Governor Tiffin, the first Governor of Ohio. His life up to this time had been devoted to mercantile pursuits and it was not until after his marriage and the birth of two children that he returned to Philadelphia for the purpose of studying medicine. He received his degree in March, 1848, at the University of Pennsylvania and the following year moved to Cincinnati during the visitation of the Asiatic cholera. In the treatment of this disease he made for himself quite a reputation which resulted in a large practice. Two years later he spent a year in the hospitals and schools of London and Paris, one of his instructors being the celebrated Charcot. He joined in the organization of the Miami Medical College and afterwards became a member of the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio, which position he retained until 1869. He served on the staff of the hospital until the close of his life, during the last seven or eight years being its president. He was a member of almost every public organization of the city. He took particular interest in the educational development of the city, being for many years a member of the School Board and of the Public Library Committee. He was also a member of the Council and the Board of Aldermen where he strongly supported the measures taken for the establishment of the University of Cincinnati. He became a member of the board of directors of that institution in 1873 and continued so until the time of his death in 1896, being its president for the last six years of his life. As such he laid the corner-stone of McMicken Hall. He died February 10, 1896.

Dr. John Alexander Murphy was another well known physician, a graduate in 1846 of the Medical College of Ohio. He was one of the founders of the Miami Medical College. He was afterwards connected with the Medical College of Ohio and upon the reorganization of the Miami Medical College in 1865 he returned to that institution. He assisted in the editing of the *Lancet and Observer* at various times during his life. He was employed in various medical positions during the war and was on the staff of the Cincinnati Hospital during almost the entire period of his professional life. His sketch may be found in Volume II of this work, beginning on page 31.

Another leader of the medical profession was Dr. William Carson who graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1850 and began his practice in Cincinnati the same year. He located on East Third street near Broadway, in which locality his office continued for 43 years until the time of his death in 1893. He was a physician of the Cincinnati Hospital for almost a quarter of a century before his death and also belonged to the staffs of the Episcopal Hospital for Children, the Good Samaritan Hospital and St. John's Hospital. He was also at one time president of the Academy of Medicine. In 1892 his alma mater, Miami

University, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Dr. Carson was always successful from the professional standpoint and for a number of years before his death he stood practically at the head of his profession. A sketch of Dr. Carson's life and associations appears in the second volume of this work.

Dr. William Clendenin graduated at the Medical College of Ohio in 1851. In 1853 he associated himself with Dr. R. D Mussey and after the latter's death with his son, Dr. William H. Mussey. He was a member of the faculties at different times of the Ohio and Miami medical colleges. In 1859-60 he studied in Europe. Upon his return to Cincinnati he entered the army and was appointed surgeon serving throughout the war. He was at Bull Run and at Chickamauga. He held positions as medical director of the 14th Army Corps, assistant medical director of the Department of the Cumberland and medical inspector of hospitals. Refusing a foreign appointment in 1865, he returned to Cincinnati to accept a position in the Medical College of Ohio, and was appointed health officer, the first in the history of the city. He organized the department and procured the passage of the sanitary laws which are the basis of the present system.

Dr. Charles Woodward, who at the time of his death in 1874 was called the oldest medical practitioner in the city, was a graduate of Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania and came to Cincinnati in 1828 where he practiced for 46 years.

Dr. John H. Tate came to Cincinnati in 1853 and was also connected with the college and the hospital. He was regarded as the founder of the library and museum of the latter institution.

Dr. Nathaniel Foster was born in Ireland in 1817 and came to Cincinnati in 1833 to visit his uncle, Dr. John Morehead. Here he studied medicine and graduated at the Medical College of Ohio in 1838. He subsequently studied in Europe after which he returned to Cincinnati, taking up the practice of Dr. Morehead, who had returned to Ireland. He occupied the same office for nearly forty years. Throughout his life he was a very active practitioner, devoting much of his time to work among the poor. He was connected for many years with the Good Samaritan Hospital. He married in 1853 a daughter of Gen. Robert T. Lytle and Elizabeth Haines and a granddaughter of Gen. William Lytle. He died in 1882.

Dr. Thaddeus A. Reamy, whose name appears in the faculty of the Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery in 1859, is one of the few survivors of this period still in the practice of his profession. He was born in Virginia in 1829. He studied at the Ohio Wesleyan University and at Starling Medical College. He was elected in 1858 to the professorship just mentioned, which position he held for two years after which he returned to Zanesville where he had formerly practiced. It was not until 1871 that he settled permanently in Cincinnati.

Dr. Alexander S. Dandridge came to Cincinnati in 1843, where he married the daughter of Jesse Hunt. He practiced his profession here for over forty years.

Dr. C. S. Muscroft was also a well known physician who graduated at the Medical College of Ohio in 1843, after which he engaged in the practice of Medicine in this city, achieving an enviable position.

Cincinnati has always been a center of influence in the Eclectic school of medicine. In 1830 the Reform Medical Society of the United States concluded to establish a school in the West for the purpose of availing themselves of the "advantages resulting from a scientific knowledge of botanic medication." The school was established at Worthington, Ohio, in 1832 under Prof. T. V. Morrow. It was moved to Cincinnati in 1842 and received a special charter as the Eclectic Medical Institute in 1845. It went through the period of quarrels and jealousies that had distinguished the founding of the old school institutions and for a time there was a split, resulting in the establishment of the Eclectic College of Medicine and Surgery. The two institutions afterwards came together.

One of the most prominent of the Eclectic practitioners for over a third of a century was Dr. Zoheth Freeman, born in Nova Scotia in 1826. He was educated at the Buffalo Medical College and graduated at the Eclectic Medical Institute at Cincinnati in 1848. He taught for a time in Rochester, New York and in Memphis, Tennessee, but returned to Cincinnati in 1851 to take a chair in the Eclectic Medical Institute here. From that time until the time of his death, a few years since, he was very active in the practice of his profession. It was said for many years he had one of the largest practices in the city which however was not as remunerative as it should have been, as a very large portion of his time was given to those who were unable to compensate him for his services. A

sketch of Dr. Freeman appears in the second part of this work.

His brother, Dr. Edwin Freeman, whose sketch appears in Volume II of this work, came to Cincinnati in 1854, where he graduated two years later from the Eclectic Medical Institute. He practiced in this city until the time of the war when he served as a surgeon in the Army of the Potomac and also in Central Kentucky and Tennessee. He was also at Vicksburg where he contracted typhoid fever which resulted in his resignation from his service in 1864. At the conclusion of the war he moved to New York to become a member of the faculty of the Eclectic Medical College in that city. In 1871 he returned to Cincinnati where he remained for 16 years after which his health obliged him to go to California. In 1892 he returned to Cincinnati, where he practiced until the time of his death in January, 1904.

Another prominent Eclectic was Dr. John King who came to Cincinnati in 1840. He practiced in this city for nine years and again from 1857 until 1890. Drs. A. J. Howe, J. M. Scudder, R. S. Newton, J. R. Buchanan and F. J. Locke were also prominent practitioners of this school.

The pioneer Homeopath in Southern Ohio was Joseph H. Pulte, who was born in Germany in 1811. He graduated at the University of Marburg and came to this country in 1834. In 1840 he came to Cincinnati where he opened a private dispensatory. He was very successful, particularly during the cholera year of 1849. He associated himself with Dr. Benjamin F. Ehrmann, who came to the city in 1849 and was also for many years a successful practitioner of homeopathy. Other practitioners of this school at this time were Drs. H. P. Gatchell, James G. Hunt, Adolph Bauer, Gerhardt Saal and Edwin C. Witherell.

Dr. William Owens was also for many years a prominent Homeopath. He entered upon the practice of medicine in 1849. He took an active part in the War of the Rebellion, being mustered out as captain in 1863 and afterwards rejoining the army, as assistant surgeon. He was one of the founders of Pulte Medical College.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The "Cincinnati Almanac" for 1839 begins its description of the common schools with the statement that "the free public schools of Cincinnati are the pride and glory of the city and were never in a more favorable condition than at present." The same statement is practically reiterated the following year. The number of teachers in the schools at that time was 66,—25 males and 41 females,—with an average attendance to each teacher of about 40. The number of pupils enrolled was 4,480, "of whom three thousand and ninety-seven remained" and twenty-five hundred were in daily attendance. The teachers were said to be persons of "intelligence, morality and refinement" who paid the "strictest attention to the inculcation of sound morals, politeness and the habitual use of chaste and correct language on the part of the pupils." There were nine school houses of uniform size and elegant appearance, 68 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth. Every parent in the city we are told had it in his power without direct expense to himself "to give his children a thorough education in Reading, Spelling, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, History, Astronomy, Arithmetic, including the higher branches of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Political Economy, comprising a complete instruction in all the branches necessary to the useful purposes of life." There were libraries in all the school houses, some containing valuable assortments of books which were circulated and read by the pupils and their friends. Among the trustees and visitors at this time were a number of well known citizens such as Elam P. Langdon, William Wood, William S. Ridgley, Peyton S. Symmes, Daniel F. Meader, James H. Looker, Thomas J. Matthews, Charles Sonntag, Joseph Bonsal, James H. Perkins and Nathaniel Holley. Among the examiners and inspectors were William Greene, E. D. Mansfield, W. H. McGuffey, John C. Vaughan, Salmon P. Chase, John Delafield, Jr., and Dr. Aydelott. Almost the first matter of importance that confronted the schools was the establishment of a German department as referred to below. In 1842 the night schools, which were authorized by the same law authorizing the German schools, were opened and continued for 15 years. About this time, too, special professors of penmanship were added to the general staff. A discussion that continued for a great many years first attracted public attention in 1842. This was with reference to the use of the Protestant Bible in the public schools of the city, which was especially repugnant to the children of those of Catholic faith. As a result the School Board gave direction that in the event of objection children should not be required to read the King James version of the Bible and teachers were instructed to refrain from giving any sectarian instruction with regard to religious subjects. In October, 1845,

came the first suggestion of a central school for advanced pupils and two years later came the Central High School referred to hereafter, which continued until 1851 when it was merged into Hughes High School. Separate schools for colored people were authorized by an act of the Legislature but these soon passed under the control of the School Board.

In 1850 the number of pupils in daily attendance was 5,557 with 138 teachers meeting in 14 school houses including the Central High School. There was also a school in the Orphan Asylum under the care of the common school instructors. The number of pupils enrolled in the schools in the year was 12,240 and the youth of the city enumerated between the ages of four and 21 numbered 36,073, of whom 1,069 were colored. At this time in the Catholic parochial schools, 13 in number, 48 teachers taught 4,494 pupils.

By virtue of an act passed March 23, 1850, the public schools obtained for the first time a superintendent, who was elected by the popular vote of the people. The first superintendent elected by the people was Nathan Guilford to whom the city owes so much. He held this position for two years during which time he drew the munificent salary of $500 per annum.

The president of the School Board during the same period was Bellamy Storer and among the examiners were such men as William Greene, John B. Stallo, H. H. Barney, Henry Snow, D. Shepardson, Joseph Ray and E. S. Brooks. At the end of Mr. Guilford's term of office Dr. Joseph Merrill was selected but he held his position but a short time, terminating his connection with the schools by resignation.

THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL.

An intermediate school was started in 1853 which combined the two highest grades of the district school and in December, 1854, the new school house on Baymiller street was occupied as the First Intermediate School with 547 pupils taken from the Eighth, 11th and 12th districts. The pupils were divided into 12 classes and teachers were assigned to special subjects, that is, one teacher had charge of history, another of geography, another of arithmetic, etc.

In 1854 by virtue of a new law passed in 1853, Andrew J. Rickoff became superintendent of the schools and held this position for 14 years to June 15, 1850. During the same period of time the president of the School Board was the late Rufus King, the citizen whose services were given for many years to the city without compensation and who is justly entitled to recognition as one of the most public spirited men in the history of the community. By the cooperation of Mr. King and Superintendent Rickoff, the schools were raised to a much higher degree of efficiency. A normal class for the purpose of training teachers was organized in Hughes High School and H. H. Barney became its principal. Although this did not continue for a very long time, it was the forerunner of the Cincinnati Normal School. Superintendent Rickoff, as did his predecessor Mr. Guilford, protested against the memory or verbatim system of recitation by the pupils who were crammed so as to be able to repeat from memory the exact words of their text-books. This was thought to be due to the incompetency of the teachers and the opposition to it was so great as to result in the appointment in 1857 of a special committee selected by the Board of Education to report on the subject. This committee consisted of Drs. C. G. Comegys, R. C. Cox, William B. Davis, William J. Schulz and William H. Harrison. In the report made by them, they complained of the defects of the memory system and urged its eradication from the school.

Mr. Rickoff established a private school in the city in the year 1859, as a result of which he retired from the superintendency of the public schools. He remained however a member of the Board of Examiners for Teachers and finally succeeded Rufus King, upon the latter's retirement, as president of the Board of Education. Dr. Isaac J. Allen was superintendent for two years and assisted by Dr. Lilienthal urged strongly the so-called objective method of teaching. He was succeeded in 1861 by Lyman Harding.

In 1858 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was 17,685, of whom 10,493 were in attendance. The teachers were 278 in number. In the Catholic parochial schools, including the Catholic high schools, there were 7,750 pupils and 78 teachers. For the year ending June, 1861, 341 teachers were employed in the public schools.

GERMAN IN THE SCHOOLS.

The teaching of German was regularly introduced into the schools by the law of March 9, 1840, which made the teaching of German upon proper request compulsory. The first German and English school was opened in the basement of the North German Lutheran Church, now the Third German Protestant Church, on Walnut between Eighth and Ninth. The teacher

was Joseph A. Heeman. He was succeeded after a few years by Henry Poeppelmann who taught until 1885. A couple of months later in November, 1840, another German and English school was opened in the rear of St. John's Church on Sixth street. The Board of Education did not seem to be in entire sympathy with these schools and as a result a meeting of German citizens was held on July 16, 1841, which discussed the attitude of the board and made certain demands upon it. This seemed to be without effect and as a result an agitation was started in the city by the German citizens to organize a proper German and English school to be supported by contributions. It was also agreed that the attitude of candidates for the State Legislature on this subject should be considered as a test of their availability. The school was started by the Germans in the German Lutheran Church on Walnut street, which soon moved to a house on Main between Woodward and Abigail. This was under the charge of Mr. Heeman. As a result the Board of Education took alarm and soon came to terms. Mr. Heeman however refused to serve under the board and resumed his connection with the Catholic school on 13th street. The election of Dr. Frederick Roelker in 1843 to the Board of Education aided the cause of the Germans very materially and the continued election of various German citizens to the board made certain that German would be treated with proper consideration. About 1849 the so-called German and English schools were abolished and the German department of the various district schools was inaugurated. The Know Nothing agitation of 1852 induced a number of German citizens to investigate the teaching of German and as a result of the defects found another reorganization took place by which German instruction was entirely separated from English. German was introduced in the high schools by the inauguration of a professorship in 1853-54. (John Schwaab in Schools of Cincinnati.)

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The principal private schools and seminaries of these days have been referred to in the extracts from Mr. Cist's volumes. One of the most important of these during this period was the Wesleyan Female College organized in 1842 under the auspices of the Methodist Church. A small house on Ninth street was rented but this was soon found to be too small and the institution was removed to the residence of John Reeves on the north side of Seventh street between Walnut and Vine, where a new building was especially erected for dormitory purposes. Rev. Perlee B. Wilber was the first principal. The second session of the College opened in the new building in February, 1843. The institution offered a six-year course of studies. The number of pupils increased so rapidly that it soon became necessary to move once more and a piece of property, the residence of Henry Starr on the west side of Vine between Sixth and Seventh running through to College street, was purchased. A building was erected on this sufficient to accommodate 500 pupils. This building is now occupied by the printing office of the *Enquirer*. A familiar illustration of the college at this time is given in Shotwell's "Schools of Cincinnati." In 1851 the institution contained 437 pupils and 15 teachers. Rev. Mr. Wilber continued at its head until his death in 1859.

Another institution that was quite successful was the Cincinnati Female Seminary located for a number of years at the southwest corner of Seventh and Mound. This institution in 1851 boasted 100 pupils and five teachers. In connection with it was a calisthenium fitted up with the most approved apparatus designed "to give elegance of carriage, grace of motion and symmetrical bodily development." It had a museum including a geological cabinet, a herbarium and aquarium and a well selected library. This property was afterwards sold to the Pulte Medical College.

The Mount Auburn Young Ladies' Institute was founded in 1856 and was located on the beautiful site and in the building now occupied by Christ Hospital. It was at this time under the charge of Rev. E. A. Crawley.

Lyman Harding's School for Girls was located at different times on Broadway between Fourth and Fifth in Day's Building, No. 261 Walnut street, on the south side of Fourth between Race and Elm and on the south side of Fifth between Vine and Walnut.

Another institution for girls was Mrs. Lloyd's Ladies' Seminary which was on the south side of Third between Broadway and Ludlow.

At a little later time, in 1855, Prof. Horatio Wood opened a school for girls on Fourth street between Elm and Plum. Associated with him was Miss Elizabeth H. Appleton afterwards the librarian of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. This school soon became one of the most successful in the city.

Donald Macleod conducted a school of elo-

cution for young ladies on Seventh street. Not far from this was a school of Mrs. Alexander Kinmont on the south side of the street between Race and Vine.

Among the boys' schools one of the best known and most successful was the "Academy" of Joseph Herron at which the number of pupils averaged 200. In 1851 there were 242 pupils and 11 teachers in this institution and in 1859 the pupils numbered 160 and instructors, nine. The academy was at that time on the north side of Seventh street between Walnut and Vine. It is described as "being out of the business part of the city and surrounded with fine private residences and shaded by beautiful trees."

Another well known school at which were educated many of the best known men of the city was E. S. Brooks' Classical School for Boys which was on the north side of Fourth between Sycamore and Broadway in the fire company's hall. This school continued for a number of years and was regarded as one of the most successful in the city. The successor of this school was the well known private school conducted so many years by the former president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Eugene F. Bliss, to whom that society and the city owes so much for his historical work.

Another "High School" was that of R. and H. H. Young located at different times at the southwest corner of Western row and George street, on the south side of Seventh west of Mound and on Plum between Seventh and Eighth.

St. John's College of which Dr. Colton was the principal, the school of Edward Steffens on Bremen street, the Scientific and Classical Institution of Edward S. Lippitt in Day's Building on the corner of Walnut street and Gano alley and that of Gustavus Junkerman on Walnut as well as those of Charles E. Matthews and Mrs. Elijah Wright are also mentioned during the "fifties." The last two schools were on the east side of Walnut street, one above Fifth and the other below Fourth.

Chickering's Academy was opened in the fall of 1855 in the hall of the George street engine house between Central avenue and Plum. Josiah B. Chickering who was at the head of this school had been an instructor in grammar in high schools in the East for a number of years and was induced by Miles Greenwood to come to Cincinnati in the autumn of 1852. He kept for a time a private school in Avondale. The new academy on George street increased in number of pupils until it became necessary about four years later to move to a larger building. A lot on George street between John and Smith was purchased and a two-story brick building erected which was occupied by this school for more than a quarter of a century. During the first year in the new building, 155 pupils were in attendance and the number increased so rapidly that it became necessary a little later to add another story. The school was continued by Mr. Chickering until his death in 1881 after which time W. H. Venable continued it until June, 1886, when it was closed.

Another school for boys was the English and Classical School of Andrew J. Rickoff established in 1850, after Mr. Rickoff had retired from the superintendency of the public schools, at the corner of Ninth and Elm.

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

The Catholic parochial schools have been mentioned in the chapter referring to the publications of Mr. Cist.

Mount St. Mary's Theological Seminary was founded in 1852 and located on Price Hill west of Mill creek valley. About this time also the Sisters of Charity purchased the property on the Warsaw turnpike for a mother house and in 1858 a school was erected at this point.

In the early "fifties" the Baptists purchased a site at Fairmount and here erected a large seminary known as the Fairmount Theological Seminary.

Another institution of temporary life was the Cincinnati Theological Seminary, Old School Presbyterian, which was started in May, 1850, by the opponents of Lane Theological Seminary. Its instructors were made up of various pastors throughout the city who taught 12 students in their church lecture rooms. The faculty included Revs. James Hoge and L. N. Rice.

In 1840 the old Athenaeum on the west side of Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh was placed by Bishop Purcell under the Jesuit Fathers and it became known as St. Xavier College. It was presided over at that time by Rev. Mr. Elet and contained about one hundred pupils. It was chartered in 1842 and for a time maintained dormitories and a boarding department but the dormitories were closed about 1854. It is said that the fact that this college strictly enforced the use of the rod induced many Protestants to prefer it to their own seminaries.

The St. Francis Xavier Theological Seminary to the west of the city was also an institution

of the Roman Catholic society for the instruction of those who expected to enter the priesthood.

The faculty of Lane Theological Seminary at the outset of the second half century of the city's life consisted of Rev. Lyman Beecher as president and Revs. Thomas J. Biggs, B. Dickinson and Calvin E. Stowe. Dr. Biggs shortly afterwards resigned to accept the presidency of the Cincinnati College. Dr. Dickinson left Cincinnati at the end of 1830 to accept a chair in Auburn Seminary and Professor Stowe in 1850 accepted a professorship in Bowdoin College. Nearly four hundred students had been educated at Lane Theological Seminary by the year 1851. The faculty at that time was still headed by Rev. Lyman Beecher as president. Other members were Revs. D. H. Allen, George E. Day and J. B. Condit. Dr. Beecher resigned the presidency in 1852 and returned to Boston although his name was continued in the seminary catalogue as president until his death in 1863. Rev. Mr. Day continued as professor of Biblical literature until 1866 when he entered the faculty of Yale College. Professor Condit removed to Auburn, New York, in 1855 and was succeeded by Prof. Henry Smith of Marietta College, where he remained until 1861, afterwards to return in 1865. At the end of this period the faculty consisted of Professors Allen, Day and Smith. At this time the president of the board of trustees was Nathaniel Wright. The students numbered 32.

Rev. J. C. White in his "Reminiscences of Lane Seminary" read before the Lane Club December 10, 1889 (Pamphlet 36,366, Hist. & Phil. Soc. of O.), says: "In 1840 there were about five hundred population scattered over the hills where now there are about fifty thousand. On this Montgomery road opposite our campus there were ten houses from Peeble's Corner to Dr. Monfort's hilltop. Three of them were vacant. * * * There were only three institution buildings on the campus two of which now (1889) remain, but remodeled. One was our boarding house and used for our janitor and superintendent of the farm, the other was for our studies and dormitories, the whole basement of which was our work shop where chairs were bottomed and brooms made for market—and from the broom corn raised by the students, for Old Lane was a manual labor institution in aid of health and purse. The other building is gone forever. * * * It was the grand Old Chapel with its noble Grecian pillars in front; its basement story was for recitation rooms and for lectures. Harder work was done there than in the other basement where brooms were made."

Rev. S. E. Wishard in his sketch of Lane Seminary says, that in 1835 Walnut Hills was a pretty little village quite distant from Cincinnati, the first stopping place for the stage on the Madisonville route and that Mount Auburn was the name to a range of hills in the distant west, the population of which did not figure very largely in the census.

The pioneer business college of Cincinnati was that of R. M. Bartlett, opened in 1838. Others who soon established schools were John Gundry whose mercantile college was on the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut and the Bacon Mercantile College on the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut. Richard Nelson established his business college in 1856 at the corner of Court street and Central avenue. He subsequently removed his college to the southeast corner of Fourth and Vine during the year 1859. The Phonographic Institute was established by Benn Pitman in the year 1853.

THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

The Central High School opened on July 27, 1847, in the basement of the German Lutheran Church on Walnut street, which was the first public high school of the city. In October, 1845, Peyton S. Symmes as president of the School Board had recommended the organization of a public high school. In the following year the board was authorized by the Legislature to provide such a school. This school was under the charge of H. H. Barney, who was assisted by John M. Edwards. In 1848 it moved to Center street and at that time Cyrus Knowlton and others were added to the teaching force.

In 1851 the Board of Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools, the trustees of Woodward College and of the Hughes Fund entered into a contract for the purpose of establishing two high schools,—Woodward and Hughes. The Hughes High School building was begun in March, 1852, and completed in January, 1853. Its first principal was H. H. Barney and the teachers were largely those of the Central High School so that it has been regarded as the legitimate successor of that school which during its five years of life had had 415 pupils. The first graduating exercises in Hughes High School were held on January 22, 1854, at which 10 pupils graduated, one of whom was R. D. Barney, a well known

citizen of to-day and a trustee of the Hughes Fund.

By virtue of the agreement referred to, the Union Board of Cincinnati High Schools, composed of seven members representing the Hughes and Woodward funds and six members from the Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools, was organized July 22, 1851, and entered upon its duties. This arrangement continued until May, 1895, at which time the Common School Board was given seven members instead of six which made the high schools more effectually a part of the general school system of the city. The dividing line between the two schools as fixed from the beginning was Race street.

H. H. Barney was elected State school commissioner in October, 1853, and was obliged to resign his connection with Hughes High School in February of the following year to assume his new duties. He was succeeded by Cyrus Knowlton.

Hiram Howard Barney was born in Vermont in 1804 and was educated at Union College. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law for a time but subsequently engaged in teaching, being for 12 years principal of an academy at East Aurora, New York. In 1847 he came by special invitation to this city to take charge of the Central High School which had been established in the rooms of Dr. Charles Colton's Classical School. This was the first public high school in the State and Mr. Barney has been justly regarded as the founder of the high school system. He subsequently acted as school commissioner of the State for four years. At the expiration of his term, he returned to the city but in 1862 became superintendent of schools at Circleville, Ohio, where he remained for seven years. He afterwards was professor of didactics in Cincinnati and as such began the normal teaching in this city. He was one of the editors of the *Ohio Journal of Education.* He died at Wyoming, Ohio, in 1879.

Cyrus Knowlton was principal of Hughes High School for seven years until 1860, the time of his death, when he was succeeded by Joseph L. Thornton, who had been a teacher in the school. Dr. Thornton was succeeded in 1873 by E. W. Coy, the present principal.

Woodward had been called a high school for some years. The college department was organized in 1836 and the whole institution for a time continued under the name of Woodward College, although as a matter of fact the high school was still continued. After the organization of the Central High School, the attendance of the Woodward High School fell off and eventually by the vote of the board of March 17, 1850, the high school was discontinued. "As there no longer existed any necessity for such a school separate from the common schools," the college department was given up in June, 1851. "Old Woodward," an expression so frequently used with reference to this institution, refers to the period prior to this date. Then came the agreement between the various educational organizations of the city by which Woodward reopened as Woodward High School on the same day that the sister school Hughes began its career, September 16, 1851. Its first principal was Dr. Joseph Ray, who served for four years. During his administration the new building, that of the present Woodward High School, was begun July 28, 1854.

Dr. Ray was born in 1807 in that part of Pennsylvania now included in Ohio County, West Virginia. He studied at the Ohio University, Washington College and the Medical College of Ohio, where he graduated in 1829. He practiced medicine quite successfully for several years but his interest in teaching drew him from this profession. He was one of the best known teachers in the West and his mathematical books were for years the most popular in the country. He died April 16, 1855. He was succeeded as principal by Daniel Shepardson who at that time was the pastor of the First Baptist Church on Wesley avenue. The latter served until June, 1862, when he took charge of a girls' high school at Granville, Ohio, subsequently a part of Denison University. His successors at the head of this school were Moses Woolson who served from 1862 to 1865, George W. Harper from 1865 to 1900 and the present principal, Augustus M. Van Dyke.

Mr. Harper was a graduate from Woodward High School in the year 1853 and began teaching in that institution immediately after his graduation so that his connection with the school continued for 47 years. Mr. Van Dyke is also a graduate of our high schools, being a member of the Hughes class of 1857.

CHAPTER XLII.

JOURNALISM BEFORE THE WAR.

THE EARLY NEWSPAPERS: CENTINEL, SPY, LIBERTY HALL, GAZETTE, REPUBLICAN, CHRONICLE, ADVERTISER, PHILANTHROPIST, PENNY PAPERS, DAILY TIMES, ENQUIRER, COMMERCIAL, AND OTHERS—THE GERMAN PAPERS—THE LITERARY PERIODICALS—THE RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS—THE MEDICAL JOURNALS—MISCELLANEOUS JOURNALS—DIRECTORIES—SOME EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS: HAMMOND, THE DRAKES, MANSFIELD, NEVILLE, FLINT, HALL, GALLAGHER, THE CARYS, ROEDTER, REEMELIN, MOLITOR, WALKER, REHFUSS, AND OTHERS.

THE EARLY NEWSPAPERS.

The history of the various newspapers of Cincinnati up to the time of the incorporation of the city has been covered in the chapter relating to the periods prior to 1819. The first paper, the *Centinel of the Northwest Territory* of William Maxwell, appeared November 9, 1793, and from its columns many extracts have already been given. The paper was sold in 1796 to Edmund Freeman, who changed its name to that of *Freeman's Journal*, and subsequently took it with him when he moved to Chillicothe in 1800. The first rival of this paper was the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, published for the first time on May 28, 1799, by Joseph Carpenter, with whom was afterwards associated Jonathan Findlay. Mr. Findlay ceased his connection with the paper on July 27, 1803, and subsequently moved to St. Louis, where he died. He was a brother of Gen. James Findlay. The *Spy* was continued by Joseph Carpenter & Sons and was the only paper published in Cincinnati until the year 1804, in which year on the 9th of December appeared the first number of the longest lived newspaper in Cincinnati.

Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury was first issued on December 9, 1804, by Rev. John W. Browne, "minister, publisher, town recorder, bookseller and retailer of patent medicines." The first number was printed in the cockloft of a log cabin on the southeast corner of Sycamore and Third streets, at that time almost a part of the wilderness. The buildings of the vicinity were then of the true wilderness style and stood at least twenty feet higher than the grade of the present street. On April 12, 1809, Samuel J. Browne associated himself with his father and the firm afterwards became known as Browne & Company, including in addition to those just mentioned James H. Looker.

The *Spy*, in 1808, was purchased by one Carney, who changed its name to that of *The Whig*. In a few months it was sold to Mr. Williamson, but was again bought by Carney, who continued to publish the *Whig* until 58 numbers had been published. He thereupon sold the journal to Francis Menessier, who changed the name to that of *The Advertiser*. Mr. Menessier continued the paper under that name until 1811.

In September, 1810, Joseph Carpenter, in connection with Ephraim Morgan, recommenced the publication of the *Western Spy* in a building at the corner of Fifth and Main.

The newspaper publishers of those days also published the books that were printed in the town, for instance, "Maxwell's Code," so-called, the first book published in Cincinnati, appeared in 1795 from the press of the *Centinel*. Another

book containing a full account of the trial of Vattier was published in 1807 by Carter, and Browne & Company styled themselves "Publishers of the Laws of the United States." This latter concern also published the first almanac known as "Browne's Almanac," which appeared for a number of years edited by Dr. Stubbs. The first number of the *Spirit of the West*, which was called "a new democratic paper," edited by M. S. Pettitt, appeared in July, 1814. It was printed on the west side of Main, a short distance below Fourth. But 4 numbers of this paper appeared. Rev. Mr. Browne, the founder of *Liberty Hall*, and Mr. Carpenter, the founder of the *Western Spy*, both died in the early part of the year 1813. *Liberty Hall* was published for a short time after the death of Mr. Browne by his son and Mr. Looker. The former soon retired and his place was taken by A. Wallace. After Mr. Carpenter's death the *Spy* was published by Ephraim Morgan for a few months, after which Micajah T. Williams entered into partnership with Morgan.

On July 15, 1815, Thomas Palmer published the first number of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, a paper which, after four months, was united with *Liberty Hall* on December 11, 1815.

Mr. Wallace sold out his interest in *Liberty Hall* to Mr. Looker, who purchased the *Gazette* and associated Thomas Brown and Sucket Reynolds with himself in the editing and publishing. In the prospectus of the new paper it was stated that the paper as therefore would "endeavor to maintain the ascendency of Republicanism; that sentiment which acknowledges the sovereignty of the people; the only legitimate sovereignty." *Liberty Hall* and the *Gazette* were printed with black lines between the columns and after the union of the two papers the issues were more in the style of the modern newspaper than those that had preceded them. The first New Year's address of the new paper was written by Peyton S. Symmes. A semi-weekly edition was started March 9, 1816, by the publishers, Morgan, Lodge & Company. Previously all newspapers had appeared but once a week.

In June, 1818, the *Western Spy* was enlarged to an imperial sheet and Samuel Todd became a partner in the concern with James M. Mason and Micajah T. Williams. On the 4th of the following January, with the beginning of Volume V of the new series Messrs. Williams and Todd retired and Mason and Palmer became the proprietors of the new paper, which was called the *Western Spy and General Advertiser*.

On June 23, 1818, appeared the *Inquisitor and Cincinnati Advertiser*. This was started by Edward D. Cook, Benjamin F. Powers and Thomas Penney. In May of the following year Penney and Cook retired and G. F. Hopkins purchased an interest with Mr. Powers. Cook afterwards devoted himself to the stage and made his debut at the Columbia Street Theatre, under the management of Collins & Jones, in the character of "Young Norval."

Beginning November 22, 1819, a new weekly, the *Literary Cadet*, succeeded in surviving for 23 months, after which it combined with another paper, took a familiar name in addition to its own and became known as the *Western Spy, and Literary Cadet*. The *Cadet* was more of a literary than a news publication. It was edited by Dr. Joseph Buchanan.

The three papers then published in the city "were all upon imperial sheet, conducted with neatness and honored with liberal patronage," and each had a book and job office. There were also two other book and job offices and two paper mills in the neighborhood of the city, which furnished all the paper used both for printing and writing.

The *Inquisitor*, under G. F. Hopkins, became a strong advocate of canals and it was largely due to the efforts of this paper and those of Micajah T. Williams in the General Assembly that opposition was overcome and grants were secured for the various Ohio canals.[7]

A prominent controversy in the papers of those days was the "Doctor War" between Dr. Drake and Dr. Shoemaker, which was kept up for many months with great personal enmity and the most partisan violence.

On the 20th of April, 1820, Mr. Mason retired from the *Western Spy* and Looker and Palmer and Reynolds became the publishers. In April of the following year Joseph Buchanan gave up his connection as editor with the *Spy*. Under Buchanan's management the paper had been quite literary and had encouraged a number of young poets and writers, such as Benjamin F. Drake, Peyton S. Symmes, John H. James, Thomas Pierce, John P. Foote and Daniel Drake.

In January, 1823, the proprietors of the *Spy* purchased new type, enlarged the paper and changed the name to *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*. This was a semi-weekly, edited by Elijah Hayward and Samuel Q. Richardson. It was said to be the most handsomely printed paper in Southern Ohio. Mr. Richardson retired, but Mr. Hayward remained as editor

for several years. Beginning in the first number of this paper was a long poem entitled "Billy Moody," which continued for 28 papers. It was said to be the joint production of Ben Drake, Thomas Pierce and J. H. James,—the coterie that inspired Pierce's "Horace in Cincinnati."

A sprightly paper, "odd, quizzical and spicy, edited and published by that eccentric genius known throughout the West as Sol Smith, preacher, wag, author and actor," the *Independent Press and Freeman's Advocate*, was published for about sixteen months prior to November, 1823, at which time it was sold out to the *Republican*. No paper ever published in Cincinnati was more fearless in its editorials or more caustic in its comments. The editor's valedictory, published in the *Republican*, was written, we are told, by Smith himself, with "big tears rolling down his cheeks and conflicting emotions struggling within his bosom."

In 1822 the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* was published weekly and semi-weekly by Morgan, Lodge & Company, the company standing for Isaac G. Burnet, who was the editor for a number of years. He retired on December 27, 1822, and Benjamin F. Powers, a brother of Hiram Powers and an attorney-at-law, took his place. In 1825 Mr. Powers was succeeded by Charles Hammond, the leading journalist of Cincinnati.

The interest of Hopkins and Powers in the *Inquisitor* had been purchased by James M. Mason, which first introduced to the city the celebrated Moses Dawson. This paper afterwards took the name of the *Advertiser*, which became a very radical political sheet. It was about 1825 that a decided party distinction became manifest in Cincinnati papers. The *Gazette* was of strong Whig sympathies and the *Advertiser* and *Republican*, anti-Federal. A long contest began between the *Gazette* and *Advertiser*, edited by Hammond and Dawson, respectively, which continued for a number of years, and was marked by bitter personalities.

Other papers of the period prior to 1825 were *The Emporium*, printed weekly in 1824 by Samuel J. Browne, the *National Crisis*, started in 1824 and shortly afterwards merged into the *Emporium* and the *Independent Press*, reestablished for a few months by Morton S. Smith, a relative of Sol Smith. The *Crisis* originated in an Adams committee, known as the "Thirty-six Fathers," among whom were Bellamy Storer, Dr. Wallace, Jarvis Kibby, Jesse Kimball and J. Wing. The business editor was Thomas Palmer, who finally took the paper in pay for his salary. He sold out to Anson N. Deming, who finally took John Wood as a partner. In 1825 Wood sold his interest to Hooper Warren, with whom was associated as editor Benjamin F. Powers, at the time the paper was incorporated with the *Emporium*.

In 1826, at the time of the appearance of Drake and Mansfield's little book, there were nine newspapers published in the city: *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*, *Cincinnati Advertiser*, *National Crisis and Cincinnati Emporium*, each semi-weekly; *Parthenon*, *Western Tiller* and *Saturday Evening Chronicle*, each weekly, and *Cincinnati Commercial Register*, a daily; the ninth was a German weekly called the *Ohio Chronicle*. The last named English paper, the *Commercial Register*, was the first daily started in the country west of Pennsylvania. It was published by S. S. Brooks and edited by Morgan Neville. Printed on a half sheet royal it appeared every day but Sunday. Its subscription rate was but $6 a year, which apparently was not enough, for the paper survived but six months to reappear again for about three months in 1828.

Soon after the suspension of this paper, a number of prominent merchants waited upon the proprietors of *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, Messrs. Morgan, Lodge and Fisher, and asked for the establishment of a daily. This paper was apparently the leading one in the town and had numbered among its editors some of the most prominent citizens, notably Burnet, Powers and Hammond. The first number of the *Daily Gazette* appeared on Monday, June 25, 1827, with 164 subscribers. It was printed on an old-fashioned hand press, which could turn out about 250 sheets an hour and was a superroyal sheet, 19 by 27, sold at $8 a year. Its publishers were Messrs. Morgan, Lodge and Fisher, and the distinguished Charles Hammond was in charge of its editorials and continued so until his death, on April 3, 1840.

The *Western Tiller* appeared for the first time on August 25, 1826, from the southeast corner of Main and Second streets. It was a four-page paper, devoted particularly to agriculture, and was edited by James W. Gazlay. Its life did not much exceed a year.

The *Cincinnati Chronicle*, mentioned in the list of newspapers of 1826, was established that year by Messrs. Buxton. Its editor was Benjamin Drake, the brother of Dr. Drake and the asso-

ciate of Mansfield in the publication of the view of the city in 1826. This paper passed through many transmutations, to quote Mr. Mansfield. Drake was its editor until 1834, when it was amalgamated with the *Cincinnati Mirror*. In 1836 this was purchased by Messrs. Flash and Ryder for a thousand dollars of the medical department of the Cincinnati College and on the firm's subscription list was reestablished as the *Chronicle*. A journeyman printer who knew nothing about publishing printed it and Mansfield, a professor of history and law, edited it. At the start there were about two thousand subscribers, but at the end of six months not one-fourth of these were left, and of these half did not pay their subscriptions. The paper was then sold to Messrs. Pugh and Dodd, the former the well known Quaker printer and the latter formerly the "scissors editor" of the *Gazette* and afterwards the well known hatter. Benjamin Drake was associated with E. D. Mansfield in the editorial department. In 1839 the *Chronicle* became a daily, having obtained the subscription list of the *Whig*, which had been founded by Major Conover and was at that time edited by Henry E. Spencer. The daily paper started with a subscription list of 250 and ended the year with 600. Benjamin Drake left the paper in 1840 and died in April, 1841, at the age of 46. Mr. Mansfield continued as sole editor until 1848 and was again editor in 1850. The paper was finally consolidated with the *Gazette*.

Mr. Mansfield tells us that he and Mr. Pugh had a hard contest with the world against two prevalent ideas. One was slavery and the other was liquor. "We were utterly opposed to slavery in the day when two-thirds of the community were for it, and two-thirds of the remainder compromised with it." Both utterly opposed the liquor trade and Pugh would not allow a single advertisement of places where liquor was sold or drank, which resulted in a great loss of business. Both were warm Whigs. Among the newspaper men who started their career in this office was Richard Smith, who afterwards, as editor of the *Gazette* and of its successor the *Commercial Gazette*, became one of the leading journalists of America. Among the contributors to the *Chronicle* were Mrs. Stowe, Henry B. Blackwell, James H. Perkins, Mrs. Sigourney, Mary De Forest and Lewis J. Cist.

In April, 1827, Mr. Lodge retired from the *Gazette* and it became the property of Ephraim Morgan, Brownlow Fisher and S. S. L'Hommedieu. In June of the following year Morgan and Fisher retired. Lodge returned and Thomas Hammond became a third partner, under the firm name of Lodge, L'Hommedieu & Hammond. Mr. Morgan returned to the printing business, in which he continued for many years, during which time he was one of our best known citizens. Fisher retired a little later for a short time, but afterwards became associated for the second time with the *Gazette*, which association continued until 1849. After a short time Hammond retired, leaving Lodge and L'Hommedieu in control.

The *Advertiser* was edited in 1830 by Moses Dawson. It had been published at the northeast corner of Third and Main, where afterwards was located the *Enquirer* office. The building burned down in the year 1829, but was immediately rebuilt and Mr. Dawson afterwards called his paper the *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*. At this time the *Republican* was owned by Looker & Reynolds and edited by Elijah Hayward, who had just been appointed to an official position at Washington. He was succeeded by Samuel J. Bayard. The *Crisis and Emporium* wound up its existence during the year 1828.

In this same year S. S. Brooks and Edmond Harrison, the teacher, revived for a time the *Daily Commercial Register*. Its new life was but for three months.

In 1829 Samuel J. Browne and Hooper Warren presented a new candidate for the support of the citizens in the shape of a daily paper called the *Commercial Advertiser*, which, however, had but a brief existence. Samuel J. Browne was a well known citizen for many years and held some offices of importance. He accumulated a fortune and afterwards lived in a retired mansion called "Belleview," in the western suburbs. The name Browne street perpetuates his memory.

The *Daily Commercial Advertiser* was established in 1829 by E. S. Thomas and his son Frederick. A short time afterwards, in 1834, Thomas in connection with John P. Dillon and L. S. Sharpe published for a time the *Democratic Intelligencer*, a daily, semi-weekly and weekly, which supported Justice McLean for the presidency. A little later, in 1835, Thomas and his son conducted the *Daily Evening Post*, a paper which devoted much attention to art and artists. None of these papers lasted any length of time.

A very well known paper in the late "thirties" was the *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*, on which Moses Dawson won his spurs. Moses Dawson deserves special mention, as it is to him that is traced the origin of the present *Cincinnati*

Enquirer. Dawson, we are told, from 1825 to 1828 shared with Hammond the supremacy in the newspaper field. He was an Irishman, somewhat rough and ungainly, but a very vigorous writer, and in his day the *Advertiser* was the leading Jackson and therefore Democratic paper of the region. Mr. Mansfield tells us that he and Hammond kept up a running fight which resembled a literary Donnybrook Fair. Despite their contest, he tells us that they were boon companions and often met to wrangle over their toddy.

A great feature in the history of the political newspapers of Cincinnati in the late "twenties" was the work of Charles Hammond in reviewing the conduct of public men. His political discussions with Dawson and the advocates of General Jackson aroused attention throughout the country. He became so wrapped up in his opposition to Jackson as to publish for a time the well known campaign paper, *Truth's Advocate*, an anti-Jackson expositor which brought out from Dawson a similar sheet, the *Friend of Reform and Corruption's Adversary*. These papers, edited with great ability but with very little regard to the decent proprieties of journalism, reached the circulation of about five thousand copies each.

The Directory of 1829 gives the dailies as the *Daily Gazette* and the *Daily Advertiser*, the semi-weeklies as the *National Republican* and *Advertiser* and the weeklies as the *Pandect, Chronicle and Literary Gazette, Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Western Tiller* and the *Sentinel*. In 1831 the *National Republican* of Looker & Reynolds is added to the list of the dailies. Hammond is given as the editor of the *Gazette* and E. S. Thomas of the *Advertiser*. The two semi-weeklies, the *American* and *Advertiser*, were edited by I. Thomas and M. Dawson, respectively. The weeklies were the *Chronicle* of E. Deming, *Journal* of A. Blanchard, *Western Tiller* of J. P. Foote and *Sentinel and Star* of J. C. Waldo. Three years later, in 1834, there survived Hammond's *Gazette*, Dawson's *Advertiser*, the *Chronicle and Literary Gazette*, still published by Deming and edited by Samuel Yorke At Lee, the *Republican*, edited by James Allen, and *Democratic Intelligencer*, edited by W. F. Thomas. The Directory of 1836 gives four dailies,—the *Gazette*, still edited by Hammond and published by L'Hommedieu & Company, with office in the L'Hommedieu Building; the *Republican* of Looker & Ramsay, edited by Charles R. Ramsay on the north side of Third between Main and Walnut; the *Whig* of James F. Conover on the northeast corner of Second and Main, and the *Evening Post* of E. S. and L. F. Thomas on the west side of Main between Front and Second. Moses Dawson's *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix* still appears as a semi-weekly and among the weeklies there were James G. Birney's *Philanthropist*, the *Mirror*, published by Flash, Ryder & Company and edited by Shreve and Gallagher, as well as such papers as the *Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary* of Rev. Thomas Brainerd; *Cross and Baptist Journal, Western Christian Advocate, People's Echo, German Franklin* and *Farmer and Mechanic*. It would be unprofitable and almost impossible to give detailed accounts of each of these journals, many of which had but a short life.

The *Cincinnati Mirror*, which was started in 1831 by John H. Wood, deserves special mention by reason of its editor, William D. Gallagher, one of the most distinguished literary men of the West. This paper was an eight-page quarto published semi-monthly. Subsequently Thomas H. Shreve became joint owner and assistant editor, and in November, 1833, it was enlarged and became a weekly. In April, 1835, as already stated, it was consolidated with the *Chronicle*, then under the management of James H. Perkins, who became associated with Gallagher and Shreve as editor. At the end of the year it was sold to James B. Marshall, who maintained it for three months under the name of *The Buckeye*, and then sold it to Flash & Ryder. These owners took the old name and the old editors. Gallagher and Shreve finally dropped out and J. Reese Fry was editor for a few months. As already stated, its subscription list was finally transferred to the *Chronicle*.

On the first Monday of January, 1831, the *Republican* was changed from a semi-weekly to a daily. It was first published by Looker & Reynolds and edited by Bayard. In 1833 Reynolds was appointed to a clerkship under Hayward, who had gone to Washington, and both he and Looker retired and the proprietors of the paper, in July of this year, were B. B. Reynolds and R. Disney and James Allen, known as "six foot two Allen," was the editor. By the early part of 1834 Looker had returned to the paper and with Allen owned and edited it. Allen left in November to start a new paper called the *Cincinnati Courier* which, however, lasted for but two or three numbers. He was succeeded as editor of the *Republican* by Charles R. Ramsay.

In September, 1833, Richard F. L'Hommedieu became interested in the *Gazette*, and upon the

death of the senior partner, James Lodge, in December, 1835, the firm became known as S. N. and R. F. L. Hommedieu. The *Gazette* bought, in 1834, the first power press used west of the Alleghany Mountains. It had a capacity of 20,000 copies per hour and excited great attention. The second power press in the city was purchased by the book establishment of Ephraim Morgan in 1835, which also was the year of the importation by the Methodist Book Concern of the first cylinder press. In 1835 the *Gazette* established a *Price Current* sheet, the first in the city. It was conducted by John H. Wood and had a brief existence. Mr. Coggeshall, in his history of the Cincinnati press, published in the *Gazette* in the years 1850-51, from which much of this article is quoted, gives many reminiscences of the political discussions of those days in which the clique of "Jonas, Cist & Co.," "Benton's mint drops," "Goldthus" Robert T. Lytle and "Gilbthus" John W. Mason figured at length. Joseph Jonas was the well known jeweler at the northwest corner of Third and Main and with Charles Cist and Lytle formed the Jackson contingent, who at this time displayed with enthusiasm the hard money called "Benton's mint drops." Mason had some silver pieces gilded to show that the "mint drops" could be counterfeited as well as others; under these circumstances the names as above mentioned were given.

A curious incident at this time was the publication in the *Gazette* of December 3, 1835, of the entire issue of Nos. 10 of the first volume of Maxwell's *Centinel*. This occupied four columns and a quarter of the *Gazette*, on which there were at the same time 28 columns.

Another incident of this year was the establishment by the *Gazette* of the regular news express by which the President's message was brought to Cincinnati within sixty hours after its publication in Washington at an expense of $200.

Another paper of this period was the *American*, started in the early part of the year 1830 by Isaiah Thomas and Thomas F. Conover. It was a weekly and semi-weekly. Conover was succeeded after a short time by W. J. Ferris. In 1832 the paper advocated Clay and on April 17th of that year was issued as a daily. It lasted but a short time.

Richard Corwine & Sons started a *Daily Herald* in the latter part of the year 1833. Its life was brief. A Jackson campaign paper published during the campaign of 1832 by John H. Wood and edited by Mr. Wood, James J. Faran and Thomas J. Henderson flourished in the year 1832. The McLean campaign paper, the *Democratic Intelligencer*, was established in March, 1834, by F. W. Thomas, J. B. Dillon and L. Sharp. It was a daily, tri-weekly and weekly, but did not outlive the year. On April 10, 1835, J. F. Conover established upon the ruins of the *Intelligencer* a new paper, the *Daily Herald*, and on May 6th of the same year E. S. Thomas established the *Daily Evening Post*. The Harrison campaign paper, the *People's Advocate*, was conducted by John H. Wood and Benjamin Stevenson from May, 1835, until November of that year.

Mr. Thomas' paper, the *Post*, succumbed to the lack of patronage in December, 1836. Mr. Thomas himself was a man of great public spirit and particularly interested in the development of art in the West. He did much to bring to public attention the sculptors Clevenger, Brackett and Powers and the painters Beard and the elder Frankenstein. He died in this city in the year 1842 and was buried in Spring Grove. At the head of his grave stands the life-like portrait bust carved by Clevenger, said to be the first portrait bust carved west of the mountains.

The *Herald* of Mr. Conover terminated its lively existence a little earlier, some time in the latter part of 1838. Mr. Conover had the year before turned over his interest in the paper to Henry E. Spencer, so as to enable him to devote his time to the Cincinnati Gas Company, of which he was president.

Moses Dawson's *Advertiser* took to itself in the latter part of the year 1830 the paper known as the *Journal*, which had been established for a few weeks and associated with him as editor of the new paper known as the *Advertiser and Journal* the well known writer and publicist, Elwood Fisher. The paper was discontinued in the year 1840, at which time the *Enquirer*, which of course was Democratic in politics, took its place.

In 1836 William A. Harper, who had been connected with the *Republican* and had disposed of his interest to Looker & Ramsay, issued proposals to a new paper to be called the *Western World*. This was the first penny paper in the city. Mr. Harper lacked the necessary capital and the paper died after 25 issues. Mr. Harper's place on the *Republican* had been taken by Otho Looker, Jr. The *Republican* soon experienced a change of faith, for upon the retirement of Harper in 1840 and the accession of Ezekiel Graham and C. S. Todd it was

changed from a Jackson organ to the advocacy of Harrison. James Looker retired from the paper in December, 1840. Mr. Todd acted as editor and was assisted by John B. Russell. The paper ceased in 1841, as a result of so many political changes.

A campaign paper of 1836 was the *People's Echo*, established by the veteran in this line, John H. Wood, who, however, had switched from Jackson to Harrison.

A paper called the *Daily Express*, which had a life of about two years, was established in 1837 by Joseph Reese Fry, who essayed to furnish commercial notices and discussions of the Cincinnati markets. John H. Wood was connected with this paper as assistant editor.

The story of the *Chronicle* has been referred to in other chapters. This became a business daily paper on the first Monday in December, 1839. It was published by Achilles Pugh and William Dodd and edited by E. D. Mansfield and Benjamin Drake. Drake's connection was terminated by his death in the following spring. He was succeeded by John B. Russell, who is said to have been the first individual who could justly claim the title of local editor. The local department of the *Chronicle* became very successful. This, too, was the first paper to give general election returns in systematically arranged tables. Russell retired from this paper in the fall of 1840 to go to the *Republican*.

The story of *The Philanthropist* has already been told. Established in the month of April, 1836, by James G. Birney at New Richmond, Ohio, at the age of three months it was removed to Cincinnati, where it was published by Achilles Pugh from the northwest corner of Seventh and Main. Its subscription list numbered 700. "It met with no welcome from the established press of the city, but was regarded as one of those peculiar evils, to be found often in nature as well as in society which are not to be meddled with or mentioned, except by those whose necessities render them regardless of contamination. Not more than three numbers of the paper had been presented to the careful people of Cincinnati when it became apparent that *The Philanthropist* must be discontinued or meet with such opposition as was by no means calculated to enhance the value of types and presses. It was talked about in bar rooms—speculated upon at the corners of the streets and discussed at other lounging places until on the night of the twelfth of July certain individuals were emboldened to take an important step towards calling out an unmistakable expression of public sentiment." (W. T. Coggeshall in *Gazette*, June 12, 1851.) This step was the destruction of the printing office and the dismantling of the press. The mob that indulged in this lawlessness met with no attempt on the part of the city authorities to disperse them or arrest them and the excuse given for the outrage was that the paper was injuring the trade of the city with the South and keeping slaveholders from purchasing merchandise here. On the following day a placard was posted about the streets warning against the reestablishment of the paper. It was published by the *Evening Post* with comments calculated to increase the excitement. Mr. Pugh called upon the mayor for protection and the mayor thereupon issued a proclamation stating that as $100 had been deposited for the purpose he would offer it as a reward for the arrest and conviction of any person concerned in the riot. On the following day, July 17th, a handbill was posted about the city offering a reward of $100 for the arrest of Birney as a fugitive from justice. The executive committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society issued an address declaring that they would not surrender their rights. This was signed by James C. Ludlow, Rees E. Price, James G. Birney, Isaac Colby, William Donaldson, John Melindy, Gamaliel Bailey, Thomas Maylin and C. Donaldson. On the 20th, Henry L. Tatem carried to the *Gazette* a call for a public meeting "to decide whether the publication or distribution of abolition papers was longer to be permitted in Cincinnati." Many of the signatures of this paper, Charles Hammond declared, had been attached without authority. The anti-abolition meeting was held on Saturday, July 3rd, at the Lower Market house. The postmaster, Father Burke, presided and Morgan Neville, receiver of moneys in the Land Office, was vice-president and Timothy Walker, secretary. A committee of 12 was selected to remonstrate with Birney and his associates. On this committee were Judge Burnet, Josiah Lawrence, Robert Buchanan, Nicholas Longworth, O. M. Spencer, David Loring, David T. Disney, Thomas W. Bakewell, John P. Foote and William Greene. The resolutions, according to Mr. Hammond, were prepared by Messrs. Longworth and Neville, who with Joseph Graham were most active in getting up the demonstration. They were to the effect that nothing short of the immediate discontinuance of the paper could prevent a resort to violence and that all lawful means should be used to discountenance abolition publications in the city, and in-

structed the committee to request Birney and associates by every motive of patriotism and philanthropy to desist from the publication of the paper and to warn them that, if they persisted, the meeting could not be held responsible for consequences. A correspondence ensued in which the supporters of the paper were firm in their determination not to be deprived of their rights. This correspondence was published; the *Republican, Whig* and *Post* of the daily papers and a number of the weekly and religious journals were particularly severe upon what they denominated the madness of the abolitionists. The *Gazette* opposed the abolition paper, but more strongly opposed mobs, and as a result this paper was stigmatized as an abolition sheet.

On the evening of July 30th, another meeting was held at the Exchange Coffee House. Joseph Graham acted as president and J. A. D. Burrowes as secretary. Here it was resolved that the abolition press should be destroyed and Birney notified to leave the city within 24 hours. At a subsequent meeting of citizens, held at the Court House, these proceedings were ratified. As a result, on that night the rioters destroyed the printing offices, scattered the type, tore down the press and made riotous demonstrations at the houses of Mr. Pugh, Mr. Donaldson, Mr. Birney and Dr. Colby. The press was thrown into the river, and after refreshments at the Exchange, a suggestion was made to destroy the *Gazette* office, but this was overruled. A demonstration against some blacks in Church alley was stopped for a time by the fire of two guns, but afterwards when the enemy disappeared the houses were looted. After this about midnight the mayor, who had been a spectator of the proceedings, addressed them to the effect that they might as well disperse. On the 1st of August the mayor made some pretense of endeavoring to restore quiet, but the riotous conduct continued for two days and two nights. The friends of law and order called a public meeting for three o'clock on the afternoon of the 2nd of August to be held at the Court House. Among the signers of this call were E. Hulse, Thomas H. Shreve, Salmon P. Chase and Charles Hammond. This meeting, as is well known, was captured by the Lower Market house sympathizers and Burke was elected president, Judge Burnet and Levi James, vice-presidents, and Joseph Graham, who had been most instrumental in the riots, secretary. Resolutions were adopted deprecating the mobs and offering support to the authorities. On motion of Mr. Graham the meeting resolved that the abolition press was the cause of all difficulties and a resolution was also adopted praising the discretion, prudence and energy of the mayor and city authorities generally during the great excitement!

The publication of the paper was suspended until Friday, September 3rd, when it appeared with Pugh as publisher and Birney as editor. Although issued from the corner of Seventh and Main, it was printed in Warren County.

As an evidence of the change of sentiment that had taken place in the city even long prior to the war, the statement of Coggeshall, published in 1851, "that a paper as judiciously and ably conducted as *The Philanthropist* would now be received in Cincinnati under circumstances very different from those which greeted it in 1836," is significant.

The number of penny papers in Cincinnati in the early days seems almost endless. The *Western World* has already been mentioned. In 1836 came the *Daily News*, edited by G. W. Bradbury and E. R. Campbell and lasting 10 months. Two weeks sufficed for the *Penny Ledger* of S. Bangs. *The Cincinnatian*, edited by David Martin, was started in 1837 to oppose the *News*. It was the first Democratic penny paper. It failed after six months, and thereupon Martin published one number of the *Hamilton County Democrat*. *The Sun*, published in 1837 by John Campbell and edited by E. W. Peck, after a year was merged with the *Republican*. In 1838 Peter Zinn and Mr. Clark revived the *Daily News*. It appeared about four months and was then sold to A. Almon. After several changes of ownership, it expired at the end of the next year. After its death Alexander Stimson published the *English Tattler*, which tattled for three weeks. John D. Logan thereupon conducted *The Buckeye* for a short time. He was relieved by C. H. Layton, who carried on the paper for about four months. Then came the *Morning Star*, published about three weeks by Col. Edward Stiff, who afterwards published for two weeks the *Olive Branch*.

The Directory of 1840 contains a list of the periodicals at that time published in the city. These included among the dailies the *Gazette* and the *Republican*, both Whig; the *Journal and Advertiser*, Democratic; the *Chronicle* (literary), and the *News* and *Morning Star*, both purveying general intelligence. The designation "literary" and "general intelligence" were not put in with any invidious intent, however, as it is presumed that the other dailies were covered by both descriptions. The weeklies were the

Catholic Telegraph, the *Western Christian Advocate* (Methodist) and *The Philanthropist*. The monthlies were the *Western Temperance Journal*, *The Hesperian*, *Rose of the Valley* and *Family Magazine*. The German papers included the *Volksblatt*, the *Friend of Truth*, the Catholic weekly and the *Christian Apologist*, the Methodist weekly.

Mr. Cist's book, "Cincinnati in 1841," gives a list of 29 publications with their circulation and the names of their editors. The *Star* had disappeared by this time, while papers not mentioned in the directory are Calvin W. Starbuck's *Daily Times* and C. H. Layton's *Public Ledger* of 1,500 and 1,400 circulation respectively.

In 1840 a new crop of penny papers started. The first was the *Spirit of the Times*, started by Wilmerton, Starbuck and Browne. It soon became the *Daily Times* of Calvin W. Starbuck, edited by Edward R. Campbell. Campbell was succeeded in August, 1841, by J. D. Taylor. This paper had come to stay and is here to-day.

C. H. Layton was the editor of the *Public Ledger*, which was started in June, 1840, and soon attained a circulation of 2,000. After several changes of ownership it expired at the end of five months. Colonel Stiff published the *Western Steamer* for two weeks in the summer of 1840. In 1842 came *The Microscope*, which, after four months, was sold out and replaced by *The Sun*. This was edited by L. G. Curtiss. After a short time it was sold to the "hard money" Democrats and, known as the *Journal*, was published by Samuel Lewis and edited by Elwood Fisher. As already stated it soon merged into the *Advertiser*. In 1843 Colonel Stiff appeared with *The Focus* for two weeks. W. D. Gallagher and George S. Bennett published in the fall of 1842 *The Message*, which, after a month, merged into the *Enquirer*. In 1843 came the short-lived *American Patriot*, followed by the *Queen City*, *Visitor* and *True Son*. A *Daily Commercial* also appeared during this year, which was continued for a year under the management of L. G. Curtiss and John L. Hastings. Mr. Hastings sold out to J. W. Browne & Company and the paper continued for a short time with Curtiss as editor. This paper, after a number of vicissitudes, became firmly established and has continued until the present day.

The *People's Paper* of C. H. Layton was started in August, 1843, and was shortly afterwards absorbed by the *Evening Times*, which published it as a morning appendix. In 1844 came the *Archer*, *Patriot*, *Bulletin*, *Evening Emporium*, *Mechanic* and *Queen City*. In the spring of 1845 the *Evening News* was printed for a short time in the office of the *Cincinnati Atlas*, a short-lived paper edited by Nathan Guilford.

Upon the death of Charles Hammond in 1840, John C. Wright, who had been a member of Congress and a judge of the Supreme Court, purchased an interest in the *Gazette* and became one of its principal editors. W. D. Gallagher acted as assistant with short interruptions until the fall of 1850. After the death of R. F. L'Hommedieu, S. S. and Samuel L'Hommedieu sold their interests to John C. and Crafts J. Wright. John C. Vaughan, who had been associate editor for about four years, retired in 1844. In 1847, L. C. Turner of Cleveland became assistant editor. By this time Brownlow Fisher had purchased an interest in the paper which he retained until November, 1849, when he sold out to W. J. Ferris. The first local editor of the *Gazette* was John B. Russell, who was succeeded afterwards by Thomas Gales Foster and later by J. R. S. Bond.

On March 5, 1841, John and C. H. Brough, who had been proprietors of the *Ohio Eagle*, published at Lancaster, purchased the *Advertiser and Journal* and on Saturday, April 10, 1841, issued the first number of the *Daily Cincinnati Enquirer*, which was an evening paper. In the spring of 1843 Collard Martin became a third partner. The *Enquirer* was the first Cincinnati paper to establish a regular local column, which was organized by George S. Bennett. In 1844 John Brough's interest was sold to H. H. Robinson. Several other changes were made until finally, about 1846, the paper was purchased by Gerard, Day & Company, which concern consisted of J. H. Gerard, Albert G. Day, James J. Faran, and C. H. Brough. By the retirement of Gerard in 1848, the firm became Day & Company. During the absence of C. H. Brough in the Mexican War, John Brough conducted the paper. When the former was elected president judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County he sold his interest in the *Enquirer* to James J. Faran and Albert G. Day. Mr. Brough died of cholera May 23, 1849, after a brief illness of but a few hours. Albert Day died in September, 1849, and his interest was represented by Timothy C. Day until it was sold to H. H. Robinson. In 1851 the paper was edited by Faran and Robinson.

In the "Cincinnati Almanac" for 1846 there are listed 16 daily papers. These included many

of those already mentioned specifically such as the *Gazette, Chronicle, Enquirer, Herald, Times, Commercial*, four German papers and several evening dailies. The *Cincinnati Atlas* at this time was edited by Nathan Guilford and was of Whig propensities. A Democratic paper was the *Ohio Union* of T. B. Drinker who was assisted by George P. Burnham. The *American Citizen* of C. M. Baxter was what was called a "Native American" paper. The *Herald* of Gamaliel Bailey, Jr., was, of course, the advocate of the Liberty party. Another paper of special interest was a weekly,—Charles Cist's *Western Journal Advertiser*. The list includes also a long number of weeklies, many religious and others devoted to special interests. Two years later the *Atlas* was edited by E. D. Mansfield and F. A. Foster. Cist's *Weekly Advertiser* was still edited by this well known historian. From the pages of this paper, Mr. Cist made up his two volumes known as the "Cincinnati Miscellany," which are invaluable to any student of Cincinnati history. Another paper of interest at this time was the *Globe*, a daily and weekly edited by John C. Vaughan, Stanley Matthews and James W. Taylor. It had quite an elaborate staff for those days. W. J. Sperry is given as the commercial editor, and Joseph H. Moore as translator from French and German, while J. V. Smith was the phonographic reporter. Another interesting mention of this period is that of a monthly, the *Sidereal Messenger*, published by O. M. Mitchel.

Mr. Cist's "Cincinnati in 1851" mentions 53 periodicals, of which 10 are dailies and others representing in the main special interests. In 1853 the dailies were the *Columbian* of W. B. Shattuck, *Enquirer* of H. H. Robinson, *Nonpareil* of Robert Carnahan, *Times* of C. W. Starbuck, *Atlas* of John D. Caldwell, *Commercial* of Lee & Potter, *Gazette, German Republican, Sun, Tageblatt, Volksblatt* and *Volksfreund*, besides 62 papers. The list in the directory includes a tri-weekly, the *Gazette*, 32 weeklies, four semi-monthlies, 21 monthlies, three quarterlies and one yearly, the directory itself. By 1856 the *Nonpareil* and *Atlas* had disappeared from the list, which includes six daily English papers, three German dailies, the same tri-weekly and semi-weekly, the *Columbian*, 19 English weeklies, eight German weeklies and an interminable list of monthlies, semi-monthlies and quarterlies.

In 1859 Mr. Cist gives a list of 53 periodicals published in Cincinnati. These included seven dailies. The first was the *Cincinnati Gazette and Liberty Hall* with Joseph Glenn, Richard Smith, Edmond Babb, E. T. Kidd and William H. Johnson as proprietors and Babb and Smith, editors. The *Enquirer* was edited by James J. Faran and published by Faran & McLean. The *Times*, still published by C. W. Starbuck, was edited by J. W. Ward and E. M. Spencer. M. D. Potter was editor and M. D. Potter & Company, proprietors of the *Commercial*. The three German papers were Stephen Molitor's *Volksblatt* then edited by Emil Klauprecht, *Volksfreund* of J. A. Hemann and the *Republikaner*, owned by W. E. Becht and edited by August Willich.

At the beginning of the war there were six English and three German daily newspapers published in the city. They included the *Enquirer, Commercial, Gazette, Times, Courier* and *Press* and the *Volksblatt, Volksfreund* and *Republikaner*. There were also included the *Louisville Bulletin* and *United States Advertiser*, which were published daily. In addition there were 25 English weeklies and 10 German weeklies. The semi-monthlies were eight in number while the monthlies were 21 and quarterlies two. The only yearly publication given was "Williams' Cincinnati Directory" at that time in its 11th year.

THE GERMAN PAPERS.

A German weekly called *Die Ohio Chronik* appeared in 1826. Another paper, a campaign paper, was published in 1832; this was edited in the interest of the Whig party by Karl Von Bonge, Albrecht Lange and Heinrich Brachmann. In 1834 Hartmann's *Weltburger* first appeared. It was originally a Whig paper but was shortly afterwards purchased by Benjamin Boffinger who called it *Der Deutsche Franklin* and in the following presidential election it supported Mr. Van Buren. Just before the election, the Whigs once more gained possession of the paper and the Democrats founded the *Volksblatt*. The editor of this was the brilliant Heinrich Roedter who was assisted by such prominent Germans as Charles Reemelin, Ludwig Rehfuss, August Renz and others. Roedter sold the *Volksblatt* in 1840 to Stephen Molitor and moved to Columbus.

Another German paper was the *Westlicher Merkur*, founded in 1837 by Christian Burkhalter who had been associated with Birney in the publication of *The Philanthropist*. This paper was afterwards called *Der Deutsche Im Westen* and finally became the *Volksfreund*. Other German papers were the Catholic periodical of Father J. M. Henni called *Wahrheit's Freund, Der*

Protestant and *Der Christliche Apologete*. Hoefle was associated for a time with Burkhalter but when it became the *Volksfreund* it passed into the hands of Rudolph Von Malitz. Burkhalter and Hoefle both became connected with the *Chronicle*. The editor of *Der Protestant* was Georg Walker and of *Der Christliche Apologete*, a Methodist paper, Rev. William Nast. Nast also founded the *Sonntag Schule Glocke*, a child's paper.

Emil Klauprecht established in 1843 what for some reason is called the first belles lettres journal in the city under the name of the *Fliegende Blaetter*. Klauprecht was a lithographer and he illustrated his paper with lithographic illustrations. Whether or not this was the first belles lettres journal, it certainly was the first illustrated German paper in the United States. It evidently did not supply a long felt want for its life was short. He then turned his attention to a Whig paper, *Der Republikaner*, which was for about ten years the principal German organ of the party in the West. Afterwards from 1856 to 1864 Klauprecht was on the staff of the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*. After this he was appointed consul of the United States at Stuttgart, which position he filled for five years when he was relieved by a colored barber from Florida who it has been said could neither read nor write. Klauprecht was a prominent figure in the journalistic life of the community for a number of years and also wrote a number of novels and historical works as well as a history of Cincinnati. The last work is very rare, owing to the fact that the sheets were burned and that only a few copies were saved.

According to Mr. Cist, in 1841 there were five German publications issuing from the presses of Cincinnati. The *Volksblatt* at that time edited by Molitor had a circulation of 312 daily and 400 weekly. This was the only daily. Boffinger's *Unabhaengige Presse* issued 250 numbers three times a week. Burkhalter's *Deutsche Im Westen* a weekly circulated 500 copies. Father Henni's *Wahrheit's Freund* published by the St. Aloysius Society had a weekly circulation of 1,050. Nast's *Christliche Apologete* circulated 1,000 copies a week. Molitor also published the Universalist paper edited by Edward Muehl called the *Licht Freund*. This was a semi-monthly with a circulation of 500 copies. Five years later, four German daily papers are enumerated: *Volksblatt*, *Hochwaechter*, *Democrat* and *Republikaner*. *Wahrheit's Freund* and the *Christliche Apologete* still flourished. In 1851 the list still included the *Volksblatt* and the *Republikaner* still edited by Molitor and Klauprecht, respectively. The *Volksfreund* and *Demokratische Tageblatt* edited by Hemann and Roedter, respectively, were new. The *Hochwaechter* which formerly had been edited by Georg Walker had passed into the hands of Fred Hassaurek and was denominated as "socialist and infidel of the deepest dye." *Wahrheit's Freund* and the *Christliche Apologete* were still published and a new German paper which Mr. Cist calls "rationalist" was the *Protestantische Zeitblaetter* edited by Revs. Suhr, Kroell, Goebel and Grassow. Another German publication was an agricultural monthly called *Magazin fuer Nord Amerika*. The same German dailies appeared in 1853, but by 1856 Roedter's *Tageblatt* had ceased to exist. These three German dailies, *Volksblatt*, *Volksfreund* and *Republikaner*, were appearing regularly at the opening of the war.

THE LITERARY PERIODICALS.

The purely literary periodical publications of the first half century of Cincinnati's life were quite numerous and some of them achieved lasting fame. The *Literary Cadet* of Dr. Joseph Buchanan has already been mentioned. Mr. Venable called it the pioneer literary leaf of the Queen City. Its short life began in the latter part of 1819 and continued about six months. In the early part of 1821 John H. Woods and S. S. Brooks brought out *The Olio*, a semi-monthly which numbered among its contributors Robert T. Lytle, Sol Smith, John H. James and Lewis Noble. *The Olio* lived for about a year. A little later a number of citizens of literary taste met one evening at the book store of John P. Foote at No. 14 Lower Market street, at that time the gathering place for the literati of the town. Among them were Mr. Foote, Peyton S. Symmes, Benjamin Drake, John H. James and D. Dashiel. As a result of their discussion, Mr. Foote as editor started the *Literary Gazette*, which appeared from the press of A. M. Deming at Main and Columbia streets on January 1, 1824. This journal lasted but a year when it was revived for a short time by Looker & Reynolds as printers. Its contributors included John H. James, Ethan A. Brown, David G. Burnet, Charles Neave, Mrs. Julia Dumont, Rafinesque, Dr. John Locke and Prof. T. J. Matthews. Benjamin Drake contributed a number of sketches which afterwards appeared in his "Tales of the Queen City." The magazine contained much poetry. Fitz-Greene Halleck contributed three poems. The most versatile of the local poets

was Thomas Pierce, who wrote "Horace in Cincinnati." Some of his verses in the *Gazette* were subscribed "Charlie Rambler" and he contributed a number of cantos describing a trip to New Orleans by river and thence by sea to Boston in the style of "Don Juan."

Pierce, who was an educated barrister man and a Quaker, is however best known for the remarkable series of rhymed satirical sketches known as "Horace in Cincinnati," which added so much to the amusement of the people of the day. They were published anonymously. Mr. Pierce in his verses spared no one and a properly annotated edition of his book giving accurate information as to all the references would furnish a very complete picture of the life of the time. He did not hesitate to make the most prominent citizens the subjects of his satire. For instance the well known lawyer and orator Joseph Ferguson, the mayor William Corry and Benjamin Drake are treated by his pen. One of his poems gives an insight into some of the ways of the town. Gambling was at that time quite common and in a sudden season of virtue which at infrequent intervals seized the city authorities, the marshal and his officers had arrested nearly one hundred lawyers, merchants and bankers for gambling, among them the sheriff and prosecuting attorney. Of this "Horace" says:

Our citizens had long,
Unheeding fortune's evils,
With cards, and wine and song,
Enjoyed their midnight revels;
They grew more free and bold,
Nor thought to be molested;
At length a tale was told
And every man was arrested.

Blush, jurymen, with shame,
For wantonly commanding
Some hundred men of fame,
Remote, and lofty standing,
To quit their fireside quiet,
Renounce their gambling crimes,
And stand before the court,
In all its mighty terrors.

The first number of the *Western Magazine and Review* appeared in May, 1827. It was published by W. M. Farnsworth and edited by Timothy Flint. In its original form it was a magazine of 96 pages and it continued for three years. In addition to the editor, its contributors included James Hall, E. D. Mansfield and Micah F. Flint. The articles were distinctly heavy which may account for the fact that the magazine had such a brief career.

At the time of its discontinuance, Flint proposed to publish in its stead a quarterly which should comprise two volumes annually. This never appeared, but in January, 1833, Judge James Hall published the first number of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, which supplied the literary demand of the time. Judge Hall wrote mainly on Illinois, Rev. J. M. Peck supplied reminiscences and John H. James historical matter while Mansfield wrote various economic articles. Other contributors were James H. Perkins, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Charles D. Drake, Moses Corry, W. D. Gallagher and Joseph Reese Fry. Mrs. Hentz contributed short stories and poems and Harriet Beecher a "New England Sketch" for which she received a prize of $50. Judge Hall himself wrote stories, poems and reviews and also printed serially the life of General Harrison. He became involved in a controversy with Lyman Beecher on the question of Catholicism which finally resulted in the transfer of the magazine to the publishers Flash & Reyler. James Reese Fry became editor. The magazine was finally merged in a Louisville publication.

Other literary enterprises included *The Shield*, a quarto published by Richard C. Langdon some time before 1829 and the *Ladies' Museum* by Dr. T. Case. The *Family Magazine* was started in June, 1829, by Eli Taylor, who was succeeded by J. L. James. It continued for six years. Mr. Taylor also published for a time the *Cincinnati Journal*, an anti-Catholic and anti-slavery organ.

Another literary journal that had a brilliant life was the *Western Messenger*. The first number of this magazine which was devoted to religion and literature was published by the Western Unitarian Association in Cincinnati in June, 1835. Its last issue appeared in April, 1841. Its first editor was Rev. Ephraim Peabody, Mr. Peabody's health obliged him to go South and thereupon Rev. James Freeman Clarke succeeded him. The place of publication was removed for a time to Louisville but after Rev. Mr. Clarke's return to Boston in 1840 the magazine was brought back to Cincinnati and edited by Rev. William H. Channing, the pastor of the Unitarian Church and his cousin Rev. James H. Perkins. This magazine although divided in its allegiance between Cincinnati and Louisville was the most important factor in the literary life of this community during the whole time of its existence, as in its pages appeared the best work of the best Cincinnati writers. Among the contributors were Gallagher, Curry, Shreve, the Drakes, F. W. and L. F. Thomas, Albert Pike, John H. Dillon, Mann Butler and Edward and

C. P. Cranch. A poem of John Keats not before printed, one of Oliver Wendell Holmes and a number by Emerson also enriched its pages. Dr. W. E. Channing sent a long letter to it and J. S. Dwight, Charles S. Brooks, Jones Very, Elizabeth Peabody and Margaret Fuller sent contributions. Bronson Alcott sent a poem which however was never published.

Mr. Venable calls the *Western Messenger* the harbinger of the famous Boston *Dial* and it is true that at least ten other contributors to the *Messenger* wrote for the *Dial*.

It was in 1836 that W. D. Gallagher published the first number of his *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review*, a magazine of considerable pretension, each number containing 72 pages. It was published by Smith & Day. In November of that year it was consolidated with the *Western Monthly Magazine* at Louisville and survived but for a few months. Mr. Gallagher went to Columbus where he began the publication of *The Hesperian* or *Western Monthly Magazine* which was in a way regarded as the successor of the magazines just mentioned. Associated with him as editor was Otway Curry. The best talent of the West contributed to this journal but it lasted for but three volumes, concluding its existence with the issue of December, 1839. Its last volume was published in Cincinnati. *The Hesperian* has always been regarded as the most ambitious and from a literary standpoint the most successful of Western publications.

In August, 1840, appeared one number of a *Western Ladies' Book* published by H. P. Brooks, Walnut street, Cincinnati. This was a thin pamphlet of 28 pages edited by an "association of ladies and gentlemen" with the motto: "The Stability of our Republic and the Virtue of her Institutions is with the Ladies." Mr. Venable says that of this he never saw a second number.

Other literary journals of this period were the *Literary Register* edited by William Wallace and the *Literary News* edited by Edmond Flagg. A Cincinnati writer of the year 1841 says however that at that time there was not published anywhere in the West anything which could be called with propriety a literary paper.

In 1844 appeared the *Western Rambler*, published by Austin T. Earle and Benjamin St. James Fry. Its life however was quite brief.

In November of this year appeared the first number of the *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine*, of which the editors were Lucius A. Hine and E. C. Z. Judson, better known as "Ned Buntline." But two numbers of this magazine were published in Cincinnati. Four others appeared in Nashville. The first number contained a long historical article by Gallagher, who also contributed to various numbers some of his best poems. Other writers were Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, Mrs. Nichols, Mrs. Hentz, the Cists, W. G. Symmes, Albert Pike, Lyman C. Draper, Emerson Bennett, Charles Whittlesey, John Z. Zachos and Donn Piatt. This journal came to grief in April, 1845, whereupon Hine in the following January began the publication of the *Quarterly Journal and Review* which lasted until April. This contained contributions from many of the writers already mentioned. It was more devoted to politics and social economy than to pure literature. This was succeeded in January of the following year by the *Herald of Truth*, a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of religion, philosophy, literature, science and art. This was a magazine of 80 pages and was the organ of a brotherhood of social and religious radicals who had a community on the Ohio River. It discussed such topics as land laws and land systems and all the phases of socialism and the labor question. Among the poetical contributors were Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, Mrs. Sarah J. Howe and Coates Kinney.

In 1848 Messrs. Robinson and Jones with a corps of Cincinnati editors and a number of prominent writers began the publication of the *Great West*, a literary journal of great pretensions. In 1850 this was consolidated with the *Weekly Columbian* and became known as the *Columbian and Great West*. It was originally published by E. Penrose Jones and edited by William B. Shattuck, and continued until September, 1854. The well known Celia M. Burr edited it for a time. The *Daily Columbian* was also started but was not successful. In 1849 J. S. Hitchcock started for Mr. Hines another magazine known as the *Western Quarterly Review*. Hitchcock suddenly disappeared after two numbers of 200 pages had been published.

Another periodical published somewhat irregularly was Moore's *Western Lady's Book*, which started in 1850 under the name of the *Western Magazine* and ran through a period of eight or ten years. In addition to the usual matter published in such works, it contained fashion plates and music.

The *Parlor Magazine* of Jethro Jackson, No. 180 Walnut street, Cincinnati, a 64-page illustrated journal, appeared in July, 1853. It afterwards passed into the hands of Applegate & Company when Jackson was assisted by Alice

Cary. When the latter left New York it merged with the *West American Review* of George W. L. Bickley. Two numbers of this appeared under the name the *West American Monthly*.

The longest lived and one of the most elaborate literary periodicals published in the West was the *Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West*, which began its career nine years before the first number of *Harper's Magazine* appeared in the year 1841 and continued for 36 years. It was succeeded by that time by a larger periodical, the *National Repository*. This journal published by the Methodist Book Concern was suggested by Samuel Williams in Mount Auburn, who contributed a number of papers to it. Other contributors were Caleb Atwater, Samuel Galloway, Bellamy Storer, M. P. Gaddis, B. W. Chidlaw and Bishop Morris. It was edited at first by Rev. L. L. Hamline, who continued in this position for five years. He was succeeded by Rev. E. Thompson who in 1845 gave way to Rev. B. F. Teeft. Teeft was followed shortly by Professor Larabee who in turn gave way to Dr. Davis W. Clark afterwards Bishop Clark. The principal writers of the West and in fact many of the best writers of the country contributed to this magazine. The list of names of its contributors would in itself constitute a chapter. The editorial offices of the publishing house, the Methodist Book Concern, were for many years located in the old St. Clair house at the corner of Eighth and Main.

In 1853 a weekly magazine called the *Pen and Pencil* was published for a short time by W. M. Warden. This year there appeared also the initial number of the *Genius of the West* conducted by Howard Durham. After the first few numbers had been published Coates Kinney became the leading editor of the magazine, finally buying out Durham and taking into partnership with him the well known writer William T. Coggeshall. Durham began a rival magazine called *The New Western, the Original Genius of the West*. He died of cholera in 1855. Coggeshall and Kinney, two of the best known literary men that had ever lived in Cincinnati, were able to bring to their aid a most imposing list of contributors which is given by Mr. Venable in his invaluable volume "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley." The magazine lasted until July, 1856, after five volumes had been issued. During the last few months of its life, it was published and edited by George K. True.

The last literary journal that will be mentioned included but 12 numbers which filled the 12 months of the year 1860, but during that short time it impressed itself indelibly upon the literary history of Cincinnati. This was *The Dial*, edited by Moncure D. Conway at that time a young man of but 28 years of age. Conway wrote most of *The Dial* himself. He was assisted however by such contributors as O. B. Frothingham who ran his complete work, "The Christianity of Christ," through nine numbers. Emerson sent two essays and a number of poems. W. D. Howells contributed some of his poems. Orson Murray, R. D. Mussey and Rev. M. E. Lazarus also wrote for the journal. The last page of *The Dial* is devoted to the discussion of Emerson's "Conduct of Life." *The Dial* was said to be self-supporting and was largely patronized by the Jewish people of the city.

THE RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

Cincinnati has always been prolific in religious publications, some of which have already been mentioned under the head of literary magazines or German journals. A noteworthy publication, the *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley*, appeared for the first time July 22, 1831. It was first published by Ephraim Robbins, Noble S. Johnson, Henry Miller, William White, Adam McCormick and Ambrose Dudley. In 1834 *The Cross*, a Baptist paper of Kentucky, was purchased and the two papers combined. This paper was moved to Columbus in 1838 where it remained for about ten years. Its name after the *Cross* was added became the *Cross and Baptist Journal of the Mississippi Valley*. This name was subsequently changed to *Cross and Journal* and later to *Western Christian Journal*. At the time it was brought back to Cincinnati, the *Christian Messenger* was united with it and it took the name of *Journal and Messenger*, under which it appears in 1851, at which time its editor was J. L. Batchelder who continued in charge almost down to the period of the war.

The *Western Christian Advocate* was established in the spring of 1834 with Rev. T. A. Morris afterwards Bishop Morris as editor. This was published by the Methodist Book Concern, which has always been one of the most important publishing houses in Cincinnati. This institution located a branch in Cincinnati as early as 1820. This under the charge of Rev. Martin Ruter was at the corner of Fifth and Elm and here a large number of religious works were for sale. Upon the appointment of Rev. Charles Holladay to succeed Ruter in 1828, the store was

moved to George street between Race and Elm. It subsequently after a number of changes settled in the St. Clair house on Main street near Eighth. From this appeared for some years the *Western Christian Advocate* as well as Rev. William Nast's *Christliche Apologete* and a number of other religious publications. In 1840 the Cincinnati branch became independent of the Eastern connection and became known as the Western Methodist Book Concern, which name it has retained ever since.

The *Western Messenger*, the Unitarian publication, has been already referred to. In the Directory of 1831 is given a semi-monthly, the *Methodist Correspondent* of M. M. Henkle. By 1841 the number of religious journals had increased. At this time the *Western Christian Advocate* edited by Rev. Charles Elliott and L. L. Hamline published 14,000 copies a week. A New School Presbyterian journal was the *Cincinnati Observer*, edited by Rev. J. Walker with a weekly circulation of 13,000. The *Western Episcopal Observer* edited by Revs. C. Colton, W. Jackson, John T. Brooke and H. V. D. Johns had a weekly circulation of 1,500. The celebrated journal, the *Catholic Telegraph*, at that time edited by Rev. Edward Purcell is given as circulating 1,100 copies a week. The Universalist publication, the *Star in the West* of Rev. J. A. Gurley, circulated 2,300 a month. There were also a number of religious monthlies, the *Western Messenger* of J. B. Russell which was Unitarian, the *Christian Preacher*, edited by Elder D. S. Burnet and *The Evangelist* edited by Elder Walter Scott of the Church of the Disciples, and the New Jerusalem organ, *The Precursor*, of Rev. M. M. Carll. There was also a *Missionary Herald*, which circulated 3,000 per month and a *Western Temperance Journal* of 6,000 semi-monthly circulation. Other religious journals mentioned in 1846 are the *Presbyterian of the West*, *True Catholic*, the *Mirror of Truth* (Swedenborgian) and the *Orthodox Preacher* (Disciples). In 1851 Dr. M. Simpson was the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* and Dr. N. L. Rice of the *Presbyterian of the West*, the organ of the Old School Presbyterian faith. The New School was represented by the *Central Christian Herald*, edited by Rev. Thornton A. Mills. Other religious publications mentioned for the first time were the *Golden Rule*, the *United Presbyterian and Evangelical Guardian* and *The Pulpit* of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. In 1859 Dr. Charles Kingsley edited the *Advocate* and Revs. G. H. Monfort and N. M. Wampler, *The Presbyter*. Rev. Clem E. Babb edited the *Central Christian Herald*. A new journal was the *American Christian Review* edited by Elder Benjamin Franklin of the Disciples Church. The *Western Episcopalian* was edited by Rev. Norman Badger. Mr. Gurley's paper was in charge of Henry R. Nye and G. L. Demarest. The Swedenborgian organ, the *New Church Herald*, was edited by Rev. Sabin Hough. Father Purcell was assisted as editor of the *Catholic Telegraph by* Rev. S. H. Rosencrans. The Jewish papers, *The Israelite* and *Die Deborah* (the latter in German), were edited by Drs. Isaac M. Wise and M. Lilienthal. Other religious journals mentioned at this time were the *Sunday School Journal*, *Presbyterian Witness*, *Sunday School Advocate*, *Youths' Friend*, *Sunbeam* and the *Sonntag Schule Glocke*.

THE MEDICAL JOURNALS.

An early medical journal was the *Western Quarterly Reporter*, edited by Dr. John B. Godman and published by John P. Foote, which survived but a few months. This was probably the first historical journal in the city, as Dr. Drake's effort in 1819 to establish such a journal did not meet with any success. In 1826 Drs. Guy W. Wright and James M. Mason started the *Ohio Medical Repository*. At the end of the year Dr. Mason's interest passed into the ownership of Dr. Drake and the magazine became known as the *Western Medical and Physical Journal*. Later Dr. Drake became the sole owner and made it a quarterly and changed the name to the *Western Journal of Medical and Physical Science*. He was assisted at times by Drs. James C. Finley, William Wood, Harrison and Gross. In 1839 he took this journal with him to Louisville where it was merged into the *Louisville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*.

A short-lived journal was the *Western Medical Gazette*, founded by the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio in 1832. Its editors during its two years of life were Professors John Eberle, Thomas D. Mitchell, A. G. Smith, Silas Reed and Samuel D. Gross. It was finally consolidated with Dr. Drake's journal. Dr. James M. Mason in 1835 again ventured into the field of journalism with a new *Ohio Repository*, which was also short-lived.

The *Western Lancet*, the progenitor of the present *Lancet and Clinic*, started in 1842. Its editor was Dr. Leonidas M. Lawson. In 1855 his interest was transferred to Dr. Thomas Wood. For some years it was a monthly known

as the *Lancet and Observer*. In 1878 it became consolidated with the *Clinic*, which Dr. J. G. Hyndman had published since 1871 as a weekly, the first medical weekly in the West. The consolidated paper was known as the *Lancet and Clinic* and edited by Drs. J. C. Culbertson and James G. Hyndman.

In 1847 Dr. James Taylor of the Ohio College of Dental Surgery started the *Dental Register of the West*.

In 1846 among the publications of the city were the *Botanical Medical Recorder* of Dr. A. Curtiss, which advocated botanic practice; the *Medical Reformer*, an Eclectic publication and the *Western Journal of Health* of Drs. Vattier and Mendenhall. Another journal the *Herald of Progression* of John O. Wattles was "devoted to the social, mental and physiological redemption of the human race." In 1851, in addition to the *Lancet*, there appeared the *Journal of Homeopathy*, edited by Drs. B. Ehrmann, Adam Miller and George Bigler, and the *Physio-Medical and Surgical Journal* of Dr. E. H. Stockwell and the *Eclectic Medical Journal* of Dr. J. R. Buchanan. Dr. Buchanan also edited the *Journal of Man*, which was devoted to phrenology and anthropology. The medical journals that are listed by Mr. Cist in 1859 include the *Lancet and Observer*, then edited by Drs. Mendenhall, Murphy and Stevens; *Cincinnati Medical News* of Dr. A. H. Baker, *Cincinnati Eclectic and Edinburgh Medical Journal* of Drs. R. S. Newton and G. W. L. Bickley, the *College Journal of Medical Science* edited by the faculty of the Eclectic College of Medicine and the *Physio-Medical Recorder* of Dr. W. H. Cook. The *Dental Register of the West* at that time was edited by Drs. J. Taft and George Watt.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNALS.

The number of the journals devoted to special interests published in Cincinnati before the war was almost innumerable. Many of them appeared but for a short time and of many no trace at present can be found. Of these as well as of many of the general newspapers, but few copies can be found in the libraries. Some have altogether disappeared and the only trace of them is the mention made of them in the directories. Most of them, however, indicate by their name their purpose. It will be impossible to more than mention a few of these miscellaneous publications. In addition to those already referred to, the *Farmers' Reporter* and the *Farmer and Mechanic*, published in the early "thirties," the latter continuing for a number of years, are illustrations of journals that for a time were popular. A little later came the *Western Farmer and Gardener* of E. J. Hooper. A journal that lasted for a number of years and was of great value was Goodman's *Counterfeit Bank Note Detector*. Other journals of the same character were *Bradley's Counterfeit Detector* and *Bepler's Bank Note List* and a little more general in character, perhaps, were the *United States Bank Mirror* and *White's Financial and Commercial Reporter and Counterfeit Detector*.

Among the temperance journals were the *Western Temperance Journal* and *Washington Organ and Sons of Temperance Record*. The *Western Law Journal*, of which Timothy Walker was for many years editor, was of great value. Judge C. D. Coffin was afterwards associated with Judge Walker. At a later time M. E. Curwen was an editor of this periodical. Another valuable publication was W. W. Warden's *Law and Bank Bulletin*. The *Masonic Review* of Rev. C. Moore and the *Templars' Magazine* of Dr. J. Wadsworth figured in the list during the "fifties." Just before the war came the *Odd Fellows' Casket and Review*. A horticultural magazine of value was J. A. Warder's *Western Horticultural Review*. Worthy of mention are the *Ohio Teacher* of J. Rainey and the *School Friend and Ohio School Journal*, edited by Dr. A. D. Lord, H. W. Barney and C. Knowles. Other journals mentioned in 1851 are Williams' *Western Pathfinder* (a general advertising sheet), *Illustrated Western World* and Oncken's *Western Scenery* (both pictorials) and Dr. Latta's *Chain of Sacred Wonders*.

Publications devoted to prices are numerous. Three are given in 1846, edited by W. D. Gallagher, J. T. Hobart and A. Peabody, respectively. In 1859 mention is made of the commercial paper, *Price Current*, of William Smith. Other journals published just prior to the war were the *Scientific Artisan*, *Railroad Record* and a phonetic journal, *Type of the Times*. The foregoing are but few of the many.

DIRECTORIES.

Among the publications which appeared with a certain degree of regularity were the city directories. The earlier ventures of this sort have been referred to at great length in other chapters, but for convenience they will be given here in brief. The first publications about the city, although not strictly directories, contain much information, such as is usual in such pub-

lications. Of these, Daniel Drake's "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," printed at the press of John W. Browne & Company, contained on the title page the date 1810, but it appeared, however, a year earlier. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati," announced as of the year 1815, appeared in the following year (1816), and Benjamin Drake and Mansfield's "Cincinnati in 1826" belongs in the same category. The first city directory, that of Oliver Farnsworth, was published by Morgan, Lodge & Company, in 1819. It contained but 1,693 names. The second, that of Harvey Hall, appeared in 1825. This is said to be the rarest, but perfect copies of the directories of 1829 and 1831 are not so numerous as those of 1825. The Directory of 1829 was published by Robinson & Fairbank, who also published that of 1831. All four of these directories have beautifully engraved maps of the city. In 1834 appeared another directory from the press of E. Deming, which contained also a statistical account of Covington and Newport. In 1836 J. H. Woodruff published the directory known as that for the years 1836-37. This contained 6,500 names. Two interesting publications, which are very rare, came from the press of Glezen & Shepard. They were called the "Cincinnati Almanac," one for 1839 and one for 1840. An alternative title was "Picture of Cincinnati." Each contained a very daintily engraved map with a microscopic view of the city. These are not exactly directories, but they are full of information. "Schaffer's Advertising Directory for 1839-40" approaches more the modern ideas of such a publication. This directory as well as Hall's of 1825 gave the nationalities of the citizens. It also included a directory of Fulton, Covington and Newport, as well as a separate directory of the colored population. An interesting feature is the frontispiece representing the city at that time, which is reproduced in this work. Charles Cist published directories in 1841, 1842 and 1843. The last one contained 13,625 names. The year later R. P. Brooks reissued Cist's last directory with the addition of a thousand names. Robinson & Jones published in 1846 a directory which contained 14,600 names. The first Williams' directory appeared in 1850 from the press of C. S. Williams. Mr. Williams continued to issue his directory each year until 1861, at which time he sold his business to Americus V. Williams & Company, now the Williams Directory Company, which concern has published the directory since that time. In addition to these directories there have been numerous business directories, almanacs, guides and similar publications such as are common in cities of the magnitude of Cincinnati.

SOME EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS.

Charles Hammond is justly entitled to the name of the most distinguished journalist of early Cincinnati. He was originally a young lawyer of Wheeling, who made a name for himself by a series of articles published in the *Scioto Gazette* of Chillicothe for the purpose of defending Governor St. Clair, whom he had never met, but knew simply as a public man. These articles, which contradicted many of the misrepresentations about the Governor, gave him at once prominence throughout the State and a high stand in the public estimation. (Burnet's Notes, p. 381.) He was admitted to the bar in 1801 and in 1813 had established a newspaper in Belmont County, known as the *Ohio Federalist*, which continued for about four years. About an equal length of time was occupied in attendance upon the Ohio House of Representatives, of which he was a member. During his service as Representative, he made a revision of the laws of Ohio and also wrote many of the most important acts, especially those regulating the course of descents, distribution of personal estates and chancery proceedings. He moved to Cincinnati in 1822. He was the first appointee, in 1826, to the office of reporter to the Supreme Court, which office he held until his death. He edited the first nine volumes of the "Ohio Reports." Not only was he busy with law practice, but with his profession as a journalist and under the name "Hampden" achieved a national reputation for political essays upon the constitution published in the *National Intelligencer*. He became an editorial writer on the *Cincinnati Gazette* in 1823 and its chief in 1825, and in his capacity as journalist achieved such distinction as to be pronounced by Webster "the greatest genius that ever wielded the editorial pen." He was a Federalist of the old school, although for a short time he supported the doctrine of "State's Rights." At the time that he took charge of the *Gazette* he had already established a reputation as a lawyer of the first rank. As a constitutional lawyer he stood at the head of the bar of the State and had achieved the title of the "Alexander Hamilton of the West." His most celebrated argument was in the case of Osborne against the United States Bank. (9 Wheaton, 738.) This was the well known case involving the right of the State to tax the branches of

the bank located in Cincinnati and Chillicothe. In this case the government was represented by Henry Clay and the State Auditor by Charles Hammond. It was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States in February, 1824, and although Hammond was defeated his argument was regarded as one of the greatest ever made before the court and was said never to have been excelled by the greatest efforts of Webster himself. Mr. Hammond throughout his life was a strong opponent of slavery and probably did as much as any public writer to form an anti-slavery sentiment. He was a vigorous opponent of General Jackson, and for a time in 1828 edited a monthly known as *Truth's Advocate*, whose especial purpose was the advocacy of Henry Clay, and opposition to Jackson. His style was of the simplest, plain, sensible and unaffected. One writer says of his work that it is unsurpassed for clearness, completeness, brevity and beauty and that in elegance and simplicity his papers compare favorably with the best of English essays. (Bench and Bar of Ohio, Vol. II, p. 45.) It can safely be said that from 1825 to 1840 no man in Cincinnati surpassed Mr. Hammond in pure intellectual influence.

Many years afterwards an argument made by him before the United States Court at Columbus elicited from Justice McLean the characterization of being "one of the most happy and successful efforts of a great and powerful mind ever heard by any court." Mr. Hammond was offered by President Adams towards the close of his administration a position on the Supreme bench of the United States but he declined the honor.

During the latter years of Mr. Hammond's life, he became interested as proprietor and associated with him under the firm name L'Hommedieu & Company were Stephen S. and Richard F. L'Hommedieu. The company's office was for a long time on the east side of Main street between Fourth and Fifth but in 1840 it moved further down Main street to the so-called L'Hommedieu Building below Fourth. The editor's assistant was William Dodd, who made clippings and attended to the river news and also read the proofs. A short time before Hammond's death, Judge John C. Wright and his son Crafts J. Wright became editorially connected with the paper and the latter succeeded Hammond as editor in charge. During the early days it was an evening paper but subsequently was changed into a morning publication.

Benjamin Drake was another distinguished member of a distinguished family who did much to advance the city. He came to Cincinnati at an early age and assisted his brother, Dr. Drake, and for a time was employed in the drug store of Isaac Drake & Company as clerk and partner. He subsequently practiced law for a time. In 1825 he became a contributor to John P. Foote's *Literary Gazette*, and afterwards associated himself with the *Cincinnati Chronicle*, of which he was editor from 1826 to 1834. With Mansfield he published the well known "Cincinnati in 1826," of which he wrote a large part. Other parts were written by Dr. Drake and Morgan Neville. He also wrote a little book called "Tales of the Queen City," a life of Black Hawk and one of Tecumseh; the last mentioned appeared just after his death in April, 1841.

Edward Deering Mansfield won fame as editor, author and publicist and to him as well as to Dr. Drake, Judge Burnet and Charles Cist are we indebted largely for our knowledge of the early days. He was born at New Haven, Connecticut, August 17, 1801. His father, Col. Jared Mansfield, a graduate of Yale, had been a teacher at West Point, and afterwards was appointed surveyor general of the Northwest Territory to succeed Rufus Putnam. His mother was Elizabeth Phipps. The Mansfields came to Ohio in 1803, first spending two years at Marietta. In October, 1805, they floated down the river to Cincinnati and finally located, as has been stated several times in this work, at Ludlow's Station, where they occupied the old Ludlow mansion. Here Colonel Mansfield established the first observatory west of the Alleghanies, for which, from the contingent fund of President Thomas Jefferson, a transit instrument, telescope, astronomical clock and sextant were purchased. In 1809 after a trip East the family moved to the Bates place called "Mount Comfort," where the boy went to school in a log school house about opposite the site of the present House of Refuge. He subsequently attended school at New Haven and afterwards was a cadet at West Point. Eventually he chose a college career and graduated at Princeton in 1822. He then prepared himself for the bar at the celebrated Litchfield school. He returned to Cincinnati, accompanied by his father in June, 1825, where by reason of his relationship to Dr. Drake, whose wife was his cousin and adopted sister, he received a warm welcome. In 1826 in connection with Benjamin Drake he compiled the well known "Cincinnati in 1826." Drake prepared the part west of Main and Mansfield that to the east. He shortly

afterwards joined with Benjamin Drake in an editorship of the *Chronicle*, which had been started in January, 1826, by F. Buxton. The two continued at intervals on this paper until it was merged with the *Mirror* in 1834. When the subscription list of this paper was purchased by Drake in 1836 and the *Chronicle* reestablished, Mansfield once more became an editor. In 1837 the paper was bought by Achilles Pugh and William Dodd, and Mansfield and Drake were retained as editors. After Drake's retirement, Mansfield continued as editor until it was purchased by Nathan Guilford in 1850 and merged in the *Atlas*, finally to be consolidated with the *Gazette*. During the early part of his connection with the paper, Mansfield's health was such that he was obliged to spend several years in New England. After his return in 1832, he attempted the practice of the law and associated with him was another of Cincinnati's favorite sons, Ormsby McKnight Mitchel, subsequently the distinguished astronomer and general in the Civil War. Neither was especially qualified for the profession and Mitchel spent his time studying oratory and other subjects, while Mansfield wrote his "Political Grammar," for many years an authoritative text-book, which appeared in 1834. Mitchel had published, the year before, an edition of "Quintilian." Both took an active part in the social and literary life of the times, were members of the coterie that met at Dr. Drake's house and also of the well-known Semi-Colon Club, which organized in 1832 contained among its members John P. Foote, Samuel E. Foote, James H. Perkins, the Blackwells, E. P. Cranch, the Drakes, the Guilfords, the Halls, William Greene, the Hentzes, the Stowes, Edward King, T. D. Lincoln, Joseph Longworth, Timothy Walker, J. F. Meline, Thew Wright and his sister, Mrs. Curwen. The meetings of this club were held at the house of Samuel E. Foote and the adjoining residences of Charles Stetson and William Greene shown in one of the illustrations of this work. The name it will be remembered was taken from that of the discoverer of America, Christopher Colon, on the theory that he who discovers a new pleasure deserves half as much pleasure as the discoverer of a new world, hence Semi-Colon.

Mansfield was active in the College of Teachers and in all movements towards higher education. He was a professor in the reorganized Cincinnati College and afterwards from 1853 to 1871 edited the *Railroad Record*. In 1857 he was editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette* and remained on the staff of the paper until the time of his death. In 1858 Governor Chase made him commissioner of statistics for Ohio, which position he retained for ten years. He died October 27, 1880, at his country home near Morrow, Ohio, called "Yamoyden."

Mr. Mansfield was twice married, his first wife being Mary Wallace Peck of Litchfield, Connecticut, and his second wife Margaret Worthington, daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington; two children survived the first marriage and four the second. During his lifetime, in addition to the enormous amount prepared for the press, he wrote and published a large number of books and many pamphlets, including his works on politics and education, his biographies of General Scott and General Grant and a history of the Mexican War. He left two books of peculiar interest to Cincinnatians, the "Memoirs of Daniel Drake" published in 1855 and "Personal Memories" published in 1879.

Morgan Neville was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 25, 1783. His father was Major Neville, an aid-de-camp of Lafayette, and his mother, a daughter of John Morgan. He was admitted to the bar in 1808. From 1819 to 1822 he was sheriff of his county. He moved to Cincinnati in 1824 and engaged in the insurance business. In 1826 he edited the *Commercial Register*, which lasted but a half year. He was active throughout his life in everything pertaining to the literary and educational advancement of the city. He died March 1, 1840. His library, which was sold for $300, was the foundation of the library of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute.

Timothy Flint was born in Reading, Massachusetts, July 11, 1780. He graduated at Harvard and afterwards had charge of the Congregational Church in Lunenburg. There he became involved in controversies with his parishioners and finally in 1815 he concluded to try his fortune in the West. One of his uncles, Hezekiah Flint, had come to Ohio in 1808 and to Cincinnati in 1811 and his cousin, son of Hezekiah, of the same name, was already a prominent citizen. His trip westward was accompanied with great hardships, which are given in detail in his volume of "Recollections," which was subsequently published. He spent the winter of 1815-16 in Cincinnati, where he was hospitably treated by General Harrison, Dr. Drake and others. In the spring after a horseback trip through the West, he started with his family down the river to the Mississippi. He lived in

and about St. Louis and the Lower Mississippi for almost five years and frequently went farther south, to New Orleans. His health finally made it necessary for him to return to New England, where he published his "Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi." The success of this book induced him to make literature a profession and he shortly afterwards published a novel.—"Francis Berrian." His son, E. H. Flint, had some time previous to this started a book store in Cincinnati, first at Fifth and Walnut and afterwards at No. 160 Main street, and from his press appeared in 1827 a work on the geography and history of the Mississippi Valley. Flint had come to Cincinnati in 1825 and he began the publication of the *Western Magazine and Review* in 1827, which was discontinued in 1830, as already stated, to be succeeded by Judge Hall's magazine. In the meantime he published a number of novels, a condensation of his geography and history, some translations from the French and afterwards in 1833 a history of the Indian wars of the West as well as a psuedo-scientific geography, natural history, geology and chemistry. In 1833 he succeeded Charles Fenno Hoffman as editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, which necessitated his removal to New York. The feebleness of his constitution, which had always hampered his work, drove him from place to place, and finally he died in Salem in 1840. His continued residence in Cincinnati was not of many years' duration but he did much during his stay to encourage literature and an interest in knowledge for its own sake and as such his name belongs in the list of the makers of Cincinnati. He was spoken of by Mrs. Trollope as the most agreeable acquaintance she had made in Cincinnati and one of the most talented men she had ever met, with conversational powers of the highest order.

James Hall, called by Mr. Venable soldier, jurist, author, editor and banker, came from a family of writers. He was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 19, 1793. His early training was received at home and in fact, although he became a man of great culture, he was never able to stand the restrictions of school life. While a boy he began the study of the law but at the outbreak of the War of 1812 he joined a company organized in Philadelphia and commanded by the celebrated Condy Raguet. He took part in several engagements during the war and at its close was retained in the regular army as lieutenant. He accompanied Decatur's expedition against Algiers in 1815. Upon his return he became a captain and was stationed for a while at Newport, Rhode Island and afterwards at Pittsburg, where he resumed his law study. He resigned his position in the army and was admitted to the bar in 1818. In Pittsburg he became acquainted with Morgan Neville, then connected with the *Pittsburg Gazette*. In 1820 he descended the Ohio for a trip to Shawneetown, which resulted in a series of letters, published in a magazine of his brother and afterwards in book form. This book some years afterwards was republished in England. He spent a number of years in the West practicing his profession and acquainting himself with the history and romance of the wilderness. He was four years a prosecuting attorney and four years a judge. While in Illinois he married Mary Harrison Posey, the daughter of the Revolutionary major-general and afterwards Governor and commander-in-chief of Indiana Territory. His wife died in 1832. One of the children of this marriage is Mrs. Sarah Hall Foote, wife of Charles B. Foote, who for many years was president of the Commercial Bank. Judge Hall's literary proclivities induced him to act as editor for several papers and magazines in Illinois as well as contributor for other journals, including that of Flint. In 1829 he issued the well known *Western Souvenir*. This is the first literary annual of the Ohio Valley and was published by N. & G. Guilford, at Cincinnati. It contained six steel engravings from paintings by Hervieu and others, one of which was a view of Cincinnati and a number of articles by such writers as Timothy Flint, Nathan Guilford, Nathaniel Wright, Moses Brooks, Otway Curry, John P. Foote, Benjamin Drake and Morgan Neville. In 1830 Judge Hall issued the first number of the *Illinois Magazine*, which continued for two years, at the end of which time he removed to Cincinnati and began to publish the *Western Monthly Magazine*. Before the sale of this magazine he accepted the position of cashier of the Commercial Bank and after its reorganization in 1843 he became its president, which position he retained until the time of his death, July 4, 1868. In addition to the book already spoken of, he published a number of other works which are among the best known books relating to Western history and romance. His best known works are the "Legends of the West" and the "Romance of Western History," from the latter of which has been already quoted the account of the treaty at Fort Finney. He also

wrote an elaborate history of the Indian tribes, which fills three huge folios. In 1839 he married Mrs. Mary Louisa Alexander, a daughter of the Revolutionary soldier, Maj. Richard Clough Anderson, and sister of Governor Charles Anderson and the late Larz Anderson. The four children of this marriage are William A. Hall, James H. Hall, Mrs. Thomas H. Wright and Miss Kate Longworth Hall.

William Davis Gallagher, distinguished as poet and editor, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 21, 1808. His father was an Irish refugee and his mother a daughter of a Welsh farmer who died in Washington's army at Valley Forge. Gallagher was educated near the Cary homestead at a log school house presided over by one Samuel Woodworth and afterwards at the Lancaster Seminary in Cincinnati. While studying in this school he learned to set type in a small printing office belonging to Rev. D. Rootes, which was located in old Post Office alley, west of Main, between Third and Fourth. In 1826 he was employed by Gazlay on the *Western Tiller*. When this paper was sold by Gazlay in 1828 to William J. Ferris, he took service under Browne of the *Cincinnati Emporium*, which had been founded in 1824. Shortly afterwards he joined the staff of Cincinnati's first daily, the *Commercial Register*. In quick succession he was connected with such literary periodicals as the *Western Minerva*, Foote's *Literary Gazette* and afterwards with the *Evening Chronicle*, then edited by Benjamin Drake. He wrote for this paper under the pseudonym "Roderick." In the summer of 1828 circumstances led him to make a trip through Kentucky and the South. This trip resulted in a number of descriptive letters in the *Chronicle*, which gave him quite a reputation. Upon his return he was enabled by the generosity of Nicholas Longworth to build for himself a home on the north side of Fourth between Western row and John, which soon was sold to engage in a publishing venture at Xenia, where he married Mrs. Emma Addison. His venture at Xenia proved a failure: as a result Gallagher was induced by John Wood, who was about to start a literary paper in connection with his business as bookseller, to take editorial charge of this paper, the *Mirror*, the fourth literary periodical published west of the Alleghanies. He remained with this paper throughout its varying fortunes almost to the end of its life. The *Mirror* contained contributions from many of the leading Western writers, among whom were Timothy Flint, J. A. McClung, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Mrs. Dumont and Mrs. Hentz. Gallagher also took part in the various literary societies of the city as a speaker and in 1835 he began the publication in book form of his poems. In 1836 he edited the *Western Literary Journal*, a monthly review, afterwards merged in the *Western Monthly Magazine*. Five numbers of the latter magazine sufficed to prove that the supply exceeded the demand and Gallagher went to Columbus to connect himself with the *Ohio State Journal*. In 1838 there appeared the first number of his most important enterprise, *The Hesperian*. Two volumes appeared in Columbus and in 1829 the paper was transferred to Cincinnati, where in the third story of a brick house on Third street east of Main, in a room 10 by 12 feet, with a door and a single window, he fixed his office and residence. *The Hesperian* made for itself a permanent place in the literature of the West and numbered among its contributors Shreve, Perkins, Neville, Dr. and Benjamin Drake, Prentice, N. G. Symmes, Hildreth, Cranch, Robert Dale Owen, Mrs. Sigourney and Mrs. Hentz and others. In 1840 Hammond gave Gallagher a place as assistant editor of the *Gazette* and after the death of his friend he did much writing for this paper. He afterwards wrote for a number of literary journals, but his career as a Cincinnati editor ended about 1850, when he was appointed to an official position in Washington. During his residence in the city he was twice president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio and delivered an historical address before the society on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of the settlement of Ohio. For a short time in 1848 he edited an anti-slavery paper called the *Daily Message*, which, however, was too radical for Cincinnati business men anxious for Southern trade. He afterwards acted for a time as editor of the *Louisville Courier*, where his independent course on the slavery question finally resulted in a controversy with his old friend, Prentice, which led to a challenge to a duel. After leaving Cincinnati he took an active part in politics holding a number of official positions; at the same time he wrote much for the journals of the country on economic and political subjects as well as in verse. His later years were spent at Pewee Valley, near Louisville. His poems, all of which were written in his early life, were subject to a process of selection which resulted in 1881 in a publication of "Miami Woods and Other Poems," which, however, did not prove such a

financial success as to warrant any further publications. He died in 1894.

In the literary history of Cincinnati no names are more prominent than those of Alice and Phoebe Cary. They were the daughters of Robert Cary, who at the age of 15 came with his father to Cincinnati in 1802. He married Elizabeth Jessup in 1814 and settled upon a farm near Mount Pleasant (now Mount Healthy) in Springfield township. To them were born nine children, of whom his daughter Alice, born April 26, 1820, was the fourth; Phoebe was born four years later, September 24, 1824. The family were people of good education and training, but their lonely life on the farm and the privations incident to such life seem to have introduced an element of the mysterious which was characteristic of the two girls to the end of their lives. They saw visions and dreamed dreams and unfortunately the visions were usually portents of evil and the dreams, dreams of sorrow. While still a child, Alice, looking towards their new dwelling which was just finished but had not been occupied, saw standing at the threshold her sister Rhoda with Lucy, another sister, in her arms, but when she called to them she saw the two sink into the ground in front of the very door of the house; both died within a short time. This vision seems to have made a marked impression upon the Carys. Shortly after the death of these two sisters, the mother of the family died and two years later a stepmother came to the house. Around the memory of this personage, who is recalled by a friend as a sweet-faced, gentle, old Danish lady, has waged the conflict that is usual in the case of stepmothers of children of genius. It is not necessary to place the fault at her door for it is easy to see that to a practical mother of a family, anxious to do justice to her husband's own daughters, both of whom were strong willed and somewhat intractable, Alice and Phoebe Cary would present a problem difficult of solution. Alice Cary was determined to indulge her literary aspirations. During the daytime she and her sister were willing to aid to the full extent of their strength in the labors of the household, but when the day's work was done they persisted in a determination to study and write. To the average country woman living upon a farm there is no waste of time so absolutely without excuse as the time spent upon reading unless it be of a religious character. Books always produce an atmosphere of unreality which unfits the reader for the practical work of life. Mrs. Cary the second was strongly imbued with the feeling that the girls entrusted to her care should let books and writing alone. However, the craving for literary stimulus, whether it be that for the so-called dime novels or the higher forms of literature, must be satisfied. Although Alice did work during the day, scrubbed, swept, milked cows, washed dishes and made beds, at night she read and she wrote. Not permitted to burn a candlle, she and her sister Phoebe invented a light by aid of a saucer of lard with a rag wick. The books that they had to read were the usual extraordinary collection found in such houses. Of course there was the Bible, also hymn books, "History of the Jews," the "Journal" of Lewis and Clarke, Pope's "Essay on Man" and other poems, Charlotte Temple and a novel called the "Black Penitents" of which unfortunately the last pages were lost, so that they remained throughout life in ignorance of the fate of the hero and heroine. They also read the *Trumpet*, the Universalist newspaper from Boston. In spite of the narrowing influences of such life and such reading, they had before them the greatest inspiration,—nature itself,—and within them the highest appreciation of its beauties. Before Alice Cary was 18 years old, she sent a poem called "The Child of Sorrow" to a Cincinnati Universalist paper, the *Sentinel*. To this paper, afterwards known as the *Star in the West*, she contributed regularly for some time. The day came when Phoebe added her little contribution and the Cary sisters were both launched on the career of letters. Eventually the father, who secretly aided and abetted his daughters in their literary recalcitrancy, built a new house on the farm and moved into it with his wife, leaving his daughters in the old homestead. The two girls from this time wrote regularly for publication. Emerson Bennett's *Casket* and L. A. Hine's periodicals and finally Dr. Bailey's *National Era* were favored with their productions. It was from Dr. Bailey that after several months' writing Alice received the sum of $10, the first pecuniary results of her work. R. W. Griswold's "American Female Poets," published in 1848, speaks of nearly one hundred poems written within the preceding two or three years. He enclosed a letter of Alice in which she mentions three hundred and fifty poems already published. The sisters at that time often produced two or three poems in a day "and never elaborated." Mr. Griswold was instrumental in procuring the publication of their first volume by Moss & Brother of Philadelphia; this was in 1849 and they received $100 for it. Alice,

"broken in health, sad in spirit, with little money, but with a will which no difficulty could daunt, an energy and patience which no pain or sorrow could overcome, started alone to seek her fortune and to make for herself a place and home in the city of New York," leaving "Clovernook" in November, 1850. Phoebe and her sister Elmira followed Alice in the following spring, and there they lived in the American Hotel, which had been the home of Cooper, Irving and Halleck. Alice collected some thirty-five of her stories and studies of country life, under the title "Clovernook, or Recollections of Our Home in the West." This book, published in 1851, was tinged throughout with sadness, but nevertheless it was quite successful and has run through several editions. She also wrote for the following magazines: *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Putnam's*, *Ledger* and the *Independent*. Her first long story, contributed as a serial to the *Cincinnati Weekly Commercial*, was entitled "Hagar." Shortly afterwards came a second series of Clovernook stories, followed by another book of verse and "Clovernook Children." Her collected poems were issued by Ticknor & Fields in 1855. They, too, were tinged with sadness, and one reviewer, speaking of the book, said that "it is a sob in three hundred and ninety-nine parts. Such terrific mortality never raged in a volume of the same size before." The reviewer, however, concluded with the statement that she wrote "much better verse than most women who published poetry." Coates Kinney, on the other hand, denominated the writer as "emphatically the first poetess of the new world." The publication of this book gave her a definite position in the world of letters. The two sisters finally moved to a house on East 20th street, and this home became the center of attraction for many of the brightest people in America. Their Sunday evenings "At Home" and their weekly receptions for 15 years were among the most delightful known to the literary guild of New York. They were quite informal, giving welcome to people of many classes, including many so-called "queer people." Among the visitors were Horace Greeley, Bayard Taylor and his wife, Richard and Elizabeth Stoddard, Robert Dale Owen, John G. Whittier, Thomas B. Aldrich, Mrs. Croly, Julia Dean, Ole Bull, Justin McCarthy, Oliver Johnson, Mrs. Mary E. Dodge, Edwin P. Whipple, Rev. E. H. Chapin, Samuel Bowles, Anna E. Dickinson, George Ripley, Henry Wilson, Robert Bonner, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Rev. Charles F. Deems and Rev. Henry M. Field, in short all the noted contemporaries in literature and art were to be found at these assemblies, which have never been rivaled in New York City. In 1856 Alice published her second novel, "Married; Not Mated," and three years later "Pictures of Country Life," regarded as one of her best books. After this followed several volumes of poems and "Snowberries," a book for children published in 1868. Another novel, "The Bishop's Son," was published as a serial in the *Springfield Republican*, and a story called "The Born Thrall" was commenced, but death intervened before its completion. She took an interest in the uplifting of her sex, which she thought had not been treated with sufficient consideration, and she was the first president of Sorosis, the woman's club of New York City. Her last illness was quite protracted and attended by great suffering. She was nursed by her sister Phoebe until the time of her death, February 12, 1871. Phoebe, apparently in robust health until the time of her sister's death, gave way immediately to intense sorrow, which with the long strain of nursing undermined her constitution and she died six months later, July 31, 1871. Much of the latter's work had been in collaboration with her sister Alice and she had also taken the larger share of household duties. She wrote very little prose, but her poetry was to many readers more attractive than that of Alice. One of her earliest poems, written in 1842, entitled "Nearer Home," and beginning "One sweetly solemn thought comes to me o'er and o'er," has achieved a world-wide reputation. Her verses in the main were more cheerful than those of Alice, and it is said that the verses of one sister were never wrongly ascribed to the other. Of the book of poems published by the two sisters about one-third were written by Phoebe. She also published a volume of poems in 1854 and 1868 and contributed largely to the collection of hymns published in 1869 by Dr. C. F. Deems.

"Clovernook," the home of the Carys, situated about eight miles north of the city, was informally dedicated to the memory of the sisters on Saturday, June 24, 1881, at a picnic party at which were present two of the brothers and a number of prominent citizens. It is at present, owing to the generosity of William A. Procter, occupied as a Home for the Blind, in charge of the Misses Trader.

Heinrich Roedter was born in 1805 at Neustadt, Germany. He served for a time in the Bavarian cavalry and studied the law. He afterwards became involved in the so-called "July

Revolution" of 1830 and took part in the well known German May Festival at Hambach on May 22, 1832, and as a result found it necessary to leave his country to avoid prosecution. He came to Cincinnati temporarily in 1832 and permanently located here in 1836. He soon made the *Volksblatt*, which he edited from 1836 to 1840, a power among the German papers of the country. He was very active in the organization of the German Society of the city and became its first president. He was also the first captain of the German Lafayette Guards, organized in 1836. In 1840 he sold the *Volksblatt* to Stephen Molitor. He himself moved to Columbus, but after a short absence he returned to Cincinnati. He was at various times member of the City Council and of the State Legislature. Although a Democrat, his sympathies were not with slavery and he supported Chase for the senatorship. He was for a short time a partner of Judge J. B. Stallo. In 1850 he bought the *Ohio Staats Zeitung*, whose name he changed to that of the *Demokratische Tageblatt*. He died in 1856.

Charles Reemelin (Karl Gustav Rümelin) was born at Heilbronn, Germany, March 19, 1814. He studied in the schools of his native town and afterwards was a clerk, but in 1832 he made his way to America, arriving at Philadelphia after a voyage of 87 days. There he took employment in a store belonging to an Irishman, which gave him an opportunity to meet many people of that nationality. He became a Democrat at the start and continued so until his death. About a year later he concluded to go West and arrived in Cincinnati during the cholera period of 1833 in time to be attacked by the disease. He soon found employment and took an active part in public life, particularly in that of the German element, which was very strong in the city. When *Der Deutsche Franklin*, the only German paper, changed from a Democratic organ to the opposition in 1836 he assisted in the foundation of the *Volksblaat*. He not only gave a printing room to the enterprise rent free, but learned typesetting and printing in order to be of assistance. In the campaign of 1836 he, with Roedter and others, took an active part and Hamilton County, which had gone for the Whigs in 1834, became Democratic and remained so for some years. Reemelin served several terms in the State Legislature, both in the Senate and in the lower house. In 1846 he began the study of the law and two years later was admitted to the bar, although he never practiced. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1850. In the campaign of 1856 he favored Fremont, although he never became a Republican. During this year he made a third trip to Europe to study reform schools, as he had been commissioner for such schools in Ohio. A result of his investigations there was a law for the erection of a reform school and he became one of the superintendents. He also served as member of several other State commissions. About the beginning of the war, his fondness for country life induced him to retire to a country place near the city, where during the rest of his life he gave much attention to horticulture. In 1876 he was elected a member of the Board of Control and in 1879 was the nominee of his party for State Auditor. Reemelin was a voluminous writer throughout his life, both for periodical publications and for the newspaper press. He made at various times six trips to Europe, and almost every trip resulted in some valuable report upon a matter of public interest. He published several books on cultivation of the grape, and in 1875 a treatise on politics.

Stephen Molitor, born at Cheslitz in 1806 and educated at Wurzburg, came to the United States in 1830. He conducted for a time the *Staats Zeitung* in New York, but in 1837 made Cincinnati his home. Here he was associated with Roedter upon the *Volksblatt*, which he finally owned and conducted until 1863. He was a man of very broad education and wide information and made a marked impression upon the public mind. He died in 1873.

Georg Walker was from Wurtemburg, Germany, where he was born in 1808. He was one of the young men of Tubingen and came to this country in 1833. He came to Cincinnati about 1839 and brought with him his paper, *Der Protestant*, which lasted but a short time. At various times he was associated in the publication of the *Volksblatt*, *Deutsche Amerikaner*, *Volksbuhne* and *Hochwaechter*. He died from cholera in 1849.

Ludwig Rehfuss, another German of prominence, was born in Ebingen, Germany, in 1806, and was educated as a chemist. After the "July Revolution" of 1830 he left his native country and came to Cincinnati some time after 1833. Here he established the well known drug store, which for so long a time was a sort of German headquarters. He was active in the founding of the German Society and on the *Volksblatt*, and also in the Lafayette Guards. He died in 1855, after having established for himself a place as a leader among the Germans of the city.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CINCINNATI IN WAR TIME.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR — LINCOLN'S VISIT — FORT SUMTER — HOME GUARDS — THE UPRISING — THE CASE OF KENTUCKY — GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN — THE LITERARY CLUB — CAMP HARRISON — CAMP DENNISON — OTHER CAMPS IN HAMILTON COUNTY — THE SIEGE OF CINCINNATI — MORGAN IN KENTUCKY — KIRBY SMITH — LEW WALLACE IN COMMAND — MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED — THE MARCH OF THE SQUIRREL HUNTERS — THE BLACK BRIGADE — THE VALLANDIGHAM CASE — MORGAN'S RAID OF 1863 — CONTROVERSY BETWEEN COURT AND MILITARY — A CONFEDERATE SPY — THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION — THE GREAT WESTERN SANITARY FAIR — INCIDENTS OF WAR TIME.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

Cincinnati's share in the war for the Union has been well told by a number of her sons. All call attention to the warm sympathy felt by the people of the city towards its neighbors of the South. Not only were many of its families of Southern origin, but they were connected with that section by ties of marriage, friendship and social relationship, as well as by the strongest bonds of commercial interest. Slavery, it is true, existed at the city's very door, but the institution of slavery, as it was developed in Kentucky, lost much of its repulsive character. The apparently contented condition of most of the slaves who were with few exceptions well treated by their masters, and the prevalent idea of inferiority of the black race that pervaded the minds even of its strongest sympathizers served to blind the people of the community to the fundamental error involved in the institution. The general sentiment of the community was to let well enough alone. Slavery as a principle was probably condemned by the majority of the better type of citizens. The people of that day, however, were confronted with a condition and not a theory and the condition as they saw it had become so much a matter of course that they resented any undue discussion or excitement about the theory. The abolitionist was regarded as a fanatic who sought to do impossible things, and his conduct was felt to have no other result than to strain the relations between the various sections of the country. Any possible attempt at slavery north of the Ohio River would undoubtedly have been bitterly resented by the almost unanimous sentiment of the citizens. Any interference with the institution in its home was regarded as impolitic and tending to embarrass the relations of the city with the section with which it was most intimately connected. The fact that Wendell Phillips was driven from the stage of Pike's Opera House by an infuriated mob, and that the mayor apparently made no effort to suppress this mob, clamoring, it is said, for the life of the great abolitionist, while at the same time the inflammatory William L. Yancey was permitted to utter the most disloyal sentiments towards the country, is not as significant of the situation as many seem to think. At any rate these episodes are not to be interpreted in the light in which so many writers have viewed them. They do not indicate such an overwhelming Southern sentiment as many seem to believe. The people of Cincinnati were a peace-loving

community and were fond of the comforts afforded by the rapidly developing business interests of their community. The dissensions that were inflaming the nation threatened to disturb these comforts and many felt that the underlying current of feeling in favor of freedom was so strong that the vehement speeches of Phillips might be the instruments to cause the seething undercurrent of feeling to burst forth into an unquenchable conflagration. Phillips was dangerous because it was well known that there was a responsive chord to his appeals in the hearts of most of the Cincinnatians. Yancey was harmless because, from the time when the first Legislature indignantly rejected any overtures towards introducing slavery into this community, there never was any real slavery sentiment here. The feeling of the community with regard to slavery was that of passive tolerance rather than that of active approval. The various riots against anti-slavery printing presses, anti-slavery meetings, anti-slavery speakers and the negroes were simply the result of the fear of the awakening of the public conscience. As had happened so many times in the history of the world, the people knew perfectly well what was right, but feared the disagreeable consequences to their interests if that right should prevail. This may not be a complimentary view of the conditions of the character of Cincinnati people of those days, but there is very little doubt that it is a correct one. After all, the position of the community was never subject to the criticism of cowardice or a direct approval of injustice, for the moment the issue was made the community arose with a wave of patriotic fervor that swept before it all considerations of self interest and washed out the last lingering doubt from the minds of the do-nothings. In no city of the Union and in no State of the Union was the response to the country's call for aid in preserving its integrity more immediate and more effective.

The news of the firing on the "Star of the West," which took place January 9th, caused great excitement in the city. This was regarded by the people of Northern sentiments as a declaration of war and the papers of January 11th warned their readers that the opening of the conflict might be expected at any moment.

LINCOLN'S VISIT.

Mr. Lincoln passed through the city on February 12, 1861, on his way to the national capital. As he boarded the cars at Indianapolis he was met by a Cincinnati reception committee, who, represented by Judge Este and Maj. T. J. Toohey, welcomed him to the city. The crowd about the Indianapolis & Cincinnati depot was very large and for a time it was thought that some accident would occur. As the train came in, it was welcomed by the booming of cannon and cheering of the assembled multitude. As Mr. Lincoln stepped from the car accompanied by Mayor Bishop, a procession was formed in front of the depot. The grand marshal, Miles Greenwood, Major-General Lytle and Brigadier-General Bates were each surrounded by a gorgeous staff; after them came the Steuben Artillery, in charge of Captain Annis, and the Cincinnati Battalion under Major Kennet. This included the Lafayette Guards, German Yagers, Rover Guards and the Cincinnati Zouaves. A company of the Second Battalion was in charge of Captain Pendery. The Continental Battalion was in charge of Colonel Jones and the Guthrie Greys under Major Bosley. A special guard for the carriage of the President-elect was from the Washington Dragoons under Captain Pfau. Mr. Lincoln rode in an open carriage drawn by a team of six white horses. Mayor Bishop sat beside him and opposite were the mayors of Covington and Newport. The line of march was along Front and Freeman to Sixth, up Sixth to Mound, thence to Eighth, thence to Elm, thence to 15th, thence to Vine and ended at the Burnet House. Many of the houses which were passed were covered with decorations and mottoes. R. M. Corwine's house on Sixth street proclaimed "Welcome to the President of Thirty-four States." The Gibson House was most elaborately decorated. A large transparency 60 by 20 feet contained at one end a portrait of Lincoln and at the other one of Hamlin and in the center one of Washington. Intervening were many mottoes of a patriotic character and below the names of all the 34 States. At the Orphan Asylum the children sang "Hail Columbia," and at the Banner Ward House on Vine street 30 white-clad girls sang "The Star Spangled Banner." One little girl handed Mr. Lincoln a flower, in return for which he gave the child a kiss. At the Burnet House Mr. Lincoln appeared from a balcony, where he was welcomed by the mayor. Mr. Lincoln in his speech referred to his remarks delivered at Cincinnati two years before, in which he had specially addressed the people of Kentucky. He reiterated what he had said at that time. In the evening two thousand German workingmen marched to the Burnet House, where an address was delivered to the President-

elect. A supper was given by the young men of Cincinnati in honor of Master Robert Lincoln. Fred Hassaurek presided and fifty people participated. Mr. Lincoln himself, by reason of fatigue, was unable to be present, but many toasts were drank in his honor and many speeches made full of patriotic determination to support him.

The spring election held on April 1, 1861, resulted disastrously to the Republican party and George Hatch, the Democratic candidate, was successful in defeating Charles F. Wilstach for the mayoralty. Rutherford B. Hayes was one of those on the defeated ticket. The cause of the defeat, according to the *Gazette*, a Republican organ, was the dissatisfaction of the Republicans with what was regarded as the hesitating policy of the new national administration. The *Gazette* served notice that the Republicans "dissatisfied and discouraged had no heart to work and had surrendered without seriously contesting the field." The special cause of complaint was the failure to reinforce Fort Sumter.

The newly elected mayor of the city, George Hatch, probably represented "the extreme sentiment of deference and concession to the Southern people," but neither he nor any of the citizens was conscious of the critical condition of affairs. As late as April 5, 1861, some cannon consigned from Baltimore to Jackson, Mississippi, directed to "The Southern Confederacy," were allowed to pass through the city, and on the very day before this a slave had been remanded to the custody of his master by the United States commissioner.

FORT SUMTER.

News of the bombardment of Fort Sumter reached Cincinnati on Friday evening, April 12th, and was posted on the bulletin boards of the city. Despite the progress of events throughout the country there can be no question that in Cincinnati as elsewhere this news was a most violent shock to the people. The game of brag had been for some years played with such dexterity by the politicians of the country that very few had any real belief in the sincerity of the threats that had been made. Of course there were many exceptions to this general confidence in the improbability of war. It is said that the German population, especially those who had engaged in the Revolution of 1848, scented the strife from afar. Of course many of the officers of the army who were more familiar with the conditions and who had consulted with many of their fellow officers as to their future conduct in case of war realized the possibilities. Notable among these was Capt. John Pope, who, in the previous fall, had read before the Literary Club, a gathering including many of the most distinguished men of the city, a paper on the subject of "Fortifications." This paper, which had criticised the policy of President Buchanan, had subjected its author to a court-martial, which, owing to the intervention of Postmaster General Holt, had resulted in nothing. The story is told that upon the reception of the news of the fall of Sumter, he predicted that it was the beginning of a long and bloody struggle.

"The first note of war from the East threw Cincinnati into a spasm of alarm. Her great warehouses, her foundries and machine shops, her rich moneyed institutions, were all a tempting prize to the Confederates, to whom Kentucky was believed to be drifting. Should Kentucky go, only the Ohio River would remain between the great city and the needy enemy, and there were absolutely no provisions for defense." (Ohio in the War.)

In spite of the alarm, however, the city was literally covered with flags and in every direction threats loud and deep against the enemies of the country were coupled with protestations of loyalty. Mr. Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops, issued on Monday, April 15th, met with an immediate response.

The first Union meeting was held on April 15th at the Catholic Institute Hall, at which addresses were delivered by T. J. Gallagher, Judge Storer, Judge Stallo, E. F. Noyes, Judge Dickson, Dr. M. B. Wright and Judge Pruden, and resolutions drawn by Rutherford B. Hayes, announcing to the people of Cincinnati assembled, without distinction of party, in favor of asserting the rights of the United States against the rebellious South, were carried unanimously.

HOME GUARDS.

As early as April 17th a meeting was held at the office of John D. Caldwell, at No. 141 Main street, to organize Home Guards. A central committee was chosen of one from each ward. In its membership were such well known citizens as Mr. Caldwell, who was chosen president; Edward Crapsey, secretary; S. M. Barr, M. B. Hagans, A. E. Jones, Josiah Kirby, J. J. Hooker, Charles F. Wilstach, S. Snodgrass, Joseph C. Butler, W. Sibley, Christopher Von Seggern, S. W. Bard, Joseph Torrence, Miles Greenwood, Crafts J. Wright, W. S. Scarborough, Samuel B. Hirst, George Keck, Thomas Sherlock, J. W.

Caldwell, N. W. Thomas and Thomas H. Yeatman. A resolution was discussed concerning the shipment of army subsistence to Southern ports. Col. J. W. Dudley, chief of police, reported that powder would not be permitted to be shipped to the South. At the meeting on the following day, it was determined that the organization should consist of 10 companies of not more than 80 men each, to be properly drilled for the purpose of protecting the homes and firesides of the city. A report received by the committee on the powder disclosed the fact that there were in the hands of the dealers in the city at that time 4,450 kegs of rifle powder, 2,300 kegs of blasting powder and 160 cases of canister. The larger part of the discussions of the meetings of the Home Guards was taken up with the matter of the shipment of powder and supplies to the neutral States and the principle that those who were not for us were against us was repeatedly announced in resolutions. While the shipment of manufactures that could not in any way be used for purposes of war was regarded as proper so far as neutral States were concerned, of course all shipments to seceded States were regarded as improper. The committee held daily sessions during the ensuing few weeks, but as the protection of the city was soon placed in the hands of the proper authorities, its usefulness ceased after a life of little over a month.

THE UPRISING.

There were a number of militia companies in Cincinanti at this time, mostly skeleton organizations, however, of whom six made their mark during the war, the Rover Guards, the Zouave Guards, the Highland Guards (a company composed of citizens of Scottish birth and their descendants), the Continentals, the Lafayette Guards and the Guthrie Greys. These organizations furnished companies to the Second, Fifth, Sixth and 137th regiments of Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

The Rover Guards were named in honor of James Fenimore Cooper's hero of the sea and wore a uniform modeled after that of the English Grenadier Guard,—a bearskin shako, scarlet coat and pants faced and trimmed with buff, blue and gold. Before daybreak on the morning of April 17th, but little more than forty hours after the President's call for volunteers, issued on April 15th, "they bade friends and homes goodbye, perchance forever, and with fife and drum playing 'The Girl I Left Behind Me,' marched briskly to where duty called them." In the ranks of this company there served at different times Generals Lytle, Bates, Parry, Kennett and Sargent; Colonels Neff, John Kennett, Cross, Bosley, Burdsal, Littler, Bown and Finch; Majors Symmes, Burton, Wallace, Parry and Gaul; Captains Saunders, De Bus, Startzman, Paver, Lydick, Swift, Bown, Lord, Young, Calvert and Chamberlain; Lieutenants Athearn, Young, Irwin, Burton, Whelpley, Moonert, Hubbell, Powell and Flenner.

The Rover Guards, in company with the Zouave Guards and Lafayette Guards of Cincinnati, left this city for Columbus on the 17th. They were accompanied to the depot by the Guthrie Greys and the Continentals and their departure was the scene of great enthusiasm on the part of the large crowd that cheered them on their way. On the following day they were mustered into service as companies A, D and E of the Second Regiment, commanded by Col. Louis Wilson, until then chief of police. This regiment helped cover the retreat at the first battle of Bull Run. (Lieut.-Col. George M. Finch, in Sketches of War History, Ohio Commandery, Loyal Legion, Vol. I., p. 225.)

William Haines Lytle, major-general of the militia, was in Columbus at the time the President's call was received and came immediately to Cincinnati, where he met his staff at the Burnet House at nine o'clock in the evening. The military organization known as the Guthrie Greys was recruited to its full military strength that night and made the nucleus for the Sixth Ohio Infantry. This was a well drilled and well appearing body of men, made up of some of the most prominent youths of the city. The regiment was marched to Camp Harrison and on the 18th was mustered into service at the full army strength.

Two other companies were known as the Montgomery Guards and the Sarsfield Guards. These companies included many of the same individuals in their organization, and Gen. Joshua H. Bates tells us that on the day before parade a lieutenant of the Sarsfield Guards inquired whether it would be better to turn out as the Sarsfield Guards or as the Montgomery Guards. He said that he was lieutenant of the Sarsfield Guards and orderly sergeant of the Montgomery Guards and that the captain of the Montgomery Guards was the orderly sergeant of the Sarsfield Guards. And so, says General Bates, "the two companies in the most friendly manner were made up of each other, and when paraded at different times were beautiful to behold, one clad

in Hibernian green and the other in our National blue; but when paraded together one of them was not there." (Sketches of War History, Ohio Commandery, Loyal Legion, Vol. II, p. 130.)

These companies became a part of the Tenth Ohio. Maj. Henry G. Kennett raised and organized two companies of zouaves from the young men of the city and Col. A. E. Jones nearly a regiment. Another citizen most active at the time was Col. Leonard A. Harris, who headed a company despatched for the defense of Washington.

A particularly fine body of men was the regiment of over a thousand Germans raised by Col. R. L. McCook which, called the Turner Regiment, paraded the streets in the white garb of the Turner Society. This regiment was taken by General Lytle to the Trotting Park, and there formed Camp Harrison. Afterwards, as the Ninth Ohio at Mill Springs it made the first bayonet charge of the war. Much to General Lytle's disappointment, Gen. Joshua H. Bates was placed in command of Camp Harrison, where were already four regiments. Lytle immediately threw his heart into the organization of an Irish regiment and at once the Tenth Ohio with him as colonel sprang into being. This he led in many battles and finally gave his life on the field of Chickamauga.

The Fifth Ohio was made up largely of the Continentals, with fragments of the Rover, Zouave and Highland guards. (For a more complete account see the contributions of Gen. Joshua H. Bates, Lieut.-Col. George M. Finch and Capt. A. C. Kemper in the first volume of the "Sketches of War History," published by the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion.)

The City Council, not to be behind the soldiery, voted $200,000 to aid in equipping the troops, and large enthusiastic meetings, in which Democrats were particularly active, were held throughout the city.

THE CASE OF KENTUCKY.

One of the first meetings of consequence was that with relation to the people of Kentucky and the city of Louisville. The first alarm had resulted in the purchase of some huge cannon, which were supposed to be for the fortification of Walnut Hills. The doubt as to the attitude of Kentucky made the city fear an immediate attack and the anxiety to protect it from capture arose to feverish intensity. As a result of this, it was insisted that shipments of produce and particularly of arms and articles contraband of war sent down the river to the State of Kentucky should cease. This demand was received with consternation by the sister State. Kentucky had no desire to take any part in the conflict which had started. Her Governor, Magoffin, had refused to respond to the call for troops, an action that brought forth the patriotic telegram of Governor Dennison of Ohio: "If Kentucky will not fill her quota, Ohio will fill it for her," a promise which was kept. Cincinnati from this had reason to fear that Kentucky might prove hostile and Governor Dennison sent Thomas M. Key of Cincinnati to confer with Governor Magoffin. The latter assured the Ohio envoy that nothing would be done to injure Cincinnati. This did not satisfy the people of this city and they were determined that shipments to Kentucky of anything in aid of the rebellion should cease. As a result, a large delegation of citizens from Louisville came to Cincinnati and were received in the council chamber of the City Hall on April 23, 1861. The mayor, Mr. Hatch, who presided, announced the purpose of their coming and Rufus King thereupon proceeded to state the position of Ohio and of Cincinnati. His address was full of friendly advice and closed with a letter written from Governor Dennison to the mayor. In this letter the Governor insisted that so long as any State remained in the Union with professions of attachment to it Ohio could not discriminate against it. Any act, such as the seizing of arms, going to a State which had not actually seceded, might furnish a pretext for the claim that Ohio had inaugurated hostile conduct and might be used to create a feeling in favor of secession which would end in border warfare. For this reason the Governor stated that he would not be willing to order the seizure of arms nor to interfere with the transportation of provisions. Mr. King stated that this was a text to which every citizen of Ohio must subscribe and that he believed that it expressed the feeling of the people of Ohio. This statement, however, was not satisfactory to others at the meeting. One of the speakers, Judge Bellamy Storer, went so far as to say: "This is no time for soft words. We feel, as you have a right to feel, that you have a governor who cannot be depended upon in this crisis. But it is not on the men of Kentucky that we rely. All we want to know is whether you are for the Union, without reservation. Brethren of Kentucky! The men of the North have been your friends, and they still desire to be. But I will speak plainly. There have been idle taunts thrown out that they

are cowardly and timid. The North submits; the North obeys; but beware! There is a point which cannot be passed. While we rejoice in your friendship, while we glory in your bravery, we would have you understand that we are your equals as well as your friends."

Judge Bullock, for the Kentuckians, responded that "Kentucky wished to take no part in the unhappy struggle; that she wished to be a mediator, and meant to retain friendly relations with all her sister States." He expressed great gratification at Governor Dennison's letter. This meeting served more to arouse feeling than to quiet it. Four days later an indignation meeting was held. This was largely attended and many enthusiastic speeches were made. Resolutions were passed calling upon the Governor to retract his letter, as it was too late to draw nice distinctions between open rebellion and armed neutrality, which, in fact, was rebellion against union. The resolution, evidently written on the spur of the moment, was adopted with a storm of cheers, as follows: "Resolved, That any men, or set of men, in Cincinnati or elsewhere, who knowingly sell or ship one ounce of flour or pound of provisions, or any arms or articles which are contraband of war, to any person or any State which has not declared its firm determination to sustain the Government in the present crisis, is a traitor, and deserves the doom of a traitor."

The historian of Ohio's share in the war says of this:

"So clear and unshrinking was the first voice from the great conservative city of the Southern border, whose prosperity was supposed to depend on the Southern trade. They had reckoned idly, it seemed, who had counted on hesitation here. From the first day that the war was opened, the people of Cincinnati were as vehement in their determination that it should be relentlessly prosecuted to victory, as the people of Boston.

"They immediately began the organization of home guards, armed and drilled vigorously, took oaths to serve the Government when they were called upon, and devoted themselves to the suppression of any contraband trade with the Southern States. The steamboats were watched; the railroad depots were searched; and, wherever a suspicious box or bale was discovered, it was ordered back to the warehouses.

"After a time the general government undertook to prevent any shipments into Kentucky, save such as should be required by the normal demands of her own population. A system of shipment-permits was established under the supervision of the collector of the port, and passengers on the ferry-boats into Covington were even searched to see if they were carrying over pistols or other articles contraband of war; but, in spite of all efforts, Kentucky long continued to be the convenient source and medium for supplies to the Southwestern Seceded States.

"The day after the Cincinnati meeting denouncing his course relative to Kentucky, Governor Dennison, stimulated perhaps by this censure, but in accordance with a policy already formed, issued orders to the presidents of all railroads in Ohio to have everything passing over their roads in the direction of Virginia or any other seceded State, whether as ordinary freight or express matter, examined, and if contraband of war, immediately stopped and reported to him. The order may not have had legal sanction; but in the excited state of the public mind it was accepted by all concerned as ample authority. The next day similar instructions were sent to all express companies." (Ohio in the War.)

The scenes throughout the city were very striking and left but little doubt as to the attitude of the population generally. In front of the *Gazette* office a man who was expressing Southern sentiments was driven from the streets by a cheering crowd after an egg dexterously thrown had been broken in his very teeth.

GEORGE B. M'CLELLAN.

An interesting conference was that of Sunday, April 21st. In the morning about church time a gentleman came to the house of Rutherford B. Hayes who then held the office of city attorney and was active and influential both in the political and social circles of the community, and invited him to attend a meeting of the leading citizens at the Burnet House. Mr. Hayes at once responded to the invitation and found a small assembly, which included not more than a dozen altogether. These represented, however, the most prominent portion of the community. Those present were mostly Democrats, although there were one or two Bell and Everett men, including Hayes and three Republicans. Partisanship was forgotten in the threatening danger of the time and the question of the defense of the city was talked over at length. The necessity for the employment of a trained military man for the organization of the troops was discussed, and attention was called to the fact that such a man was then residing in the city in the

person of Capt. George B. McClellan, at that time president of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company. McClellan, a young man about 35, was known to have received a thorough military education and to have won high regard in the Mexican War and afterwards in various departments of the service. He had prepared a manual of bayonet exercises, had accompanied Marcy in his Red River exploration, had made surveys for harbor improvements on the Texan coast, had conducted one of the Pacific railroad surveys, had prepared a memoir on railroad construction, had served on a secret mission to select a coaling station in the West Indies and was afterwards a member of a commission sent to gather military information in Europe, and as such witnessed the operations in the Crimea. In 1857 he resigned his commission as captain of artillery and became the chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad and later, in 1858, was chosen vice-president of the road. In 1860 he was elected president of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company, with headquarters at Cincinnati.

His experience in war and in these various missions, combined with the possession of a fortune and a commanding social position, seemed to make him the man most needed at this juncture. At the meeting at the Burnet House a despatch was read showing that the State of Pennsylvania had already discussed his appointment to the command of the troops there, and it was thought that a man of such abilities should be pressed into the service of the State of his residence. A historic telegram was thereupon sent to the authorities at Washington recommending his appointment to the local command, as follows: "People of Cincinnati wish Captain McClellan to be appointed to organize forces and take command at Cincinnati." The names signed to this telegram—William J. Flagg, S. F. Vinton, W. S. Groesbeck, L. Anderson, Rutherford B. Hayes and George E. Pugh—indicated the standing of the gentlemen engaged in the meeting and also its non-partisan character.

Before action was taken by the national government, Governor Dennison commissioned McClellan as major-general and placed him in command of Ohio's troops, consisting of 13 regiments of three-months militia, a jump from the command of 100 men to that of 10,000. This extraordinary advancement, however, as is well known, was but the beginning of honors heaped upon McClellan. General Scott, the commander-in-chief of the army, in a letter of April 30th, expressed his approbation of the appointment. A few days after, Governor Dennison urged upon the President the appointment of McClellan as ranking major-general of volunteers, saying that Ohio must lead throughout the war, and on May 3rd the government created the military Department of the Ohio, consisting of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and gave him the command. Almost immediately afterwards he was commissioned major-general of the United States Army, and the States of Missouri and portions of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia were added to his department. His subsequent history belongs to the history of the war and the country.

At the time of McClellan's appointment to the command of the troops, Governor Dennison appointed three brigadier generals—Jacob D. Cox, Joshua H. Bates and Newton Shleich.

THE LITERARY CLUB.

The enthusiasm of the citizens was not manifested by holding public meetings alone. Military organizations were formed every day, many of which became the nucleus of regiments that took an active part throughout the war. One of the first of these was organized on April 17, 1861, within two days of the call of the President for troops. This was known as the Burnet Rifles and was composed of members of the Cincinnati Literary Club, an association of the leading men of education and culture of the city which, formed in 1849, is still in existence, the oldest organization of the character in the United States. A special meeting of the club was called to order by Rutherford B. Hayes, one of its members, and a committee of three was appointed which reported in favor of the organization of a military company. The report was at once accepted, the roll of members called and 33 of those present proceeded to join in the drill. Robert W. Burnet, a graduate of West Point, was named as commander, and John Pope, a member of the club, was the first drill officer. He was succeeded after a few days by a sergeant from Newport Barracks named Richman, who drilled the company three times a day for some length of time. The ladies of the city, in their enthusiasm over the organization of so distinguished a company, presented to it a beautiful silk flag, which still hangs on the walls of the club. This flag, however, although tattered and torn, never saw a battle-field and never left Cincinnati. The personality of the individuals composing the organization was of too high a charac-

ter to allow it to remain together. From its ranks were chosen officers for every branch of the service and it is a notable fact from the membership of the Literary Club, limited as it was to 50, fifty officers holding commissions from the rank of 2nd lieutenant to that of major-general served in the war. As members left for the war others joined the club and finally followed their predecessors, so that, in all, 51 members of the Literary Club served in the ranks of the Union Army, a record not equaled by that of any similar organization in the country. But one member of the club, at that time the superintendent of the public schools of Cincinanti, was able to retain the rank of private. Among the officers contributed by this club to the service were George B. McClellan, general in chief of the armies of the United States, who had just been elected a member of the organization but was prevented by the breaking out of the war from qualifying, Major-Generals Rutherford B. Hayes, Manning F. Force and John Pope; Brigadier-Generals William H. Baldwin, Thomas Ewing, Thomas C. H. Smith, Israel Garrard, R. D. Mussey and Edward F. Noyes; and Colonels Thomas M. Anderson, John S. Billings, Nelson Cross, Jeptha Garrard, Nathan Lord, Stanley Matthews, J. F. Meline, C. A. Morgan, Donn Piatt, J. J. Slocum and J. T. Webb.

On May 16, 1861, a most enthusiastic reception was tendered Major Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, who came to the city from Columbus. The Major was received by the mayor and other officials at the Little Miami depot and the usual procession made up of a number of military companies. The parade passed through the principal streets of the city to the residence of Larz Anderson and was greeted with enthusiasm on all sides. Major Anderson was the guest of his brother Larz Anderson, where he held an informal reception which was attended by many citizens. He afterwards visited the various camps about the city and was received with great enthusiasm.

CAMP HARRISON.

Almost immediately after the news of war was received, camps were established in the neighborhood of the city. The first of these was Camp Harrison, which was at the Trotting Park in the outskirts of Cumminsville, some six miles north of the city. Gen. William H. Lytle was placed in command of this camp and the Guthrie Greys with several other companies marched there on April 20th. The ladies of the city collected clothing for the soldiers and soon the parlors of the Gibson House and all other public buildings were occupied by the volunteer seamstresses anxious to do their share in the patriotic work. None of the regiments of course in the early days was possessed of Federal uniforms. The German regiment of Col. Robert L. McCook, as already stated, was in the white clothing of the Turner Society with short round jackets of linen. General McCook himself was mounted on horseback clad in citizen's clothing with a stovepipe hat and the only thing which indicated his military character was a sword strapped to his side. The regiment of the Guthrie Greys, the Sixth Ohio, wore the uniform of that organization. The Fifth Ohio wore red flannel shirts. Another company very soon formed was the Storer Rifles, which was the first to get arms but these were furnished by the soldiers themselves and were Sharp rifles. This organization had been started by a meeting in Greenwood Hall in which Judge Storer had made a most eloquent appeal, concluding with the statement that although an old man over 60 years of age he then and there volunteered. The company was composed of some of the wealthiest men of the city, many old and gray-headed, and the majority not in proper physical condition to stand hard service. They were organized to act as Home Guards.

CAMP DENNISON.

The great camp however was Camp Dennison near Madisonville, 17 miles from the limits of Cincinnati at that time. This camp had been organized at the request of the Governor for whom it was named in the latter part of April, 1861. The selection was made by Gen. W. S. Rosecrans at that time in business in Cincinnati. At the time of the appointment of McClellan as major-general, Rosecrans became topographical engineer upon the former's staff. The site of the camp was a long broad stretch of level land well adapted for the uses for which it had been selected. Considerable feeling was manifested afterwards, because of the high rates at which the leases were obtained from the owners. During the time it was in charge of the State, there was much criticism at to its management but it was afterwards turned over to the government and became one of the two great camps maintained in Ohio during the war.

Gen. Jacob D. Cox tells us that the camp ground, which he reached on the 29th of April, seemed an excellent place for the work, its only

drawback being that very little of the land was in meadow or pasture, part being in wheat and part in Indian corn. The camp was laid out at that time for a dozen regiments. The men carried the boards on their shoulders to the places selected for the companies' huts. Huts were built facing each other three or four on each side leaving a street between where the company could assemble before marching to its place on the regimental color line. At the head of the streets were the officers' quarters and farther in the rear those of the field and staff.

An amusing controversy at the outset is related by General Cox. Rosecrans finding that some of the companies were putting floors and bunks in their huts ordered them taken out as the huts were only intended to take the place of tents. Naturally the soldiers protested very indignantly and the whole matter was brought before the commander, Brigadier-General Cox, by Rosecrans, fairly bubbling with anger at those who questioned his authority and the officers insisting upon their rights. General Cox finally reported that in his opinion the huts could not be struck like tents to dry and air the earth and as they were meant for permanent quarters that the floors and bunks should be built. McClellan's decision was in accordance with this report. At that time the men were not armed, so that the drill was confined to the various details of marching. Schools were established both for the men and the officers.

Gen. Joshua H. Bates reached his brigade, which had been organized in Cincinnati, on the 20th of May and by virtue of his seniority took command of the camp. The brigade included the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth and Tenth Ohio regiments.

Camp life in the early days was full of hardships. There was much rain and the fields became mud puddles. There was an absence of men who knew how to cook and, strangely enough, more than one-half the men had never had the children's diseases. As a result measles broke out and the camp hospital which was in a large barn was crowded to its limit. The women of the city promptly shared in the duties of nursing. Conspicuous among these were the Sisters of Charity under the leadership of Sister Anthony, always the idol of the soldiers. However, by the middle of May some order had been brought out of chaos and the two thousand men gathered at the camp had a faint conception of the duties of the service. The camp life was not without its humor and many stories are told of the rivalries of such regiments as that of Col. "Bob" McCook composed entirely of Cincinnati Germans and the "Bloody Tinth," the Irish regiment of the brilliant Lytle as well as those of other cities. The Irishmen of the Tenth were somewhat given to over exhilaration and as a result many of them found their way to the guard house. They felt that another regiment had shown unusual zeal in filling the guard house with Irishmen and as a result the first military experience of the camp seemed likely to be a fight between several of the regiments. Fortunately the trouble was quieted without any serious results.

OTHER CAMPS IN HAMILTON COUNTY.

Other camps formed in the county during the war were Camp Clay at Pendleton; Camp John McLean, near Cincinnati, which, named for Justice McLean, quartered the 75th Ohio Infantry commanded by Col. N. C. McLean, a son of the Justice; Camp Corwine named for Maj. Richard M. Corwine; and Camp Colerain, 10 miles north of Cincinnati.

Military committees were organized in the city to aid in the recruiting of troops and also a Committee of Safety to prevent the passage of vessels carrying supplies to the South. On this latter committee the members were Rufus King, Miles Greenwood, William Cameron, Joseph Torrence, J. C. Butler and Henry Handy. Col. A. E. Jones, C. F. Wilstach and Frederick Meyer were a committee to prevent the shipment of supplies to the Rebels.

THE SIEGE OF CINCINNATI.

After the first fright resulting from the proximity of Cincinnati to the Confederacy had worn away, the city resumed its accustomed tranquillity. During the first year of the war, the troops passing through the city to the various training camps at Camp Harrison, Camp Dennison and elsewhere had given it to some extent a martial appearance. On the 20th of June the Indiana regiments passed through the city on their way to the seat of war in the western part of Virginia. They disembarked at the Fifth street depot and marched the whole length of Fourth street, stopping on their way to be fed at the Fifth street market house. These regiments were particularly enthusiastic as they desired to vindicate their State, whose troops had been charged by Jefferson Davis with cowardice at the battle of Buena Vista in Mexico. It is said that before leaving Indianapolis the whole

body of men had knelt before the capitol and with bared heads had taken an oath to "Remember Buena Vista." This body of men, 2,000 strong, well equipped through the energy of Governor Oliver P. Morton and attired in the gray uniform as were all early Indiana regiments, was the first installment of the long succession of troops that passed through the city. A little later the Seventh Indiana was reviewed by Major Anderson from the residence of his brother Larz Anderson on Pike street. In August came the returning three-months volunteers and they were welcomed with enthusiasm always shown for conquering heroes. The war had not sufficiently progressed to make possible comparisons of results nor to appreciate fully the horrors it was to entail. Some taste of its misfortunes was given on August 29th when the body of Maj.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, killed at Wilson's Creek in Missouri, was received with military honors. In September of the war's first year the suggestion of an attack from Kentucky created considerable uneasiness and some slight attempt was made to fortify the city. In October the first considerable number of wounded soldiers returning from the fields of battle brought clearly before the minds of the public the seriousness of the task that was before them. The gloom that hung over the country of course affected Cincinnati but in February the glorious victory of Fort Donelson produced here as elsewhere scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm. The full significance of the war and its inevitable consequences were not fully understood however, as is shown by the discourteous reception of Wendell Phillips on March 25th, while endeavoring to lecture at Pike's Opera House. It must not be supposed, however, that this indicated in any way a lack of determination on the part of the citizens to uphold the Union. Various meetings in the early days of the war in which such patriots as Nathaniel Wright, Rufus King, Ormsby M. Mitchel and Bellamy Storer had called the citizens to arms are a truer index to the tone of public sentiment. It is not unnatural that at times the reverses suffered should cause here as well as elsewhere a temporary lack of confidence in the minds of some, both in the management of affairs and the ultimate victory. This was shown to some extent by the elections. Cincinnati shared the periods of depression as well as the moments of elation felt by the rest of the country. The people as well as the press took upon themselves as they always do the privilege of criticising and condemning the things that they least understood.

MORGAN IN KENTUCKY.

In the early part of the summer of 1862 the news from across the river became most disquieting and the fear became general that the city, which so far had been spared any actual sight of war, might become a seat of conflict. It is said that in the South children were brought to terms by the mention of the name of "Abe" Lincoln. However true this may be, there can be no question that in the minds of the young people of this neighborhood in the early "sixties" the names of John Morgan and Kirby Smith were more terrifying than the mention of the arch fiend himself. For a time those of maturer years were not much less affected by these names than were the children.

From time to time rumors of Morgan's achievements had come to Cincinnati. He became noted for his sudden cavalry dashes, even beyond the picket lines of the enemy. First he would carry off some outlying artillery; then he would burn an important bridge; next a supply train or a drove of cattle would fall into his hands; finally he became bolder and would cut out whole squads of soldiers within sight of their camps; he would seize telegraph stations and obtain such news as he desired and move on to another field of activity; Northern sympathizers would lose their cotton and their other crops and such property as could be carried away. His character was such as to excite the most widely different emotions in the bosoms of his friends and his enemies. To the former he was Prince Rupert himself and to the latter he was Captain Kidd reincarnated. There can be no question, however, that among his daredevil young "rough-riders" were many of the best people of Kentucky and the progress of his band through the State was usually greeted with enthusiasm by his friends and neighbors.

The first excitement of the war had died down, the defeats had become as familiar as victories and calls for troops had been repeated with embarrassing frequency, when suddenly the news came that John Morgan was in Kentucky. By Friday evening, the 11th of July, 1862, it was known that Tompkinsville with its entire garrison had been taken and the prisoners paroled. Immediately afterward he was at Glasgow and communication between Louisville and Nashville was cut off. A proclamation calling upon the Kentuckians to arise in behalf of the South

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

SALMON P. CHASE.

added to the excitement. By the evening of the next day it was reported that Morgan was marching on to Lexington and General Boyle, commanding at that time in Kentucky, telegraphed to Mayor Hatch for militia to assist him. On the 13th of July a public meeting was called and by nine o'clock in the evening several thousand citizens met in the Fifth street market space to hear the alarming despatches from Boyle. As was usual in such cases, these did not always accord with each other. In one, Morgan's troops numbered 2,800 and in another 1,500. He had burned Perryville and was marching on to Danville. He was perilously near Louisville and Boyle must defend that city, which left Lexington to the care of Cincinnati. Speeches were made by the mayor and other prominent citizens and finally a committee, consisting of Mayor Hatch, George E. Pugh, Joshua H. Bates, Miles Greenwood, J. B. Stallo, J. W. Hartwell, Peter Gibson and Thomas J. Gallagher, was appointed to take some action looking to the protection of the city. Governor Tod ordered down a thousand stand of arms and the convalescent soldiers from Camp Dennison and Camp Chase. Two hundred men of the 52nd Ohio arrived a little later and the city soon took on the appearance of war. The streets were thronged all night and by nine o'clock in the morning it was thought that the time had come for more speechmaking. George E. Pugh, Benjamin Eggleston and Thomas J. Gallagher addressed the throng in the Fifth street market space. Charles F. Wilstach and Eli C. Baldwin took charge of the matter of food for volunteer companies, which it was determined to organize, and the City Council appropriated $5,000 and agreed to pay any necessary expenses incurred by the committees appointed at the public meetings. In the afternoon some eleven hundred men from Camp Chase, soldiers of the 85th and 86th Ohio, passed through on their way to Lexington; a special train carried the police force under Colonel Dudley, their chief, and a company of artillery with a single gun organized from the fire department by Capt. William Glass. The news that a brother of John Morgan was stopping at one of the hotels added to the excitement but as he produced a pass from General Boyle he was simply detained. Permission was obtained from the Secretary of War to use some cannon, which Miles Greenwood was casting for the government, and ammunition for them was furnished by Governor Morton of Indiana as the authorities of Columbus declined to supply it without the requisition of a United States officer. The press, as well as the people, lost its head and advised the troops to take few prisoners, the fewer the better, as Morgan's men were not soldiers but freebooters, thieves and murderers and should be dealt with accordingly, a statement entirely without justification. So able a writer as John C. Ropes speaks of this raid as being justifiable on the plainest principles of warfare. For a day or so, Morgan was expected each moment to appear on the top of the Kentucky hills across the river but as he did not come the alarm abated for a time. Then came the news that he was once more advancing. Ex-Governor Dennison was sent to Cincinnati by Governor Tod to consult with the Committee of Safety and went on to Frankfort to inspect the Ohio troops there.

In the meantime the absence of the police was taken advantage of by the disorderly crowds of the city. The old trouble between the Irish and negroes broke out again and as a result of the riot some houses were burned and a few people injured. A meeting of the property owners and leading citizens was hastily called at the Merchants' Exchange and here measures were taken to organize a patrol force of one thousand men to take charge of the city during the absence of the police. The measures adopted were efficacious and the riot soon ceased.

Meanwhile John Morgan kept marching on. On the Sunday, which had been the scene of so much excitement in Cincinnati, he entered Harrodsburg. After making a feint towards Frankfort he hurried to Lexington, burning bridges on his way to keep reinforcements from gathering to oppose him. His marching was rapid, covering 300 to 400 miles in eight days and on Monday morning he was within 15 miles of Frankfort and by nightfall at Versailles. At Midway, between Frankfort and Lexington, he took possession of a telegraph office and obtained such information as he desired as to the plans of the Union officers in his neighborhood and at Cincinnati. From this point he sent some forged telegrams to Lexington with the statement that Morgan was then driving back the picket line at Frankfort. He hastened to Georgetown within easy reach of Frankfort and Lexington, where he rested for a few days. He seems to have had no thought of attacking Lexington as it was too strongly garrisoned but his real purpose was to bewilder his enemies. He made a dash upon Cynthiana, garrisoned by 500 men, including Captain Glass' firemen. After a little fighting, he took possession of the celebrated gun and

the firemen,—420 prisoners in all with several hundred horses and a large quantity of stores. He immediately appeared before Paris, where he was met by a deputation of citizens hastening to surrender to him. Hearing that the forces from Lexington were coming after him under Gen. Green Clay Smith, he leisurely marched through Winchester, Richmond, Crab Orchard and Somerset, ending his campaign with 300 more men than he had at the outset. During this raid he captured about as many men as constituted his own force (most of whom he released on parole) and destroyed the government arms and stores in 17 towns. During this swinging around the circle, Cincinnati passed through several periods of excitement. A public meeting in the Court street market space was addressed by Hugh J. Jewett, who had been the Democratic candidate for Governor, with an earnest appeal for rapid enlistments. Other citizens had spoken to the same effect. The City Council took the oath of allegiance in a body. Much discussion arose over the question of bounties for volunteers and over $5,000 was subscribed for this purpose by leading citizens. Two regiments known as the Cincinnati Reserves were formed for service in emergencies and preparations were made to withstand an attack. Upon the request of the mayor and others, Colonel Burbank was appointed for a time military governor of the city. However, as Morgan had retired without making any serious menace upon the city, affairs resumed their natural condition and all was quiet along the Ohio.

The funeral of Robert L. McCook, who had been murdered by guerrillas, while being carried in an ambulance near Salem, Alabama, occurred August 11, 1862, and was the occasion of universal mourning. McCook was one of the celebrated fighting McCooks, the fourth son of Maj. Daniel McCook. This family, it will be remembered, furnished 15 soldiers, all commissioned officers, with the exception of one, to the service of the Union. The one exception, Charles, a boy less than 18 years of age, had been offered a lieutenant's commission in the regular army but declined it, preferring the service of a volunteer. He left the freshman class at Kenyon College for the field of battle and was killed at the first battle of Bull Run. Robert L. McCook had been the partner of Judge Stallo but as has already been stated formed the Ninth Ohio from the German citizens of Cincinnati. He was in command of a brigade in West Virginia under McClellan. He afterwards took part in the battle of Mill Springs where he was severely wounded. He continued to command his brigade even at a time when his wound was so severe that he was unable to mount a horse. He became a major-general and received the command of a division. His murder which took place August 6, 1862, was one of the most brutal acts of the Southern guerrillas during the war. He was shot in his bed in the ambulance wagon where he was lying undressed unable to rise. The death of this brilliant young major-general, not yet 35 years of age, and under such circumstances, aroused intense feeling throughout the country. He was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery; after the war his soldiers and friends erected the monument which standing in Washington Park is so familiar to the citizens of Cincinnati.

KIRBY SMITH.

Morgan's first raid was a forerunner of Kirby Smith's threatened siege of the city. The summer of 1862 was certainly a gloomy one throughout the country and Cincinnati at the threshhold of the seat of war was particularly despondent. McClellan's philandering in the Peninsula had been stopped, Pope had proved himself unsatisfactory, Chattanooga was in the hands of Bragg and Cincinnati it had been proved was subject to invasion at any moment. The news came that Kirby Smith had left Knoxville and with 1,200 soldiers and 30 or 40 pieces of artillery had marched straight for Kentucky. He passed the Federal forces at Cumberland Gap and marched until he reached a point 15 miles from Richmond before he met with any opposition of any consequence. Here he drove before him a cavalry regiment which hurried back to Richmond and Lexington with the first authentic news of his approach. Almost on the heels of the fugitives came the pursuers and on August 29th he scattered the few raw militia that were put forward to oppose him. General Manson, who commanded the Federal troops, formed line after line only to see each broken and driven back as Smith's troops charged. Finally the rout became complete. Whole regiments were captured and immediately paroled and every road, lane and by-way leading into Lexington was filled with fugitives or paroled prisoners telling the story of the disaster at their doors. Maj-Gen. H. G. Wright, an able and experienced officer who had been put in command of the new department consisting of Kentucky and the States north of it, instituted August 19th under

the name of the Department of the Ohio, saw that it was impossible to hold Lexington and he immediately evacuated the place and fell back on Louisville. The railroads hurried their stock to the Cincinnati end of the road and it was thought that here too would come the Federal army defeated at Richmond. On September 1st the news came that Gen. Kirby Smith with his army had entered Lexington in triumph and had been received with great enthusiasm by the Southern sympathizers, many of whom up to this time had kept their feelings to themselves. The people of the city thronged the streets and shouted their welcome from every door and window. The bells of the city were rung and the town gave itself up to rejoicing. This fact together with the information that the troops had retreated to Louisville threw Cincinnati into consternation.

The news of the battle of Richmond reached this city late Saturday night, August 30th. At first its real significance was not understood. The Sanitary Commission and others made preparations to give relief to the wounded and the papers discussed the management of the battle. All the amateur war critics of the town collected together Sunday afternoon and spent their time in criticising Buell.

LEW WALLACE IN COMMAND.

By Monday afternoon it was known that there were no troops between Kirby Smith and Cincinnati and that that conqueror was already being received with enthusiasm in Lexington. The pen of man would not suffice to describe the sudden shock that had come upon the people. What had so long been feared had come to pass and the rich Queen City of the West was almost in the hands of the victorious marauders from the South. Something had to be done and done at once. The Council of course met and passed resolutions pledging the faith of the city to pay expenses. The mayor was authorized to suspend business and summon every person within the city whether alien or citizen to its defense. General Wright was assured of the desire of every one within the limits of the city to assist in its protection. By nine o'clock in the evening the man who was to save Cincinnati, even at the expense of much adverse criticism, Gen. Lew Wallace, presented himself and was met at the Burnet House by the mayors of the three cities, Cincinnati, Covington and Newport. Wallace was known as a vigorous, active, young volunteer officer never afraid to take responsibility and entirely confident of his own resources. He had risen to the highest rank attainable in the army. He was supposed to be as well qualified as any man in the service to cope with such a situation.

MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED.

By two o'clock in the morning after the conference with the mayors and a few army officers in the towns, a proclamation was issued which placed the city under martial law and to which, severe as it may seem, the city was in a large measure indebted for its preservation. This proclamation which was read by the citizens at their breakfast tables was as follows:

"PROCLAMATION."

"The undersigned, by order of Major-General Wright, assumes command of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport.

"It is but fair to inform the citizens that an active, daring and powerful enemy, threatens them with every consequence of war; yet the cities must be defended, and their inhabitants must assist in preparations. Patriotism, duty, honor, self-preservation, call them to the labor, and it must be performed equally by all citizens.

"First. All business must be suspended. At nine o'clock to-day every business house must be closed.

"Second. Under the direction of the Mayor, the citizens must, within an hour after the suspension of business (ten o'clock A. M.), assemble in convenient public places ready for orders. As soon as possible they will then be assigned to their work. This labor ought to be that of love, and the undersigned trusts and believes it will be so. Anyhow, it must be done. The willing shall be properly credited, the unwilling promptly visited. The principle adopted is, citizens for the labor, soldiers for the battle.

"Third. The ferry-boats will cease plying the river after four o'clock A. M., until further orders.

"Martial law is hereby proclaimed in the three cities; but until they can be relieved by the military, the injunctions of this proclamation will be executed by the police.

"Lewis Wallace,
"*Major-General Commanding.*"

The scenes which followed have been described by many who took part in them. T. Buchanan Read, the poet, a volunteer aide under General Wallace, tells us that the people rose to swell

the ranks and crowded into the trenches with alacrity. Maj. J. V. Guthrie was put in charge of the working parties and Maj. Malcolm McDowell commanded the citizen soldiers. Of course there were a few timid creatures who feared to obey the summons. Some were affected by sudden illness and had to be hunted out from back kitchens, garrets, cellars, closets and from under beds by armed men with fixed bayonets. One lover of peace was found dressed in his wife's clothes scrubbing at the wash tub; he did excellent work in the trenches. Men of every class, bankers, lawyers, merchants, artists and poets all took their turn with musket, pick or spade. Mr. Howe, the venerable historian, tells us that on the morning after the city was put under martial law he found the streets full of armed police in army blue who compelled all without respect to age to report to the headquarters of their respective districts for enrollment. At every corner stood a sentinel and it was impossible to traverse the streets without a pass. The Irish police seemed particularly vigilant in handling their old enemies the colored men. Although the negroes had been among the first to volunteer their services to the mayor, they were hauled from hotels, barber shops and other working places bare-headed and at times half dressed and driven at the point of the bayonet into the squads preparing for the drill. The negroes afterwards were organized into a working brigade and did most effective service in the trenches back of Newport under the control and leadership of Judge William M. Dickson. The landlord of the famous Dumas House, the retreat for so many colored people, Colonel Harlan, led the corps down to Broadway on its daily march to labor and, rough-clad and vari-colored as they were, they were never surpassed in the contribution they made to the preservation of the town. Breastworks, rifle-pits and redoubts were hastily traced out back of Newport and Covington and there guns were mounted and pickets thrown out. By daybreak of the second day a pontoon bridge stretched from Cincinnati to Covington and wagons filled with lumber and other materials were crossing the bosom of the Ohio.

THE MARCH OF THE SQUIRREL HUNTERS.

Governor Tod had hurried to the scene of danger at the earliest warning and immediately wired his adjutant general to send all available troops without delay. He also ordered 5,000 stand of arms with 50 rounds of ammunition and other ammunition for guns of different character. His proclamation to the people of the border warned them of the threatened invasion and recommended that all loyal men in the different counties form themselves into military companies and regiments to beat back the enemy. They were directed to gather up the arms in the counties and furnish themselves with ammunition and were told that the service would be of a few days' duration and that the soil of Ohio must not be invaded by the enemies of the government. Governor Tod sent reassuring telegrams to Secretary Stanton expressing confidence that the Rebel force would be successfully met and he ordered the Little Miami Railroad guarded as far up as Xenia. The response from the various counties was instantaneous. Preble, Butler, Warren, Greene, Franklin and many others telegraphed offers of men and by night of September 2nd the Governor answered that all armed men would be received. They were directed to report at Cincinnati to General Wallace, as late as the 5th. Railroad companies were instructed to pass such men at the expense of the State, while troops residing in the river counties were directed to remain at home for the protection of their own neighborhood. By daybreak of September 3rd began the advance of one of the most remarkable bodies of armed men known since the days of the Crusades. An almost endless stream of sturdy men coming in files and individually, in all kinds of costumes and armed with all kinds of firearms, but usually the deadly rifle, poured in from the rural districts of Ohio and Indiana. These were the famous Squirrel Hunters, so long celebrated in verse and song. The church and fire bells were rung throughout the State and mounted men carried the news in every direction. The scenes of the Revolution with the gathering of the "Minute Men" were rivaled by these Ohio farmers. It seemed, says one writer, "as if the whole State of Ohio were peopled only with hunters and that the spirit of Daniel Boon stood upon the hills beckoning them into Kentucky. The pontoon bridge over the Ohio which had been begun and completed between sundown and sundown groaned day and night with the perpetual stream of life all setting southward. In three days there were ten miles of intrenchments lining the Kentucky hills making a semicircle from the river above the city to the banks of the river below and these were thickly manned from end to end and made terrible to the astonished enemy by black and frowning cannon. The city above and below was well

protected by a flotilla of gun-boats improvised from the swarm of steamers which lay at the wharves."

The pontoon bridge which had been built under the direction of Wesley M. Cameron from coal barges anchored firmly in position side by side and covered with timbers and bridge planks, was wide enough for four wagons to pass abreast and for two whole days the stream of men and teams passing over this novel structure was continuous. The Squirrel Hunters as they arrived at the different depots were taken to the Fifth street market house where they were fed at the expense of the citizens and from this point they were hurried to the front. By September 5th the Governor announced that no more volunteers would be needed. He had already telegraphed General Wright the day before of the sending forward of 20 regiments and that 21 more were in process of organization. About 15,000 men it is supposed had assembled for the defense of the city by this time and the gathering was sufficient to justify the proclamation which the Governor issued from Columbus as follows:

"COLUMBUS, September 5, 1862.

"TO THE PRESS:

"The response to my proclamation asking volunteers for the protection of Cincinnati was most noble and generous. All may feel proud of the gallantry of the people of Ohio. No more volunteers are required for the protection of Cincinnati. Those now there may be expected home in a few days. I advise that the military organizations throughout the State, formed within the past few days, be kept up, and that the members meet at least once a week for drill. Recruiting for the old regiments is progressing quite satisfactorily, and with continued effort there is reason to believe that the requisite number may be obtained by the fifteenth instant. For the want of proper accommodations at this point, recruiting officers are directed to report their men at the camp nearest their locality, where they will remain until provision can be made for their removal. Commanding officers of the several camps will see that every facility is given necessary for the comfort of these recruits.

"David Tod, *Governor.*"

Despite the fact that no more volunteers were needed, the work of those already in the ranks did not cease. Judge Dickson's negro brigade continued piling up fortifications and 3,000 white citizens of every rank and station in life handled the spade by the side of the negroes, each earning his promised dollar a day. The militia organizations were kept up and the drilling continued without interruption. The trenches were regularly manned, picket lines were thrown out and a scouting service organized.

Whatever Kirby Smith might have done had he approached Cincinnati with the same dash that had characterized his movements at Lexington, his delay of a few days put this city out of danger. It is now well known that he was never ordered to attack the city but merely to make a demonstration against it. Of course this was not known at the time and for a day or so the citizens were in momentary expectation of an assault. As this did not come, some of the citizens became restive under the measure which had been provided for their protection. The cessation of business was regarded as a hardship and the closing of the schools, bake shops and drug stores was of course an oversight. This was corrected by the issuing of an order of the mayor, relaxing somewhat the strictness of the original order. This was done with the sanction of General Wallace and read as follows:

"First. The banks and bankers of this city will be permitted to open their offices from one to two P. M.

"Second. Bakers are allowed to pursue their business.

"Third. Physicians are allowed to attend their patients.

"Fourth. Employes of newspapers are allowed to pursue their business.

"Fifth. Funerals are permitted, but only mourners are allowed to leave the city.

"Sixth. All coffee-houses and places where intoxicating liquors are sold, are to be closed and kept closed.

"Seventh. Eating and drinking-houses are to close and keep closed.

"Eighth. All places of amusement are to close and keep closed.

"Ninth. All drug-stores and apothecaries are permitted to keep open and do their ordinary business.

"George Hatch, *Mayor of Cincinnati.*"

The *Evening Times* newspaper took occasion to criticise General Wallace in his preparations and concluded the communication by denouncing the whole business as a big scare. Within an hour or two General Wallace suppressed the paper but shortly afterwards revoked his order to this effect and the *Times* appeared the next day as usual.

On September 6th, General Wallace was relieved of the command of Cincinnati and sent across the river to take charge of the defenses and on this day another order was issued, permitting the resumption of all lawful business, excepting the sale of liquor, until the hour of four P. M. daily. Druggists, manufacturers of bread stuffs, provision dealers, railroad, express and transfer companies and persons connected with the public press and all persons doing business with the government were permitted to pursue their vocations without interruption. This order was issued by N. H. McLean, assistant adjutant-general and chief of staff, by command of Major-General Wright.

With the resumption of business, the city presented a less warlike aspect and the conviction became stronger that there had been no real occasion for alarm. Once more there came an awakening. Henry Howe tells us that he with others of his own guard on the evening of Tuesday night, September 9th, were at an improvised armory in the old American Express Building on Third near Broadway. It was a starlight night and the air was soft and balmy and everything seemed peaceful. Three hours after midnight there suddenly shot high in the air, from a signal tower three blocks to the east, a rocket. This was followed by the pealing of the fire bells. A little later John D. Caldwell, the well known pioneer, passed him and gave him the news that Kirby Smith was advancing on the city and that the military were to muster on the landing and cross the river at sunrise. It was not Kirby Smith but General Heath with a detachment of Confederates probably a little more than 10,000 in number, but the news of this movement was sufficient to alarm the whole State. Early in the morning of September 10th, Governor Tod notified the people of Northern Ohio of a telegram from General Wright received at two o'clock that morning. He directed that all armed men be sent immediately to Cincinnati. By six o'clock in the morning the militia began crossing the river. The Public Landing was crowded with armed citizens in companies and regiments while the steamboats, some of which had been converted into gun-boats, were receiving bales of hay for bulwarks. The pontoon bridge was a moving panorama of newly made warriors and wagons of ammunition hurrying to the hills beyond which were the foe. As the soldiers passed through Covington, they were greeted with silence. There were no smiles and no cheers in this town which had furnished so many recruits to the Southern armies. No better account of this last outpouring to the South can be given than that furnished by Mr. Howe. His experience was that of thousands of others who were equally unused to the hardships of war. To him the way up the hills seemed to have no ending and the boiling September sun poured upon them like a furnace. Clouds of limestone dust from the road filled their nostrils and throats and made them look like a party of millers. The universal cry was for water, none of which was at hand. When they reached the top of the hills about 500 feet above the Ohio, the regiment halted and broke ranks while the officers galloped ahead. Within five minutes they came cantering back with the order to fall into line quickly. The colonel called "You are now going into battle! The enemy are advancing! You will receive sixty rounds of cartridges! Do your duty, men! Do your duty!" This was suspected by some as a ruse to test the courage but no sign of humor was visible among the men gathered around. The only aspect was that of weary faces, dirty, sweaty and blowzy with the burning heat. One of the captains directed his men to put in the ball first and powder on top. Fortunately some one whispered into his ear and he announced: "Gentlemen I was mistaken; you must put the powder in first and ball on top!" This was a specimen of the officers of that motley company. They pressed forward again until they reached the line of earthworks with Fort Mitchel on the right and rifle-pits extending for hundreds of yards on the left. The forts and pits were filled with armed citizens and but few green soldiers in their new uniforms. Here Mr. Howe was greeted by a fellow private and in the person of a tall and slender person in glasses he recognized his attorney, John W. Herron. In front about a mile away was the forest and here were supposed to lie concealed the unknown thousands of the war experienced foe. The tired and dusty men waited for hours in expectation of an attack, too exhausted to fight or even to run. They were moved about from place to place always in plain view of the threatening forest. When night came on they were obliged to extinguish their camp fires and they slept on hay in the open air with their loaded muskets at their sides and with doubled guards and pickets. Reveille sounded at four o'clock and from that early hour they lay behind the fence, regiments to the right of them and more in the rifle-pits and far beyond the artillery in Fort Mitchel. It was

not all play as the constant picket firing going on in front showed. The popping of the guns continued all through the day and some of the men were wounded and some killed. Once in a while glimpses of skirmishers were had in the neighborhood of the woods. A furious thunderstorm drove the inexperienced soldiery to their tents of blankets and brushwood. They were all soaked to the skin and their cartridges were largely destroyed. Just as the storm was closing, a tremendous fusillade was heard on the right and the officers called to their men to turn out as the enemy were upon them. Fortunately this proved to be a false alarm and the only result was the driving back of their own sentinels anxious to escape their careless firing.

As a matter of fact the attack never came. General Wallace gradually pushed the Rebel pickets back and by the 11th those in authority knew that the danger was over. On the 12th it was learned that the enemy had hastily retreated and on the 13th the returning march of the Squirrel Hunters began. By this time thousands of regular soldiers had been pouring into the city and had spread over the hills and the militia were no longer needed. The return was an ovation. The landing was black with men, women and children and the crossing of the pontoon bridge was accompanied with cheers and the booming of cannon.

The sick captain, who had suffered from an attack of cholera in the moments preceding the expected attack of the enemy, had now recovered and with freshly shaven face, spotless collar, bright uniform and with drawn sword he led his dust covered soldiers through the streets and amid cheers of the multitude smiled to the admiring women and waving of kerchiefs. Weary and dirt begrimed, they were in a tedious, circuitous march duly shown off by their officers to all their lady acquaintances until night came to their relief, kindly covered them with her mantle and stopped the tomfoolery. "The lambs led forth to slaughter thus returned safely to their fold because the butcher hadn't come." (Howe's Ohio, Vol. I, p. 777.)

By Monday, the 15th of September, the city resumed its accustomed labors. General Wallace issued a farewell proclamation in which he paid the citizens a well deserved compliment. Despite the criticisms of the time, it is now clear that the city owes an eternal debt of gratitude to him for his readiness to accept responsiiblity and his determination to save the city at any cost.

The enemy had remained before Cincinnati for eight days and at no time exceeded 12,000 in number. The troops were under the immediate command of General Heath. Long after the war Kirby Smith said that of course he could at one time have entered Cincinnati very easily "but all hell could not have got him out again."

During the siege and for some days afterwards it was thought that the enemy might really have in mind the crossing of the river at some point above and the swooping down upon the city at its undefended part. Col. Basil Duke had already made an attempt to cross the river at Augusta but was driven back by the Home Guards.

The operations farther south where Buell and Bragg were watching each other finally recalled to the latter's assistance all the soldiers of the South that had been in the neighborhood of Cincinnati and this city was relieved from any further apprehension until the following summer.

The following is a partial list of those who held official position at this time: On the staff of General Wallace,—chief of staff, Col. J. C. Elston, Jr.; chief of artillery, Maj. C. M. Willard; aids-de-camp, Captains James M. Rose, A. J. Ware, Jr., J. F. Troth, A. G. Sloo, G. P. Edgar, E. T. Wallace; volunteer aides, Col. J. V. Guthrie, Lieut.-Col. G. W. Neff, Majors Malcolm McDowell, E. B. Dennison, Captains James Thompson, A. S. Burt, T. Buchanan Read, S. C. Erwin, J. J. Henderson and J. C. Belman. Negro Brigade,—commandant, Judge W. M. Dickson. Fatigue forces,—in charge, Col. J. V. Guthrie; Camp Mitchel,—Captain Titus; Camp Anderson,—Captain Storms; Camp Shaler,—Major Winters. River defenses,—in charge of R. M. Corwine. Commandant at Cincinnati,—Lieutenant-Colonel Burbank; provost marshal,—A. E. Jones. In charge of laborers on fortifications,—Aaron F. Perry, assisted by Benjamin Eggleston, Charles Thomas and Thomas Gilpin.

The total number of Squirrel Hunters that enlisted from the State was 15,766 so far as is known. Of these 504 were from Hamilton County. Their service was recognized by a telegram to Secretary Stanton to the effect that the Minute Men or Squirrel Hunters had responded gloriously to the call for the defense of Cincinnati and to this uprising should be attributed the retreat. The Legislature passed an act in the following year authorizing the Governor to prepare proper discharges for the patriotic men of the State who had responded to the calls to the southern border to repel invaders and who would be known in history as

the Squirrel Hunters and shortly afterwards the well known "Squirrel Hunters' Discharge" was issued by the State under the approval of Governor David Tod. Governor Tod's enthusiasm carried him to the point of accompanying each discharge with a letter reviling the enactment of the Legislature and pointing out that but for the gallant services of the corps "Ohio would have been invaded by a band of pirates determined to overthrow the best government on earth, our wives and children would have been violated and murdered, and our homes plundered and sacked." Of course there was no justification whatever for any such statement. The letter also called attention to the fact that the discharge might not be final and therefore that it would be well to keep the old gun in order, the powder-horn and bullet-pouch supplied and a few days cooked rations prepared for future contingencies. The contingency arose the following year at the time of Morgan's raid through Southern Ohio. (For a full account of the siege of Cincinnati see Reid's Ohio in the War.)

THE BLACK BRIGADE.

An interesting feature of the defense of Cincinnati was the organization of the Black Brigade, the first organization of the colored people of the North actually employed for military purposes. An account of this written by Peter H. Clark was published in 1864 and is valuable not only for the narrative of events but for the point of view, that of an educated negro living in Ohio throughout the war. Says Mr. Clark: "The city of Cincinnati always has been, and still is, pro-slavery. Southern bias the prejudice against colored people been more cruelly manifested than here. Further north or further south the feeling is not so intense; but here it almost denies him the right of existence. For about thirty years the city has, at intervals, been disgraced by ferocious outbursts of mob violence against the colored people and their friends, resulting frequently in loss of life, and always in the destruction of property. It is true that anti-slavery speakers have at times been allowed free utterance; but Cincinnati is a commercial as well as a pro-slavery city. Abolition buyers from the North and slaveholding buyers from the South jostle each other in her streets; hence the influential classes maintained free speech to conciliate abolition customers, while the rabble were permitted to mob colored people to placate slaveholders. Even this balance was broken when the traitor Yancey spoke for disunion in a thronged house, and without interruption, while Wendell Phillips, speaking for the Union, was driven from the same platform by mob violence, and halls were closed, lest a lecture by Henry Ward Beecher should provoke a riot. Such was the state of the public mind when the siege of Cincinnati began."

At the outset of the war a meeting of colored citizens had been called to organize a company of Home Guards, not for the purpose of invasion but for the defense of the city. There seems to be but little question that this offer to take part in the great struggle was resented by a large number of the citizens and particularly by the authorities. Mr. Clark states and it is doubtless true that the police interfered with the meetings and that colored men were told that the war was a white man's war and that negroes were not wanted. General Wallace's proclamation upon placing the city under martial law on September 1, 1862, called upon "citizens for the labor—soldiers for battle" and Mayor Hatch's proclamation published the following morning stated that "every man, of every age, be he citizen or alien, who lives under the protection of our laws is expected to take part in the organization." The colored people naturally felt that they were included in so general a call. Before an opportunity of volunteering had occurred, the authorities began impressing colored men for work upon the fortifications. The guard appointed for this duty was largely made up of special police and as is usually the case under such conditions were not men of special discretion or intelligence. They were not gentle in their methods and little consideration was shown to men of color. They searched the houses of the colored people and it is claimed by Mr. Clark "old and young, sick and well, were dragged out, and, amidst shouts and jeers, marched like felons to the pen on Plum street, opposite the Cathedral." But they were not treated with much consideration. It was not the habit of those days to treat colored people, free or slave, with consideration and it could hardly be expected that in the excitement of such a time the established methods of a century or more would be altered. However one paper, the *Gazette*, felt moved to demand that "our colored fellow-soldiers be treated civilly, and not exposed to any unnecessary tyranny, nor to the insults of poor whites. We say poor whites for none but poor-spirited whites insult a race which they profess to regard as inferior. It would have been decent to have invited the colored inhabitants to turn out in defense of the

city. Then there would have been an opportunity to compare their patriotism with that of those who were recently trying to drive them from the city. Since the services of men are required from our colored brethren, let them be treated like men." An end to the ill treatment came upon September 4th, when Judge W. M. Dickson was assigned to the command of the negro forces of Cincinnati working on the fortifications near Newport and Covington. Judge Dickson immediately substituted kindness for the harshness that had hitherto prevailed. The colored men were permitted to return to their homes to allay the fears of their families and to prepare themselves the better for camp life. The police were relieved of provost-guard duty and volunteers were asked for the Black Brigade. Owing to the confidence felt in Judge Dickson and the acting camp commandant, James Lupton, a large number came forward cheerfully to give their aid to the common cause. Drawn up in the line of march, they were presented by Captain Lupton with a national flag upon whose broad folds were inscribed the words "The Black Brigade of Cincinnati." In Captain Lupton's address, calling upon the colored people to assert their manhood, occurred the prophetic words 'slavery will soon die; the slaveholders' rebellion, accursed of God and man, will shortly and miserably perish. There will then be, through all the coming ages, in very truth, a land of the free—one country, one flag, one destiny."

The Black Brigade labored upon the fortifications in the rear of Covington and Newport for three weeks. The rank and file and all the company officers except three were colored men. There was no complete military formation, the organization having reference to the service to which they were assigned. When Judge Dickson took command of these forces working in the rifle-pits and trenches about Fort Mitchel on the Lexington road in the rear of Covington, he found that many had been marched off by the white soldiers to be employed as cooks and for other purposes. The colored people naturally resented this, especially as they feared that they might be carried off to the regiments of the South where they might receive severe treatment. The commander stopped all this and marched them all back to the city to the intersection of Sixth and Broadway where he established headquarters and formed an organization. As already stated, they were permitted to go to their homes for the night preparatory to returning to labor at five o'clock in the morning. For some unexplained reason the police seemed determined to treat these men with brutality and Judge Dickson in his report to the Governor complains that on two different occasions it became necessary to secure a peremptory order from the military authorities directed to Mayor Hatch, prohibiting the arrest of colored men except for crime.

About 700 men reported for duty to Judge Dickson of whom 500 were taken across the river to Newport and thence to the cemetery on the Alexandria road in the rear of Newport. Their special work lay between the Alexandria road and Licking River along the Cemetery ridge and Three Mile creek and embraced the making of military roads, the digging of rifle-pits and trenches, the felling of forests and the building of forts and magazines. In a few days the men settled down to camp life, which they seemed to enjoy. According to Judge Dickson's report, "there was no occasion for compulsion, and for discipline, but a single instance. They labored cheerfully and joyfully. * * * Some displayed a high order of intelligence, and a ready insight into the work they were doing, often making valuable suggestions. Upon one occasion, one of them suggested a change in the engineering of a military road ascending a steep hill. The value of the change was obvious when named, and admitted by the engineer, yet he ordered the road to be made as originally planned, and deprecated further suggestion.

"They committed no trespass on private property. In one instance, upon changing the camp, a German asked me if they could not remain longer, as they protected his grapes. They were not intimidated by any danger, though compelled to labor without arms for their protection."

While the soldiers stood in line of battle, the colored men worked nearly a mile in front with nothing to protect them from the enemy but the cavalry scouts. At one time they were so far in front of the lines that the commander of the forces at the nearest point took them for the enemy and ordered a battery to fire upon them. Fortunately the battery commander fired blank cartridges and then sent a flag of truce. This was received by the Black Brigade with becoming formality and the fears of the redoubtable commander were allayed. During the first week they labored as did the whole fatigue force without compensation; during the second week they received as well as the white laborers one dollar a day and the third week a dollar and a half. Their labor ceased on the 20th of September and they returned to their homes, having won the esteem

of their commanders and associates by their courage and conscientious adherence to duty. As they were ordered into line to return to their homes, Marshall P. H. Jones stepped forward in behalf of the brigade and expressed their thanks to Colonel Dickson for his interest in their welfare and his kindness throughout the trying time through which they had passed. He coupled with the name of Colonel Dickson those of "Timothy C. Day, William Woods, J. Stacy Hill, Jacob Resor, John W. Hartwell, J. M. Canfield, W. Dickson, William H. Chatfield and last though not least Captain James Lupton."

In conclusion the brigade presented to Colonel Dickson a sword and offered their services should circumstances at any future time call for them. Colonel Dickson accepted the sword with appropriate words and the brigade with music playing and banners flying with their commander at their head marched through the streets of Covington to the pontoon bridge and crossed to Cincinnati. At Fifth and Broadway they were dismissed by Colonel Dickson, who there delivered his farewell address in which he stated that they had labored faithfully and had "made miles of military roads, miles of rifle-pits, felled hundreds of acres of the largest and loftiest forest trees, built magazines and forts. The hills across yonder river will be a perpetual monument of your labors. You have, in no spirit of bravado, in no defiance of established prejudice, but in submission to it, intimated to me your willingness to defend with your lives the fortifications your hands have built. Organized companies of men of your race have tendered their services to aid in the defense of the city. In obedience to the policy of the Government, the authorities have denied you this privilege. In the department of labor permitted, you have, however, rendered a willing and cheerful service. Nor has your zeal been dampened by the cruel treatment received. The citizens, of both sexes, have encouraged you with their smiles and words of approbation; the soldiers have welcomed you as colaborers in the same great cause. But a portion of the police, ruffians in character, early learning that your services were accepted, and seeking to deprive you of the honor of voluntary labor, before opportunity was given you to proceed to the field, rudely seized you in the streets, in your places of business, in your homes, everywhere, hurried you into filthy pens, thence across the river to the fortifications, not permitting you to make any preparation for camp life. You have borne this with the accustomed patience of your race, and when, under more favorable auspices, you have received only the protection due to a common humanity, you have labored cheerfully and effectively.

"Go to your homes with the consciousness of having performed your duty—of deserving, if you do not receive, the protection of the law, and bearing with you the gratitude and respect of all honorable men. You have learned to suffer and to wait; but in your hours of adversity, remember that the same God who has numbered the hairs of our heads, who watches over even the fate of a sparrow, is the God of your race as well as mine. The sweat-blood which the nation is now shedding at every pore is an awful warning of how fearful a thing it is to oppress the humblest being. Until our country shall again need your services, I bid you farewell." With these words and other words of praise ringing in their ears the members of the Black Brigade scattered to their homes, having earned for themselves an honorable place in the history of the city. The officers of the brigade were William M. Dickson, commandant; Timothy C. Day, assistant adjutant-general; J. Stacy Hill, quartermaster; William Woods, commissary; James Lupton, volunteer aide and acting camp commandant; and Jacob Resor, Jr., James M. Canfield, John W. Hartwell, William J. Dickson, William H. Chatfield, Alexander Neave and David A. James, volunteer aides.

The brigade was divided into three regiments of 17 companies varying in number from 29 to 63 members. The total enrollment was 706. The captains were William W. Powell, James Vansant, Isaac N. Delaney, H. B. Alger, William Scott, J. H. Dickson, Charles Hall, Simon Shepherd, George Mack, W. H. Looker, T. Perry, M. Jackson, James Mason, M Bowdree, Charles Austin, John McAllister and Peter F. Fossett. (The Black Brigade, by Peter H. Clark.)

THE VALLANDIGHAM CASE.

A celebrated case tried in Cincinnati in the spring of 1863 was that of Clement L. Vallandigham. Vallandigham was one of the most remakable men of his time. He was the leader of the Western Democrats, who opposed the war measures of the North. It is not necessary to suppose that these men had any real sympathy with the South to the extent of wishing it any better fortune than the North. They believed however in what they called a peace policy. The war for the Union they regarded as a bloody and costly failure and they favored the secur-

ing of peace by friendly intervention rather than by force of arms. Vallandigham himself in his speech to Congress in January, 1862, expressly opposed any separation of the North and South and urged the view that if peace were secured and the work of reunion begun, all would yet be well but if not, there was nothing before them but universal political and social revolution, anarchy and bloodshed compared with which the "Reign of Terror" in France was a merciful visitation. Naturally such views were regarded by the war party, both those who were Democrats and those who were Republicans, as treasonable in character. Vallandigham became the exponent of the extremists of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and soon was known as the chief of the "Copperheads."

Burnside had been assigned after his defeat at Fredericksburg to the command of the Department of the Ohio with headquarters at Cincinnati. His own quarters were on Ninth street and those of his adjutant-general on East Fourth street but the official headquarters of the district and the office of Gen. Jacob D. Cox, who was next in command, were on Broadway below Fourth in the house now occupied by the Cincinnati Society of Natural History. The adjutant-general at this time was Maj. N. H. McLean, of the regular army. Here Burnside came into contact with the so-called "Copperheads" and was immediately thrown into a violent fury.

General Cox speaking of this time says: "Cincinnati was in a curious political and social condition. The advance through Kentucky of Bragg and Kirby Smith in the preceding year had made it a centre for 'Rebel sympathizers.' The fact that a Confederate army had approached the hills that bordered the river had revived the hopes and the confidence of many who, while wishing success to the Southern cause, had done so in a vague and distant way. Now it seemed nearer to them and the stimulus to personal activity was greater. There was always, in the city, a considerable and influential body of business men who were of Southern families; and besides this, the trade connections with the South, and the personal alliances by marriage, made a ground of sympathy which had noticeable effects. There were two camps in the community, pretty distinctly defined, as there were in Kentucky. The loyal were ardently and intensely so. The disloyal were bitter and not always restrained by common prudence. A good many Southern women, refugees from the theatre of active war, were very open in their defiance of the government, and in their efforts to aid the Southern armies by being the bearers of intelligence. The 'contraband mail' was notoriously a large and active one.

"Burnside had been impressed with this condition of things from the day he assumed command. His predecessor had struggled with it without satisfactory results. It was, doubtless, impossible to do more than diminish and restrain the evil, which was the most annoying of the smaller troubles attending the anomalous half-military and half-civil government of the department. Within three weeks from his arrival in Cincinnati, Burnside was so convinced of the wide-spread and multiform activity of the disloyal element that he tried to subdue it by the publication of his famous General Order No. 38. The reading of the order gives a fair idea of the hostile influences he found at work, for of every class named by him there were numerous examples. It was no doubt true that the Confederate authorities had constant correspondence with people in the Northern States, and that systematic means were used to pass information and contraband merchandise through the lines. Quinine among drugs, and percussion caps among ordnance stores were the things they most coveted, and dealers in these carried on their trade under pretense of being spies for each side in turn. But besides these who were merely mercenary, there were men and women who were honestly fanatical in their devotion to the Confederate cause. The women were especially troublesome, for they often seemed to court martyrdom. They practised on our forbearance to the last degree; for they knew our extreme unwillingness to deal harshly with any of their sex. Personally, I rated the value of spies and informers very low, and my experience had made me much more prone to contempt than to fear of them. But examples had to be made occasionally; a few men were punished, and a few women who belonged in the South were sent through the lines, and we reduced to its lowest practical terms an evil and nuisance which we could not wholly cure. The best remedy for these plots and disturbances at the rear always was to keep the enemy busy by a vigorous aggressive at the front. We kept, however, a species of provost court pretty actively at work, and one or two officers were assigned to judge-advocate's duty, who ran these courts under a careful supervision to make sure that they should not fall into indiscretions." (Cox' Reminiscences, Vol. I, pp. 453-454.)

Burnside, however, in the opinion of many, chose a course in dealing with the opponents of the war policy which did more at the time to strengthen their cause than any other that he could have possibly devised. He did not realize that the course of events was dealing rapidly with the situation that was so exasperating to him and that in a short time public opinion and the victories of the North would completely overwhelm the Southern sympathizers in the North. Vallandigham, who whatever may have been his faults was a very brilliant and courageous man, was just the one to goad Burnside to desperation. He was at that time a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor and was constantly making speeches which undoubtedly touched Burnside in his tender point. That military official knew only military methods and on April 13th he issued the well known General Order No. 38, in which after announcing the penalty of death for overt acts he stated that the habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy would not be allowed. "It must be distinctly understood," said he, "that treason expressed or implied will not be tolerated in this department."

On the 1st of May a Democratic mass meeting was held at Mount Vernon at which there was a large procession of citizens in wagons with the conventional 34 women riding in a decorated wagon to represent the 34 States of the Union. The American flag was carried on hickory poles, an implied tribute to Andrew Jackson, that he might not have relished, as putting down secession by peaceful means had not been to his liking. Many of the persons present wore butternut badges and pins made of heads cut out of old copper cents in defiant acceptance of the derisive term of "Copperhead," applied to them by their opponents.

Vallandigham was the principal speaker and he took special occasion to show his contempt for Burnside in his speech. He referred to the American flag as the flag of the constitution rendered sacred by Democratic Presidents. He declared that he stood by the constitution and was a free man and would not ask "Dave" Tod, Abraham Lincoln, or Ambrose E. Burnside for his right to speak and that his authority for so doing was higher than General Order No. 38 as it was General Order No. 1—the constitution. The only remedy for all evils he counseled was the ballot-box. Among the listeners were two of Burnside's captains in citizen's clothes who were sent there especially to take notes. The notes that they took were poor enough and give but little impression of what Vallandigham actually said. So far as they go, they indicate that Vallandigham had at no time passed beyond his constitutional rights although there can be no question that he was most violent and irritating in his remarks. Their report to Burnside was sufficient to convince that irascible general that his general order had been outrageously violated. Without consulting an attorney or any of his officers, he ordered his aid-de-camp, Captain Hutton, with a company of the 115th Ohio to go to Dayton on a special train and arrest the culprit. The soldiers arrived at Vallandigham's house at half-past two in the morning of May 5th and thundering at the doors demanded admittance, stating the purpose of their errand. They finally broke into the house and seized Vallandigham in his bed chamber and took him to Cincinnati, where he was incarcerated in the military prison. A scene of wild excitement took place in Dayton and the *Republican* newspaper office was burned by the mob friendly to the prisoner. Vallandigham issued an address insisting that he had committed no offense other than insisting upon his constitutional rights and had given no word, sign or gesture of sympathy with the disunionists of the South. He called upon his followers throughout the country to remain firm to their principles and the constitution and to the Union. On May 6th he was brought before a military commission presided over by Gen. R. B. Potter for trial. He denied the jurisdiction of the commission and refused to plead but the trial was had nevertheless, with his counsel, George E. Pugh, George H. Pendleton and E. A. Ferguson, remaining in an ante-room. The two captains testified for the prosecution and the well known statesman, S. S. Cox, who had been one of the speakers at the Mount Vernon meeting, testified for the defense. No arguments were presented but Vallandigham entered a protest against the proceedings. An application was made to Judge Leavitt of the United States Court to take the prisoner out of the hands of the military officials on the writ of habeas corpus. The case was very ably argued by Hon. George E. Pugh, against Hon. Aaron F. Perry and United States Attorney Flamen Ball but Judge Leavitt in a brief opinion denied the writ. On May 16th the court found Vallandigham guilty of publicly expressing, in violation of the general order referred to, sympathy for those in arms against the government of the United States and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions with the object and purpose of weakening the power

of the government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion and sentenced him to close confinement during the war. General Burnside naturally approved the sentence and designated Fort Warren in Boston Harbor as the prison. The President commuted the sentence to banishment and ordered Vallandigham sent beyond the military lines into the Southern Confederacy. He was escorted from Cincinnati in charge of Captain Murray and a squad of the 13th United States (regular) Infantry and was finally turned over to the representatives of the South. It is said that while in Cincinnati he had an interview with General Rosecrans which lasted about four hours. Rosecrans took to lecturing and told him if he were not to protect him with a guard the soldiers would tear him to pieces. Vallandigham thereupon made him an offer to appear before the soldiers for the purpose of vindicating himself with the guarantee that before he had finished the soldiers would be more willing to tear their general to pieces than Vallandigham himself. Burnside had too great a regard for the life of his prisoner to accept this offer.

Vallandigham, after he had been received by General Bragg at Shelbyville, remained in the South for a short time but finally went to Canada where he arrived in July. The Democratic convention of Ohio which met at Columbus in June had nominated him by acclamation for Governor and passed resolutions condemning his banishment as a violation of the constitution. A committee was appointed to go to Washington to intercede for his release. This committee largely composed of ex-Congressmen embraced in its numbers some of the most distinguished men in the State but their mission to President Lincoln was unsuccessful.

The better opinion of the present day condemns the conduct of Burnside and the military commission and the decision of Judge Leavitt. Subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court leave no ground for Burnside and his court to stand upon. The courts of the United States were regularly open for the transaction of business in the Southern District of Ohio and it was not a time when there was any excuse for such high-handed procedure. In the language of the latest and ablest historian of this period, "it follows unquestionably that the military commission which tried and sentenced Vallandigham had not a vestige of legal standing. The commutation of the President was likewise vitiated in law." (4 Rhodes, 250.)

It seems probable that Lincoln really disapproved of Burnside's action but felt obliged to support him after he went so far. There can be no question, however, that despite the criticism of many of the ablest men in the country, both at the time of this proceeding and afterwards, public sentiment of the State and of the North, in the main, supported the proceedings.

A curious illustration of this is shown by the removal of Major McLean, at that time adjutant-general at the Cincinnati headquarters. During the Vallandigham campaign, some of the local politicians endeavored to obtain an expression of opinion from McLean but he being an officer of the regular army felt that it was undignified for him to make any comment on the matter. This was taken as indicating sympathy with Vallandigham and a highly colored account was sent to the War Department charging him with disloyalty. As a result he was removed to the Pacific Coast and succeeded by Capt. William P. Anderson, a nephew of Maj. Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame. Captain Anderson was a member of a family which rendered distinguished service during the war and afterwards became distinguished in civil life. Col. Charles Anderson, a brother of the Major, was colonel of the 93rd Ohio Infantry and was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Brough in the campaign of 1863. He became Governor by the death of Brough in 1865. Col. Latham Anderson, his son, was a West Point graduate, captain of the Fifth United States Infantry and colonel of the Eighth California Infantry. He was many years later city civil engineer in Cincinnati. Another brother of the Major, Larz Anderson, sent five sons to the war. Nicholas Longworth Anderson left the service as brevet-major-general. He was wounded at Stone River and Chickamauga. William Pope Anderson attained the position of assistant adjutant-general with the rank of captain. He was wounded at Shiloh. Edward Lowell Anderson was captain in the 52nd Ohio Infantry. He was wounded at Jonesboro. Frederick Pope Anderson was 1st lieutenant in the 181st Ohio Infantry while Larz Anderson, Jr., although but a boy, served without commission as volunteer aid-de-camp on the staff of Brig.-Gen. N. C. McLean, who was provost-marshal-general in Cincinnati in 1863 and afterwards served in Kentucky. Another brother of Maj. Robert Anderson, William Marshall Anderson, sent two sons to the war: Thomas McArthur Anderson, now brigadier-general U. S. A. (retired), and Capt. Henry Reuben Anderson. (Cox' Reminiscences, Vol. II, p. 44.)

George E. Pugh, who was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Vallandigham, was one of the greatest orators the State of Ohio had ever produced and John Brough, who headed the Republican ticket, was also a great popular orator, formerly a Democrat, and at one time one of the editors of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. Vallandigham himself threatened to return to Ohio to take part in the canvass but General Cox, then in charge of the district, made known that if he did so he would send him to Fort Warren for imprisonment. As a result Pugh led the Democratic forces in a campaign which for rancor and bitterness had never been paralleled in the country. The great political meetings of 1840 were completely overshadowed by those of 1863 and the General Order No. 38 was discussed pro and con with great bitterness. In some parts of the State many processions included a thousand men and half as many women on horseback escorted wagon-loads of young girls. Business was for a time suspended in different parts of the State. The relations between the people and the soldiers were quite strained and the latter were kept under arms at their barracks and no leaves of absence given. Despite the bitterness of the campaign in Cincinnati, the election is said to have been one of the most quiet and most orderly ever known. Although Vallandigham polled the largest number of votes ever polled in this State up to that time by any member of his party, he was defeated by a majority of more than 100,000.

The news of the victory at Vicksburg following closely the news from Gettysburg carried the city of Cincinnati to the height of enthusiasm. General Cox tells us of the manner of its announcement. An excellent operatic company was giving "I Puritani" at Pike's Opera House at which all Cincinnati was present on the evening of July 7th. In one of the boxes were General Burnside and his wife with General Cox and his wife as their guests. At the close of the second act, in which Susini the great basso of the day had created a furore, a messenger entered the box where the General was surrounded by his officers and handed him a despatch announcing the victory of Vicksburg and the surrender of Pemberton's army. Burnside was so overjoyed at the great news that he stepped to the front of the box to announce it to the audience. He was seen standing with the paper in his hands, the cheers of applause were stopped and his voice rang out proclaiming the great victory and declaring it a long stride toward the restoration of the Union. The people went almost wild with excitement. The men shouted hurrah, the ladies waved their handkerchiefs and clapped their hands, all rising to their feet. Cheering was long as well as loud and before it subsided the excitement reached behind the stage. The curtain rose again and Susini came forward with a national flag in each hand waving them enthusiastically, while his magnificent voice resounded in a repetition of the song he had just sung (the Trumpet Song), which seemed as appropriate as if it were inspired for the occasion. "The rejoicing and the cheers were repeated to the echo and when at last they subsided, the rest of the opera was only half listened to, suppressed excitement filling every heart and the thought of the great results to flow from the victories absorbing every mind." (Cox' Reminiscences, Vol. I, p. 510.)

MORGAN'S RAID OF 1863.

The next serious fright was that occasioned by the raid of John Morgan in the summer of 1863. This dashing commander with less than 2,000 soldiers crossed the entire State from west to east pursued by many times his number. At this time General Burnside was at Cincinnati endeavoring to collect a force for service in Eastern Tennessee. Rosecrans was at Stone River and the communications between the two ran through Kentucky.

John Morgan without awaiting the approval of his superior officer General Bragg, which he knew he could not get, determined to cross the border into Indiana and Ohio for the purpose of delaying the reinforcements sought by Rosecrans. On the 8th of July, 1863, Morgan crossed the Ohio River into Ohio at Brandenburg some 60 miles below Louisville, giving the impression that he intended to penetrate to the heart of Indiana and burn the city of Indianapolis. He actually marched with the utmost rapidity towards Cincinnati. The rapidity of his advance was beyond that of any movement of similar character during the war. He marched 21 hours out of 24 and never made less than 50 or 60 miles a day. The news of his advance had at first made but little impression in the North, but after he crossed into Indiana the excitement arose to fever heat. Morgan burned bridges and cut wires in every direction so that accurate news of his movements was as hard to obtain, as the purpose of the movement was difficult to understand. The authorities of the North seemed utterly incapable of coping with the situation. Mar-

tial law was proclaimed in Indiana but at first Ohio contented itself with the belief that the pursuers would drive Morgan into the river before he reached this State. By July 12th it became clear that Morgan had no intention of crossing the river before he reached Ohio and the suggestion that he was designing a sudden dash into the city received general credence. General Burnside proclaimed martial law, the mayor suspended business and directed the citizens to assemble in the respective wards for defense and navigation was stopped. Governor Tod called into active service the militia of the southern counties, directing those about Cincinnati to report to General Burnside in this city and others to report to Camp Dennison, Camp Chase and Camp Marietta. Even as late as the morning of the 13th the people of Cincinnati were unable to believe that Morgan could possibly come near to this city and thousands of them refused to obey the orders to close their stores. Morgan entered the State of Ohio at one o'clock on July 13th at the village of Harrison in the northwestern part of Hamilton County. Much criticism has been expended on General Burnside for his conduct at this time. As is known, he had a sufficient force to stop Morgan at this point and Morgan himself expected that here would be the critical point of his expedition. He felt that the officer in command at Cincinnati would undoubtedly attack him as soon as he crossed the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway and therefore took great precautions to mislead his enemy as to his intentions. He sent out detachments in different directions and sought to give the impression that he was going to Hamilton. His whole effort, however, was to get around Cincinnati with as little opposition as possible. In the city itself General Cox, under General Burnside's direction, divided the city and county into military districts. Mill Creek township militia were ordered to report to Gen. J. H. Bates in the city; those from Delphi, Storrs and Green to Maj. Peter Zinn at Delhi; those from Anderson, Columbia and Spencer to James Peal at Pleasant Ridge; Sycamore and Symmes to C. Constable at Montgomery; Springfield and Colerain to Henry Gulick at Bevis; and Crosby Harrison, Miami and Whitewater to W. F. Converse at Harrison. In the city itself the First, Third, Fourth and 17th wards were placed under command of Brig.-Gen. S. G. Sturgis with headquarters at the Broadway Hotel; the Second, Fifth Sixth and 14th under that of Maj. Malcolm McDowell at the Burnet House; the Seventh, Ninth, 10th and 11th under Brig.-Gen. Jacob Ammen at the Orphan Asylum and the Eighth, 12th, 15th and 16th wards under Col. Granville Moody at Finley Chapel (Methodist Episcopal) on Clinton street near Cutter street. The independent volunteer companies were directed to report to Col. Stanley Matthews at the Walnut Street House. All of this preparation was made for the purpose of driving Morgan in the direction he most wanted to go, that is around Cincinnati instead of through it. General Burnside was determined not to fight a battle in the suburbs of the great city as he felt that such an action would result in great destruction of property and unnecessary suffering. His special care was to induce the enemy to pass to the eastward with as little damage as possible to the populous and wealthy suburbs of Cincinnati. As Morgan had no desire to raid the city and was particularly anxious to get away from the place where he knew his force would be overwhelmed, the plans of both generals succeeded. The bulletins published in the city during the day indicated the uncertainty felt by the citizens. First it was announced at General Burnside's headquarters that 500 of Morgan's men had crossed the river at Miami town and had attacked the pickets, killing or capturing one of them. The main force was said to be crossing the river. Morgan was moving up to attack our advance. At one o'clock in the morning a courier arrived reporting that Morgan with 2,500 men and six pieces of artillery had crossed the Colerain pike at Bevis at dark going towards New Burlington or in the direction of Springdale. Half an hour later a despatch from Jones' station gave the information that the enemy were encamped between Venice and New Burlington. At two o'clock in the morning a detachment of the enemy was coming in towards Glendale to destroy a bridge over the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton road. At the same time a despatch reported that the main force was going east but that he might turn and come down to the city on some of the roads through Walnut Hills and Mount Auburn. As a matter of fact, Morgan was straining every nerve to get past the city. He crossed through Glendale and over all the principal suburban roads to the Little Miami Railroad which the raiders crossed the following morning without opposition. Here they halted in sight of Camp Dennison to feed their horses but shortly resumed their march and by four o'clock in the morning reached Williamsburg, 28 miles east of Cincinnati, having marched 90

miles in 35 hours. When the militia began to gather, the news came that Morgan was a day's march beyond the city and all danger at least as far as Cincinnati was concerned had passed. There was but little destruction of property in the county, except the burning of a bridge over the Little Miami at New Burlington. Morgan had exchanged his tired out horses for the fresh ones of the farmers, giving the poor animals sufficient time to rest up to be once more appropriated by the Union force under Hobson that was flying fast on Morgan's trail. The men of course did a good deal of pillaging but this was of no more serious character than had accompanied the marches of Northen troops through the South. Calico seemed a favorite article of appropriation. A bolt would be tied to the saddle of the trooper and frequently would become disengaged and unrolled, resulting in yards of streaming colored fabric floating in the breeze behind the flying squadron. One man carried a bird cage containing three canaries for two days; another had a chafing dish and another, even in that hot season anticipating the change of the weather, had seven pairs of skates slung around his neck. In fact many of the performances seemed childish although no more so than some of those of the Northern pursuers. Near Batavia for instance one militia company halted and cut down the trees in order to prevent Morgan from coming backwards over the route he had just traveled. However the pursuit was kept up with great vigor and over 50,000 Ohio militia were soon on the trail of this reckless rough-rider. Morgan had succeeded in stirring up the State far beyond his most sanguine expectations. His particular desire now was to escape from the trap he had set for himself. He was overtaken at Buffington Island in the Ohio River beyond Pomeroy and here a large part of his force was captured. Morgan himself with 1,200 men escaped for the time Twenty miles above Buffington, 300 of his command got across the river. On the 26th after a long chase Morgan was captured near Salineville in Columbiana County, almost at the most northerly point of the State touched by the Ohio River. Morgan and some of his officers were confined in the Ohio Penitentiary from which they escaped on the night of November 27th. He quietly took the Little Miami train for Cincinnati, leaped from it just before it reached the city and made his way across the river to his friends. The troopers captured at Buffington Island were sent down the river to Cincinnati; the privates were sent straight to Indianapolis, and the officers about 70 in number were landed at the foot of Main street from the steamer "Starlight" and marched up the street to the city prison. The populace treated them with great disrespect as they regarded them as horse thieves and guerillas. This is said to have been the only case where Southern prisoners received such treatment. The sad sequel to the fight at Buffington Island was the burial at Cincinnati with military rites of Maj. Daniel McCook who had been killed in that battle. He was the father of Maj.-Gen. Robert L., Maj.-Gen. Alexander M., Maj.-Gen. Edwin Stanton, Brig.-Gen. Daniel, Col. John J., and Private Charles Morris McCook. Nine of this family were in the service of the United States during the War of the Rebellion; the 10th, Midshipman J. James McCook, died in the naval service before the Rebellion. The father Daniel and the sons Latimer, Robert, Alexander, Daniel, Edwin and Charles lie buried at Spring Grove Cemetery. (For an extended account of Morgan's raid see Reid's Ohio in the War.)

Cincinnati was not again subject to any special alarm during the war. Naturally the breach in her business relations with the South, for so long a time the principal source of business, affected her development. She became the principal city in the West, however, in handling army supplies and manufacturing army stores and to a certain extent this influence compensated her for the loss of business referred to. Unfortunately this was not a real business growth and although many shops were busied during the war in turning out army wagons, ambulances, harness, clothing and supplies of all sorts and a large number of people were occupied in the transportation of these goods as well as horses and mules by the thousands, the end of the war brought an end to this activity. During its continuance the character of the business carried on in the city gave it the appearance of a military encampment. It was the principal point through which passed the soldiers on their way to the field of battle and on their return, shattered by the wounds and exposure. Recruiting officers became familiar sights and the noise of fife and drum was very familiar to the citizens. It has been stated that as early as September 1, 1862, the city furnished 14,795 volunteer soldiers to the armies of the North. She responded throughout the war to every call and at no time was compelled to resort to the draft, although on several occasions rumors spread through the city that this expedient was about to be adopted.

One-third of her citizens liable to military duties were in the service.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN COURT AND MILITARY.

A controversy arose in 1863 between the civil and military authorities that for a time threatened a serious conflict but fortunately it passed away with no disagreeable consequences. The War Department had issued instructions based upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that officers of the army should pay no attention to writs of habeas corpus issued by courts other than those of the United States. The Probate judge of Hamilton County issued a writ to the officer in command at Kemper Barracks in the city, directing him to bring before the court a prisoner held as a deserter from the army. The officer, following his instructions, answered in writing that the man was held by authority of the United States as a deserter and that without intending any disrespect for the court it was impossible for him to deliver the prisoner to the officers of the State court. He attached to his answer his instructions and the order of Major-General Burnside promulgating the same. The Probate judge was also notified by counsel that in case he followed other decisions made by him in similar cases, where he had held that such answers were not sufficient, the matter would be taken to the courts of last resort and that therefore there could be no occasion for any collision between himself and the military authorities. Thereupon the judge issued an attachment against the officer and made Major-General Burnside a party to the record. Burnside filed an answer similar to that of his subordinate. The court made no personal order as against the commanding general but directed the sheriff of the county to arrest the officer and bring him before the court. The sheriff went to the officer's quarters and was there informed that the military authorities would not permit him to execute his writ and he so made return to the court. The indignant judge peremptorily ordered him to execute the writ at all hazards. The prudent sheriff concluded that his best course would be to consult the military authorities before moving upon them in force. He therefore asked Major-General Cox at that time in command at Cincinnati as to what Cox would do if he should raise a posse comitatus in obedience to the writ. The General told him that the soldiers would use no aggression but that the judge might distinctly understand that the writ could only be executed by overpowering the United States troops in open fight and warned him to consider well before they became overt traitors by levying war against the Federal government. He stated that at the first overt act he would regard them as public enemies and would use the utmost rigor against them and after suppressing the disturbance he would arrest the judge and the sheriff and hand them over to the United States courts to be tried for treason. He suggested that the sheriff make a return that he could not serve the writ without levying open war against the United States. Needless to say, the writ was not executed and there was no war between the civil authorities of Ohio and the military forces of the United States. General Cox in commenting upon this affair regards the whole matter as an election trick as both judge and sheriff were candidates for reelection. (Cox' Reminiscences, Vol. II, p. 48.)

A CONFEDERATE SPY.

An incident of war that excited much attention at the time was the trial at Cincinnati by court martial of a relative of the Confederate President on the charge of being a Confederate spy. In the year 1864 Lieut. Samuel B. Davis, a young officer about 24 years of age of great intelligence and prepossessing appearance, was sent by Jefferson Davis on a secret mission to Ohio. Prior to his appearance in this State, he had served upon the staff of General Winder in charge of Andersonville Prison and as a result was known to some of the Union soldiers in prison there. Disguised in citizen's clothes with dyed hair and equipped with a British passport, under an assumed name he made his way from Richmond, Virginia, to Baltimore and thence to Columbus. The length of his stay at that point and his proceedings there never became fully known although enough developed to justify the placing of a number of persons at that point under surveillance. From Columbus, Davis traveled on the cars to Detroit where he crossed to Windsor, Canada, to communicate with Jacob Thompson and other Confederates sojourning there remote from any point of danger. After remaining in Canada several weeks, he crossed over to Detroit and returned to Columbus. A few days later he took the cars for Baltimore on the way to Richmond. Fortune had indeed favored him up to this time and he was almost at the end of his perilous mission when at Newark, Ohio, two private Union soldiers who had been prisoners at Andersonville recognized him. They accosted him and for a moment he denied his identity but in a very short time he realized

that any further concealment was impossible. He was placed in charge of the provost marshal at Newark, who committed him to the Newark jail. He was searched but nothing incriminating was found upon his person. After the provost marshal had left him, he opened the lining of his coat, took out a number of despatches and drawings written on white silk and threw them into the blazing fire of the jail stove. He was subsequently removed to Cincinnati and confined in the old prison known as the McLean Barracks. In this city he was tried on the charge of being a spy. The court-martial convened in the old building nearly opposite the National Theatre on Sycamore street and Maj. Lewis H. Bond, from whose account this narrative is taken, acted as judge advocate. Davis pleaded not guilty of being a spy but guilty of being a bearer of despatches, but offered no testimony to explain the documents he had burned or in any way to throw any light upon his mission. He did offer to show by testimony of President Davis and Secretary of State Benjamin that he had been sent as bearer of despatches and not as a spy but the court-martial held that this testimony, even if true, could not mitigate the admitted facts of the case and declined to await the proferred testimony. The conclusion of the trial was quite dramatic. The prisoner, a young man of highest character and position, in the prime of life, about to be convicted as he realized of the most serious offense that can be charged against a hostile soldier, addressed the judges, all of them veterans of the Union Army, in words that showed the highest courage. Major Bond gives a portion of his address. He said: "I fear nothing on this earth. I do not fear to die. I am young and would like to live; but I deem him unworthy who should ask pity of his foemen. Some of you have wounds and scars. I can show them, too. You are serving your country as best you may. I have done the same. I can look to God with a clear conscience; and whenever the chief magistrate of this nation shall say 'Go' whether upon the scaffold or by the bullets of your soldiery, I will show you how to die." Before the court-martial retired for consultation upon their verdict and sentence, he shook hands with each member saying that he did not expect to meet them again on earth. He was found guilty of being a spy and sentenced to be hanged. The day was set for his execution and he was taken to Johnson's Island to await the end. The circumstances of his trial and the high spirit of his remarks attracted great attention and as a result many citizens, particularly W. T. McClintick the president of the Cincinnati & Marietta Railroad Company, interested themselves in an appeal to President Lincoln for suspension of the sentence. Senator Saulsbury of Delaware also intervened, likening the speech of the young officer to that of Robert Emmet. Davis requested that one or more of the members of the court should witness his execution in order that they might realize his bravery. On the night before the day of execution, the commandant on Johnson's Island was aroused from his bed by an order from President Lincoln directing the suspension of the execution and the removal of the prisoner to Fort Warren. There he remained until the end of the war when he was released. He never disclosed the secret of his mission to Ohio. (Lewis H. Bond in Sketches of War History, Ohio Commandery, Loyal Legion, Vol. II, p. 153.)

THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.

An important organization of the early days of the war was the United States Sanitary Commission and the Cincinnati Branch did its full share of the work of the society. Shortly after the surrender of Fort Sumter, this society was organized to cooperate with the government in the relief of sick and wounded soldiers and in overlooking the sanitary condition of the camps and hospitals. Branches were organized in various parts of the country. As early as May, 1861, associate members were appointed in Cincinnati but the Branch organization was not completed until fall. Through the assistance of Dr. W. H. Mussey, the United States Marine Hospital, a building originally intended for Western boatmen, was set apart by Secretary Chase for the purposes for this society. A temporary organization was effected and the hospital was opened for the reception of sick and wounded soldiers in May, 1861. The institution was carried on without any cost to the government and all services of surgeons and nurses and supplies were furnished gratuitously.

In August, 1861, the government took the enterprise in hand and it was placed in charge of the medical director of the War Department. Mrs. Caldwell became its matron. On November 22, 1861, the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission was organized at the house of Dr. W. H. Mussey by the election of Robert W. Burnet as president; George Finally, vice-president; Charles B. Fosdick, corresponding secretary and Henry Pearce, treas-

urer. There seems to have been no definite understanding as to the duties or powers of the organization and there was some question as to the character of its relation to the United States Sanitary Commission. Dr Mussey had received supplies from the national organization and he turned them over to the Branch. The Central Ladies' Aid Society with Mrs. George Carlisle as president and Mrs. George Hoadly, secretary, and with more than forty ladies as members, aided in furnishing supplies of every description for nearly two years. The camps and hospitals near Cincinnati were inspected and such relief furnished as seemed necessary. The Volunteer Aid Committee appointed by citizens in October, 1861, cooperated and from this committee C. F. Wilstach, Eli C. Baldwin and M. E. Reeves were elected members of the Branch. In the spring of 1862 the belongings of that committee were turned over to the Cincinnati Branch. The members were represented in their work on many of the battle-fields. They were present at Shiloh. They were the first to be on hand at Perryville as well as at Fort Donelson. At this latter place they inaugurated the system of hospital steamers and called to their assistance the most eminent physicians and surgeons of Cincinnati. They received donations from all quarters, $3,000 from the Legislature of Ohio, $2,000 from the City Council and from the Secretary of War and Quartermaster-General they obtained a steamer which navigated the Western waters for the transportation of supplies and sick and wounded. They fitted out in whole or in part 32 such steamers, running some under their maangement, others under that of the State, or the city, or the War Department, or the United States Sanitary Commission. In the case of Fort Donelson the steamer "Allen Collier" was chartered, loaded with supplies and medicines, and placed in charge of five members of the board with 10 surgeons and 36 nurses and despatched to the Cumberland River. At Louisville the Western secretary joined the party as well as a delegate from Columbus and one from Indianapolis. The steamer was the first relief expedition that reached Fort Donelson. Here great destitution was found,—no chloroform and but little morphine. On the floating hospital "Fanny Bullitt," where there were 300 wounded men, there was not a spoon nor candlestick, no meat for soup, no wood for cooking and nothing but hard bread. There were but two ounces of "cerate." The "Allen Collier" fortunately supplied all that was needed and returned bringing a load of wounded to the Cincinnati hospitals. Afterwards the members of the Branch traveled thousands of miles on hospital steamers and spent weeks and months in the camps and hospitals administering to the sick and wounded. They assisted in the establishment of eight hospitals in Cincinnati and Covington and also of the general hospital at Camp Dennison. In 1862 a Soldiers' Home was established in which 80,000 soldiers were furnished with 372,000 meals. The superintendent of this home was J. W. D. Andrews.

The Branch also arranged for a proper burial place for the soldiers and obtained from the trustees of Spring Grove Cemetery the donation of the conspicuous lot near the lake, of sufficient size to contain 300 bodies. The cemetery association interred free of expense all the soldiers buried there. Afterwards another lot was purchased for the sum of $1,500. Subsequently with the assistance of the State a third lot was obtained and provision was made for the recording of the name, age, company and regiment of each soldier buried in Spring Grove Cemetery.

From the time of its organization to August 11, 1864, to which date a report was made, the Branch received $313,926.30 and had on hand $122,905.15. In addition to this nearly three hundred different varieties of articles had been received as donations and it was estimated that by the close of 1863 supplies to about the value of a million dollars had been distributed. The names signed to the report are those of the men to whom this charitable work was due. They are as follows: R. W. Burnet, president; George Hoadly and Larz Anderson, vice-presidents; S. J. Broadwell, recording secretary; Thomas G. Odiorne and Charles F. Wilstach with Mr. Burnet the executive committee; and George K. Shoenberger, A. Aub, M. Bailey, Eli C. Baldwin, Joshua H. Bates, E. S. Brooks, A. E. Chamberlain, B. W. Chidlaw, Charles E. Cist, C. G. Comegys, George F. Davis, Charles R. Fosdick, L. B. Harrison, James M. Johnson, B. F. Baker, David Judkins, Edward Mead, George Mendenhall, W. H. Mussey, Henry Pearce, Elliott H. Pendleton, Charles Thomas, Mark E. Reeves and E. Y. Robbins of Cincinnati, Charles Butler of Franklin, James McDaniel, J. D. Phillips and R. W. Steele of Dayton and David S. Brooks of Zanesville.

The Branch continued its work throughout the war. On February 1, 1866, a statement was made showing a total expenditure of $298,161.02, and the balance on hand, invested in United States

bonds, of $34,608.51 No final report seems ever to have been made but the books of the organization which are in the custody of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio show that the funds were well disposed of. Not until the war had been over for a year were the last of the Ohio soldiers mustered out of service and after that many were the calls received by the commission for assistance. The Orphan Asylum contained 209 orphans of soldiers and to this organization $10,450 was contributed. Other sums were sent to the Soldiers' Home at Columbus, to Dayton and to the destitute regions of the South and the last of the funds were not disposed of until 1880.

THE GREAT WESTERN SANITARY FAIR.

In November, 1863, was held the Great Western Sanitary Fair. This enterprise was suggested by a similar fair held in Chicago and a communication to the papers written by Mrs. Elizabeth Mendenhall, the wife of the well known physician, started the movement here. An organization was effected and General Rosecrans, at that time temporarily retired from service and at home, was made president of the great fair. Mrs. Mendenhall became vice-president. The whole of Southwestern Ohio cooperated in the undertaking, which was largely under the control and management of the women of the community. On November 27th the fair was inaugurated at Mozart Hall, the present Grand Opera House, Greenwood Hall, the Palace Garden (located where the Emery Hotel now stands) and a huge building 64 by 400 feet erected upon Government square. Sixteen committees with 70 sub-committees took charge of the arrangements which were most complete. Mozart Hall was used for lectures and concerts. There was an art gallery furnished by loans of pictures and other works of art, collections of curiosities and relics, entertainments of every character and as a result there was such a lavish expenditure of money as the city had never dreamed of. The fair opened on December 21st and continued through the holidays. The receipts were in round numbers $260,000, of which $235,406.62 was turned into the treasury of the Branch. More than 150 organizations were engaged in assisting towards the success of the undertaking and all raidroad and express companies and steamboats gave free transportation to the commodities consigned to the fair. The winter was an extremely bitter one and a storm of remarkable severity swept over the valley on the last day of the year, making the next day memorable as the "Cold New Year." For six days the weather was windy and the temperature about zero but the ladies in charge continued at their post until the fair was over. The final closing of the fair with all its entertainments and sales took place on April 21, 1864 At this time a report was made to the public and the entire history of the enterprise was published in a large volume. It was found that of the money contributed, $175,000 came from the people of Cincinnati. (History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair.)

Another organization of the same character was the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Christian Commission, which disbursed more than $117,000 and stores to the value of $292,000. The president of this organization was A. E. Chamberlain; H. Thane Miller was vice-president; J. F. Marlay, secretary and Rev. B. W. Chidlaw, general agent.

During the war and after its termination Cincinnati was the seat of any number of organizations intended to give aid to the soldiers and to relieve their families. Among them was such as the National Soldiers' Historical Association with T. Buchanan Read as its president, the National Union Association with Dr. William Sherwood, president, and the committee for the Cincinnati Testimonial to Soldiers' Families, of which Judge Bellamy Storer was president. The list of officers of these and many other associations included the names of the most prominent citizens and the work done by them was of the greatest value.

The list of the citizens who took an active part in the work of the Sanitary Commission and of kindred organizations for the relief of the soldiers and their families would almost include the directory. The various entertainments given in the city for the cause were almost innumerable. One of those who took the greatest interest in the work, volunteering his services at all times and practically devoting four years of his life to the soldiers, was Mr. Murdoch, Cincinnati's greatest actor.

James Edward Murdoch won his greatest distinction as an actor, although he is no less entitled to consideration by reason of his patriotic services to the Union. He was born in Philadelphia, June 25, 1811, a son of Thomas Murdoch, a bookbinder. His education was limited and in early life he took up the trade of his father. His early enthusiasms were for military life and at the age of 13 he was one of Lafayette's escort. The volunteer fire companies of those

days were also a great attraction to young men and as soon as his age permitted him he joined one of these. The company made up as it was of some of the best citizens of the community carried on a debating school which Murdoch soon resolved into one devoted to the drama. This so aroused his interest in the stage that he began the training of his voice, which finally resulted in placing him at the head of American elocutionists. In October, 1829, when 18 years of age, he made his first appearance before the public at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia, which theatre, company and all, his father had engaged for him for a single night. He played the part of "Frederick" in "Lovers' Vows." He was received with great favor but it was not for several years that he was able to obtain any important engagement. His first regular engagement was at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he engaged himself for the munificent salary of $18 a week as walking gentleman. The bankruptcy of the manager ended this venture. He finally attracted the attention of Edwin Forrest and acted "Pythias" to the latter's "Damon." During the next few years he took various parts with more or less financial success, finally accepting the position of leading juvenile at the Chestnut Street Theatre of which he eventually became stage manager in 1840. Shortly after this, he acted in the same capacity at the National Theatre in Boston. Feeling a necessity for thorough preparation, he abandoned the stage for the lecture platform and for five years he devoted himself to the study of elocution and to lecturing. During this time he assisted in the preparation of a work on the cultivation of the voice. He returned to the stage in October, 1845, appearing at the Park Theatre in New York for the first time as "Hamlet." This is regarded as the real beginning of his dramatic career, which continued with great success and with but few interruptions for 15 years. His "Hamlet" has been called by many of the ablest critic actors the greatest rendition of the part ever seen in this country. In 1853 he played a successful engagement of 100 nights in California. He is said to have been the first great dramatic star to visit that region. It is of this period that Joseph Jefferson speaks when he says that he does not remember any actor who excelled him in the parts that he seemed to make especially his own. In 1856 he visited London where he played a successful season of 110 nights. This was by far the most successful engagement from either an artistic, social or financial standpoint that had ever been played in that city by an American actor. His favorite parts at this time were "Charles Surface," "Alfred Evelyn" in Bulwer's play of "Money," "Young Mirabel" in the "Inconstant," "Rover" in "Wild Oats," "Don Felix" in "The Wonder" and "Vapid" in "The Dramatist." It is said that Bulwer came especially from Edinburgh to see him act in his play. His next engagement was at Liverpool where he also played "Hamlet" with great success, being favorably compared to Kean and Macready and particularly to Charles Young, a famous "Hamlet." Ill health compelled him to abandon his engagements in other parts of Great Britain and for a short time he traveled on the Continent where he became interested in vine growing. Upon his return to this country he brought with him a number of Rhenish farm hands to cultivate the grapes on a farm he had bought. In 1857 he opened up Burton's Theatre with "Young Mirabel."

At the outset of the war he had reached the zenith of his fame, closing on April 21, 1861, one of the most remarkable engagements under a vow that he would not appear on the stage as an actor until the fearful strife in which the nation was engaged should cease. As a result of this he devoted the four years following to the service of his country, reading for the sick and wounded soldiers and for the United States Sanitary Commission without remuneration and giving readings in all the cities in the North in order to raise funds for the cause of his country. On one occasion he recited in the Senate of the United States Drake's "The American Flag" in such a manner as to arouse the greatest enthusiasm. Other poems that he was in the habit of reading were: Read's "The Wagoner of the Alleghanies," Janvier's "Sleeping Sentinel," Bryant's "Battlefield," Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" and Taylor's "General Scott and the Veteran." His reading on the day of its composition (October 31, 1864) of Read's stirring poem "Sheridan's Ride," made that poem instantly famous. It became a favorite with him and he recited it hundreds of times. Mr. Murdoch also served for a time on the staff of General Rousseau. His services for the cause of the Union were recognized by his election as a companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

At the conclusion of the war he returned to the stage, playing the most successful engagement, lasting three weeks, that had been up to that

time seen at Pike's Opera House. He continued to act for several years but his failing health made it necessary for him to give up the stage and he was obliged instead to lecturing and teaching elocution. He took his final leave of the stage at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia on May 22, 1889, nearly 60 years after the date of his debut, although he had not been regularly engaged in his vocation as an actor for many years. He died in Cincinnati on May 19, 1893. In 1898 a bust of Mr. Murdoch, the work of the sculptor, Mr. Moses J. Ezekiel, was erected in the main hall of the Public Library of Cincinnati by his friend, the librarian, A. W. Whedbee. On this occasion the address was delivered by the well known actor,—Francis Wilson. Mr. Murdoch excelled in both tragedy and comedy; while many regard his "Hamlet" as his finest part, others look upon him as preeminent in such parts as "Young Mirabel," "Mercutio," "Benedick" and "Claude Melnotte." (A sketch of Mr. Murdoch, in which are presented other items of interest, appears in the second volume of this work.)

INCIDENTS OF WAR TIME.

During the war a number of entertainments social and otherwise were given for the benefit of the soldiers' families. One party of amateur actors for instance gave the well known little play "A Pretty Piece of Business" and "Box and Cox" at various residences during the year 1864. The first performance was given on December 15th and the latter one at the residence of Judge James Hall on December 28th. Among those who took part were Joseph Matthews, Charles H. Horne, Miss Clara Matthews, Mrs. Webb, Miss Maggie and Richard Wright and Miss Mary Lily. We are informed by the programs that between the two plays an "intermission for thought lasting six hundred seconds" was given to the audience. Peanuts were absolutely forbidden as well as bouquets of artificial flowers. No gentleman was allowed to bring more than six ladies as his escort. Smoking aloud not allowed. The curtain rose at 8 o'clock in the evening but the doors were open from 6 A. M. The committee in charge of this wonderful performance was Adolph Wood and George McLaughlin.

Another amateur performance was that at Pike's Opera House on February 6, 1865. This was a very elaborate affair in charge of Enoch T. Carson and E. B. Hinman. The play was "Hamlet" and in the cast were many well known citizens. Governor Anderson repeated his great success in the title-role. E. P. Cranch played the King, "Polonius" was taken by Oliver S. Lovell, Oliver W. Root was "Laertes," M. J. Mack, "Horatio," James M. Melaughlin, "Rosencrantz," Col. M. Lord, "Guildenstern," Waldo C. Hoath, "Osric" and E. B. Hinman the priest. Enoch T. Carson was the first grave digger and his second was D. D. G. Barnitz; the two players were D. Thew Wright and T. R. Elliot, while William Dissey impersonated the ghost. Others in the cast were James E. Sherwood, Dr. S. G. Mendes, Capt. T. P. Anderson, M. Heinsheimer, Cal W. Thomas, W. P. Noble, Thomas L. Young, Sam R. Matthews, F. Pulitetti, Rowland Ellis, John Baker, James K. Wilson, Thomas M. Withenbury, Ed. Isaiah Davenport, Harry Davis, Charles D. Marshall, H. Shreve, Elisha Norton and James C. Root. The female parts were taken by members of the Opera House Company. Miss Phillips acting "Gertrude," Mrs. Barry, "Ophelia" and Miss Edwards the fair Queen.

The choice of seats was sold at auction. The first choice was bought by James Watson of the Henrie House for $075; the second was sold to John B. Gibson for $52.

An amusing performance given by amateurs at Pike's Concert Hall was that of the Sketch Club on April 2, 1861. The members of the club who took part were Judge I. C. Collins and Samuel N. Pike, W. W. Fosdick, E. M. Towers, A. E. Sherwood, W. P. Noble and H. L. Smith. The program included musical selections, recitations, original poems and particulary tableaux in which all the members joined.

It seems to be impossible and certainly is impracticable in a work of this character to give a complete list of the various Cincinnatians who served in the armies of the North during the war. Ohio's roster has been preserved by the State and Whitelaw Reid's work "Ohio in the War" gives an immense amount of information. Ford's "History of Hamilton County" also includes a very voluminous statement in regard to the officers and men supposed to have enlisted from this neighborhood.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE SIXTIES.

INCIDENTS OF WAR TIME—LINCOLN'S DEATH—CENTRAL AVENUE—EGGLESTON AVENUE—THE FIRST PIKE FIRE—THE SUSPENSION BRIDGE—THE INVINCIBLE "RED STOCKINGS"—THE YEAR OF NEW ENTERPRISES, 1869—BURNING OF THE COLLEGE BUILDING—THE CALIFORNIA EXCURSION—THE BIBLE CASE—CINCINNATI IN 1869—JAMES PARTON ON CINCINNATI—THE CINCINNATI SOUTHERN RAILWAY—THE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITIONS—THE WEATHER BUREAU.

The principal events of the war time have been mentioned in the chapters relating to the military movements about the city. During this period the city's growth was naturally impeded but the usual incidents in the life of a large city make up the history of the time. In fact from the war time to the present day the growth of the city has been steady, although by no means rapid. It was the natural expansion of a large and prosperous community which had attained maturity. With the exception of a few picturesque episodes such as the floods of 1883 and 1884 and the riots of the latter year there are but few striking incidents to record. The history is made up during this period mainly of the development of institutions both public and private. It is not possible to do much more than mention a few incidents in the history of the city from the war period to the present day.

INCIDENTS OF WAR TIME.

We are told that in 1861, 336 new buildings were put up, of which but 27 were of wood. This was the year too in which was chartered the Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Company, now a part of the great "Big Four" system.

In 1862 there was another great flood in the Ohio, which river on January 24th came within a few feet of the high water mark of 1832. The news of the victory of Fort Donelson which came in February caused great excitement and a celebration. The oft discussed incident of the attempt of Wendell Philips to address the public at Pike's Opera House and the riotous attack of citizens which drove him from the stage occurred in March. This too was the year of the first Morgan raid through Kentucky and in September came the so-called "Siege of Cincinnati" and the Squirrel Hunter campaign. A distinguished poet of the city, W. W. Fosdick, also died in March of this year. An estimate of the population, which like all such estimates is of doubtful value, gave the number of the inhabitants of the city during this year as 184,517.

In 1863 the special incidents were the Great Western Sanitary Fair, the John Morgan raid, the first draft for the army, the burning of the place of amusement known as the Palace Varieties and the erection of the Plum street railway depot. To this year also is credited the beginning, in Cincinnati, of tobacco manufacture, which industry has grown to become one of the leading ones in the city. The national banking law afforded an opportunity for the reorganization of many of the banks and before the close of 1863 the First, Second, Third and Fourth national banks were organized with an aggregate capital of $1,525,000. During the two following years came the Merchants' National Bank and the Ohio National Bank, each with a capital of half a million dollars. A well known insurance company, the Sun Mutual, had been

incorporated in 1862 and the Germania and Eureka in 1864 and the Enterprise and Globe in the year that closed the war. In 1864 the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot on Hoadly street, extending from Fifth to Sixth, was erected. This structure was 400 feet long, the same length as the Plum street depot. Both buildings were regarded as fully adequate to the demands to be put upon them for many years to come; in fact the latter of the two is still in use, although it can hardly be said that it in any sense answers the purpose for which it is intended. An incident of this year was the Murdoch benefit on October 31st, at which time was given the first rendition of T. Buchanan Read's celebrated poem "Sheridan's Ride." This poem was written on the morning of the day in a house still standing on the south side of Eighth street just west of Walnut, next door in fact to the building of the Literary Club. It is marked by a tablet placed in position by a number of admirers of the poet and of Mr. Murdoch.

LINCOLN'S DEATH.

The receipt of the news of Lincoln's assassination plunged the city into the deepest gloom.

"In Cincinnati, which had spent the day and night before in the most elaborate jubilation, the rage against treason broke out at the least provocation. 'Some individuals of the "butternut" inclination,' says a former citizen, in recalling these days, 'were knocked into the gutters and kicked, because they would make no expression of sorrow, or because of their well-known past sympathy with the rebellion. Others as loyal as any suffered also, through mistaken ideas of meanness on the part of personal enemies. Junius Brutus Booth, a brother of the assassin, was closing a two-weeks' engagement at Pike's Opera House. He was stopping at the Burnet House. While there was no violent public demonstration against him, it was well known that his life would not be worth a farthing should he be seen on the streets or in public. Of course the bills were taken down, and there was no performance that night. Mr. Booth was well pleased quietly to escape from the Burnet and disappear." (Tarbell's Lincoln, Vol. II, p. 247.)

CENTRAL AVENUE.

During the war came the change of name of one of the best known streets of the city. The first thoroughfare west of Plum street was at first called Lundy's Lane. On this lane which was little more than a cow path in early days, a row of four houses was erected which came to be known as Western Row and from the houses the name was transferred to the lane which for a long time was the western boundary of the city. According to popular tradition, the well known "Uncle Joe" Ross who lived on this prominent thoroughfare (as it had become by the time of the war) was twitted by a New York friend as living in the country as he supposed a street with such a name must be far from the center of population. The indignation of Mr. Ross was such that he introduced in the Council and had passed an ordinance changing the name to Central avenue to indicate that the place of his residence instead of being in the outskirts was in the real center of the city's activity. And thus as has so often happened a historic name of real significance has given way to a commonplace designation meaningless and uninteresting.

EGGLESTON AVENUE.

Another street, which has had a mysterious history, was the result of an act of the Legislature passed March 24, 1863. By this act the city was given authority from the State to enter upon and occupy forever as a public highway and for sewerage purposes all that part of the Miami and Erie Canal which extended from the east side of Broadway to the Ohio River, including the width thereof as owned by the State. As a result of this act and the subsequent action of the Council, came what has been known for so many years as Eggleston avenue, named in honor of the well known citizen who did so much to bring about the location of this street. This avenue was intended to be made into a beautiful boulevard. Suffice it to say that the purposes for which it was ceded by the State have entirely failed and that it has become an eyesore to the community both from an esthetic and an ethical standpoint. However valuable Eggleston avenue may become to the business community and the railroads by which it is occupied, it will ever remain a monument to a perversion of the public will.

The close of the war gave new life to public as well as private enterprise and a number of public improvements were begun at this time. These included the Cincinnati Hospital, the Work House, and the House of Refuge. Estimates of population during the last three years of the war gave that of 1863 as 186,329, a year later 193,719 and 1865, 200,000.

In 1866 the estimate adds almost 11,000 more to the population. This year was a cholera year. The deaths from this cause aggregated 2,028 people of whom 86 died on August 13th. In January the police and fire alarm telegraph was put in operation and the fire department was regarded as vastly improved thereby.

THE FIRST PIKE FIRE.

Despite this, probably the most celebrated fire and certainly one of the most destructive in the history of the city occurred on March 22, 1866. In this fire Cincinnati's handsomest building, Pike's Opera House, was burned to the ground and with it were destroyed the buildings occupied by the Adams Express Company, R. W. Carroll & Company, Peter's music store, Wheeler & Wilson, Philip Phillip's music store, the *Enquirer* office, Langley's cigar store and W. B. Clapp's jewelry store, as well as houses on Baker and Third streets. The curtain had just fallen upon a performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and the audience had dispersed. Some had noticed a slight odor of gas but apparently no one paid any serious attention to it. Suddenly at a quarter past 11 a tremendous explosion was heard by those in the neighborhood of Fourth and Vine; this was followed by a deep rumbling noise as of thunder. Flames immediately appeared in the rear portion of the building and spread so rapidly that within a few moments the whole building was a mass of fire. Within a short time the buildings of the entire square were in flames. The fire was so intense and so wide-spread that very little could be done by the department. The total loss was estimated to be about one and three quarter millions of dollars. Several persons were injured but fortunately no lives were lost. The origin of the fire was never known. A curious circumstance connected with this fire was the stealing of Samuel N. Pike's watch by a sneak thief who took advantage of Mr. Pike's interest in the fire as he stood on the top of the Burnet House to relieve him of his valuables.

Another serious fire of this year came on July 11th, at which time the Academy of Music building on Fourth and Home was burned. To replace these structures came two new ones; the fine Jewish Temple, K. K. Bene Yeshurun, at the corner of Eighth and Plum, was dedicated on August 21st and on December 1st of this year came the opening for foot travel of the great Suspension Bridge, at that time one of the wonders of the world. Its opening for travel generally was celebrated on January 1, 1867, by the crossing of thousands on foot and in every sort of vehicle.

THE SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

The subject of a bridge over the Ohio had been discussed from time to time in the various publications about the city as far back as the time of Dr. Drake. It was not until 1845, however, that the agitation seemed likely to produce any result. In January of that year John A. Roebling, who had just completed the Monongahela suspension bridge, outlined a plan for a wire suspension bridge over the Ohio at Cincinnati. He favored a single arch of a span of 1,200 feet, which would not obstruct the river. The misapprehension relating to his plan is shown by the criticism of Mr. Cist that the breadth of the Ohio at this point would necessitate a bridge of twice the length. In September, 1846, Mr. Roebling submitted a complete plan but work was not begun until ten years later, at which time the foundations for the towers were commenced. The crisis of 1857 put a stop to the proceedings. Up to this time it had been exclusively a Covington enterprise and Cincinnati capital had looked askance at the scheme. At one time the Cincinnati tower 45 feet above the foundation was threatened with a public sale to satisfy the claims of the proprietor of the ground on which it had been erected. The stock was considered of little value and the enterprise was about to be abandoned. Strangely enough it was the exigencies of the war that aroused the people to the necessity for such a bridge. The threatened attacks upon the city of Cincinnati opened the way for the conclusion of this great enterprise. Cincinnati capital became interested and the work was actively resumed in the spring of 1863. It was prosecuted with such rapidity that the roadway for foot travel was as stated opened on the 1st of December, 1866, and the bridge was opened for vehicles on January 1, 1867.

The location of the towers was fixed at low water mark so that the middle span should present an opening of no less than 1,000 feet in the clear. The elevation of the approach near Front street in Cincinnati was that of the height attained by the water in the spring of 1832,—62 feet 6 inches. At this stage of water the width of the water way was over two thousand feet. The elevation of the floor above low water mark in the center of the span was fixed at 122 feet, reduced by a later enactment to 100 feet. As

actually built it was 103 feet in the clear at a medium temperature of 60 degrees, rising one foot in extreme cold and sinking one foot in extreme heat. The bridge was 36 feet wide with two ways for pedestrians, two carriage ways and a double track for street railroads. The cables contained 10,400 wires weighing nearly two million pounds. The total length of the bridge was 2,252 feet, of which 1,057 feet occupied the center span. The towers about 230 feet high were higher and contained more stone than the Bunker Hill Monument. The total cost of the bridge was $1,800,000. At the time of its completion, this structure had the largest single span of its class in the world and it was said by James Parton that the whole population of Cincinnati could get on it without danger of being let down into the water. It has since been rebuilt and considerably strengthened Since the completion of this bridge, four others have been built connecting Cincinnati with the Kentucky shore,—that of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, the so-called Central Bridge connecting the city with Newport, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Bridge terminating in Covington and the Cincinnati Southern Railway Bridge connecting the city with Ludlow, Kentucky. Within a space of about two miles and a half five bridges serve to accommodate the large population living and traveling to the South.

THE INVINCIBLE "RED STOCKINGS."

During the years 1867 and 1868 began the interest in the newly introduced sport,—baseball. The first game of baseball in Cincinnati is said to have been umpired by Dr. John Draper and during the years 1866 to 1870 he probably umpired more games than any man in the West. He was a delegate to the National Association of Base Ball Players at the annual convention held at New York in 1866. In 1867 he organized what was known as the "Cincinnati Juniors." This club was made up of boys ranging from 15 to 20 years, who wore the same uniform as the Cincinnati Base Ball Club and played on its grounds. Among the first players of this club were George Chenowith, William H. Stewart, John V. Ellard, Charles Dean, Oscar Rammelsberg, E. W. Walker, Samuel Kemper, George Draper (familiarly known as "Scoop" from the way in which he fielded the ball), Julius Hargrave, John Griffith, Charles A. Marsh, Edward Bradford and Smiley Walker. In 1868 the regular nine of the "Cincinnati Juniors" was composed as follows: George W. Draper, short-stop and captain; Edward Dunlap, first base; Miller Outcalt, second base; Frank Dunlap, third base; James Shannon, pitcher; Southey Holmes, catcher; Joseph Blair, left field; Ed. Marsh, center field, and Ollie McGrew, right field. This club played for three years with great success. During the year 1869 they did not lose a game. Harry Ellard (from whose article in the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* of October 26, 1902, this account is taken) says that our well known citizen, Judge Miller Outcalt, "played as pretty a game at second base as McPhee ever did." There was a "first" nine of Juniors which did not have so long a career as this, technically the "second" nine.

The Ohio Federation of the National Association was organized September 25, 1867, with Aaron G. Champion as president. Fourteen clubs from Cincinnati were represented in the convention. During the winter of 1867-68, the grounds of the Cincinnati Base Ball Club were flooded for skating purposes and here was played the first game of baseball on skates. Just previous to this the first regularly organized nine of the Cincinnati Club was formed with Harry Wright as pitcher; Douglas Allison, catcher; Charles H. Gould, first base; Asa Brainard, second base; Fred Waterman, third base; John C. How, short-stop; J. V. B. Hatfield, left field; Rufus King, center field, and J. William Johnson, now the well known attorney, right field. The uniform of the club was decided upon at a meeting held at Mr. Champion's office from a design submitted by George B. Ellard. The red stockings adopted at that time have ever since been characteristic of the Cincinnati Base Ball Club. In 1868 the *New York Clipper* offered nine gold medals to be given to the players making the best averages in their positions. Three of these came to Cincinnati,—to Harry Wright, Fred Waterman and J. William Johnson. Mr. Johnson was the best right fielder of his time and the swiftest runner on bases. He circled the bases in 14½ seconds. It is said that he was never put out on base and on a number of occasions stole home from third base. He also played infield positions with great success.

In 1868 this team composed partly of professionals and partly of amateurs played many exciting games; one of the closest of these was that with the "Unions" of Morrisania, New Jersey, which the Cincinnati team won by a score of 13 to 12. The baseball grounds were just in back of Lincoln Park, having been moved

from the foot of Richmond street which was not so convenient to the horse cars. A large octagonal building designed by James McLaughlin was erected at the cost of $2,350. Another game was that with the "Hickory" club of Morgan County. This club was supposed to be a very strong one and it was thought that the contest would be bitter. The score was 59 to 16. The large score is explained by the fact that the ball known as the Ross ball contained two and one-half ounces of rubber and that curved pitching had not been heard of.

An event of this summer was the game of raquette played on the ball grounds by a club of Northwestern Indians especially imported for the occasion.

During the year 1868 the Cincinnatians played 24 games of which they lost but three.

An organization that made the name of Cincinnati known throughout the country was the famous "Red Stocking Base Ball Team" of 1869, whose career of victories has never been equaled in the history of that or any other athletic sport. Previous to this time, the game of baseball had almost been entirely given up to amateurs. In fact our modern national game at that time had a hard struggle to supplant the imported game of cricket. At a meeting held in the fall of 1868 in the law office of Tilden, Sherman & Moulton, the Cincinnati Base Ball Club was put upon a professional basis. George B. Ellard and Alfred T. Goshorn were appointed a committee to secure the services of Harry and George Wright for the coming year. Other well known professional players were also engaged and as a result the baseball team which began the season of 1869 was the first regular professional nine in the United States. The officers of the club were Aaron B. Champion, president; Thomas G. Smith, vice-president, and John P. Joyce, secretary and treasurer. Harry Wright was the captain and played center field. His brother George was short-stop, Asa Brainard was pitcher, Douglas Allison, catcher. The bases were filled by Charles H. Gould, Charles Sweasy and Fred Waterman. Calvin McVey played right field and Andrew J. Leonard, left field. The substitute was Dick Hurley and scorer, Oak Taylor. Of this team but two,—Gould and Waterman,—were residents of Cincinnati.

The team started on an Eastern trip on Monday, May 31, 1869, after having played several practice games in this city. It was accompanied by a special correspondent of the local *Commercial* newspaper, Harry M. Miller, who also at times acted as scorer. Its first regular game was at Yellow Springs, where it defeated the Antioch Club nine by a score of 41 to 7. Games followed at Mansfield, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, Lansingburg, Boston, New Haven and Brooklyn, in all of which the "Red Stockings" were victorious. The first game of importance and the one looked forward to by all those in the country interested in this sport was that with the "Mutuals" of New York, at that time regarded as one of the strongest nines in the country. This was played in June at the Union grounds in Brooklyn in the presence of over 10,000 people. Neither team had suffered a defeat up to the time of the opening of this game and betting ran very high with odds a little in favor of the "Mutuals." Much feeling was aroused because of the prominence of both clubs and particularly from the fact that on the New York team was playing a former "Red Stocking," Hatfield, who it was thought was familiar with the play of the Cincinnati team to such an extent as to give him a great advantage. The audience too was quite boisterous and determined that the local nine should win. This was in the days of straight pitching and large scores, but so fiercely was the game contested that the score was very small. At the end of the eighth inning it was two to one in favor of Cincinnati and in the ninth inning the New York team made one run and Cincinnati two, making the final score four to two. The news of this victory caused great excitement in Cincinnati. Salutes were fired and a general rejoicing indulged in. The "Red Stockings" proceeded on their way, playing at Philadelphia, Washington, Wheeling and other places and maintaining their unbroken record of victories. This great tour ended by the arrival home of the team on Thursday, July 1st. In an account given in the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* of November 3, 1902, by Harry Ellard, we are told that: "The reception given the players was one long to be remembered. They were met by all the members of the club with a band and escorted through the streets, which were decorated on all sides. One firm made a unique design of the letter 'C' of red stockings. Cheer upon cheer went up for the invincible champions, and pandemonium reigned throughout the town. The next day the club played a picked nine for an exhibition game. When the game was completed a wagon drove onto the field with a huge bat, in shape the same as a regular bat, but it was 27

feet long, 19 inches at the butt and 9½ inches at the wrist. On the side was painted "Champion Bat," in gilt, while underneath were handsomely inscribed all the names of the players of 1869.

"It was presented by the Cincinnati Lumber Company, and the presentation speech was made by Carter Gazlay, the secretary of the company, in which he stated that the Cincinnati Base Ball Club players were recognized as the heaviest batters in the country, and, on that account, it gave him much pleasure to present them with a bat which, although not of regulation size, was not so heavy but that they could easily handle it. He also said that it was not purchased from Ellard, but was grown to order for the occasion.

"That evening a large banquet was given the visitors at the Gibson House. The hall was profusely decorated with flags, bunting and flowers. At the head of the hall was a large inscription, 'Welcome Home, Red Stockings,' with the names of all the players and the officers of the club underneath. Currier's Zouave Band discoursed music while the sumptuous repast was served. Thomas G. Smith, the vice-president of the club, sat at the head of the table, while on his right was Aaron B. Champion, the president, and on his left John P. Joyce, the secretary and treasurer. Mr. Smith acted as toast-master, and when he arose he said: 'In addition to the fact that the Cincinnati Base Ball Club is the champion of the United States, it is also Champion's club.' When Champion was called upon for an address he made a neat and appropriate speech, and said: 'Some one asked me to-day whom I would rather be, President Grant or President Champion, of the Cincinnati Base Ball Club; I immediately answered him that I would be far rather the president of the baseball club.' This brought forth loud applause. Murat Halstead responded to the toast, 'The Press.' Alfred T. Goshorn paid a handsome tribute to the players. Judge Cox responded to 'The Judiciary,' in which he said: 'Men there always be impartial umpires in this great game of life.' S. S. Davis, a former mayor, made a neat address and had of all Dennis Walsin covered himself with glory when he arose in response to the toast, 'The Ladies, God Bless Them.' Upon this subject Mr. Walsin was fully equal to the occasion. Judge E. P. Noyes was also one of the speakers."

Later in the season came several more exciting games. On July 24th the Forest City Club of Rockford, Illinois, of which A. G. Spalding was pitcher, was defeated by a score of 15 to 14. A game with the "Hay Makers," which occurred on August 26th in this city, almost resulted in a riot. At the end of five innings the score was a tie,—17 to 17. At the opening of the sixth, McVey who was at the bat struck a foul tip and the ball bounded three times. The catcher of the "Hay Makers" grasped a handful of gravel instead of the ball and held it up, claiming that he had caught the strike out. The umpire decided against him, whereupon the visiting team refused to continue the game. A riot almost ensued and it became necessary for the police to interfere. It is supposed that there had been collusion between a number of New York gamblers and the ball players by which the latter had agreed to stop the game on some pretext. The game was awarded by the umpire to the Cincinnati nine.

In September the club made a trip West, playing with the principal nines of the Pacific slope. While in California they also played a game of cricket with the crack eleven of that State, winning by a score of 29 to 18. The home coming of the team from this trip was again made the occasion of rejoicing. In the fall several exciting games were played on the Union grounds back of Lincoln Park, two of which were with the "Athletics" of Philadelphia in which the scores were 55 to 16 and 17 to 12. The last game of the season which made the crack victory was played on November 6th, with the "Mutuals" of New York. The "Red Stockings" won by a score of 17 to 2. In the evening a banquet was given by Albert G. Corre, proprietor of the Gibson House, to the members of both nines and the officers of both clubs.

Noteworthy events of 1869 in financial circles were the consolidation of the Ohio National Bank with the Merchants' National under the name of the latter, with a capital of $1,000,000, and the incorporation of one of Cincinnati's greatest institutions,—the Union Central Life Insurance Company. During the year 1868 the Farmers' Insurance Company was incorporated and also the Safe Deposit Company and the Clearing House Association. In this year the well-known banking firm of Espy, Heidelbach & Company began its career.

In 1868 the Cincinnati Hospital and the Work House and a great part of the Eggleston avenue sewer had been completed. One of the great thunder storms in the history of this city occurred on June 18th of this year, in which one house was burned and a number struck by

lightning. On July 9th the Varieties Theatre was once more visited by fire; this on the site of the present Emery Arcade was the first vaudeville theatre of the city. The Widows' Home was burned on November 4th.

THE YEAR OF NEW ENTERPRISES,—1869.

The year 1869 has been regarded as one of the great years in the history of the city. In the first place this was the first great year of annexation, beginning with the addition to the city of Storrs township, Camp Washington and Lick Run, which were followed in a few months by Walnut Hills, Mount Auburn, Clintonville, including Vernonville and the west end of Spencer township. In this year too was passed the act authorizing the projected Cincinnati Southern Railway. The Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Railroad was completed July 1, 1869, crossing at Newport on the second bridge thrown over the river in front of the city. This gave a line to Frankfort and Lexington and to Louisville and by way of that to the South via the Louisville & Nashville road, into whose possession the Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Railroad passed in the fall of 1881. The Board of Trade was organized in 1869 and ten years later was consolidated with the Board of Transportation organized in 1876, the new organization taking the well known title,—Board of Trade and Transportation. On August 3rd of this year in the new Sinton Building near the Burnet House was opened the exhibition of textile fabrics which was the forerunner of the great industrial expositions which have made Cincinnati known throughout the world. This too was the year of the organization of the Weather Bureau. Accounts of the Cincinnati Southern Railway, the expositions and the Weather Bureau are given at the close of the narrative of this decade.

BURNING OF THE COLLEGE BUILDING.

Another celebrated fire took place October 20, 1869, at which time the College Building on Walnut street between Fourth and Fifth was once more the victim of the flames. The fire began a few minutes after one o'clock in the afternoon at a time when the streets were thronged with people and thousands of spectators witnessed the scene. The first sign of fire was some smoke pouring from the roof a little north of the cupola. The ladders of the hook and ladder company were found to be too short and the account of the efforts of the firemen to use them is quite thrilling: "It was about two o'clock when the long ladder was raised at a point south of the main entrance of the Library and Exchange rooms. It just touched the cornice. Up this perilous ascent the firemen mounted with a heavy hose. In front was John Bray of Company No. 17 and he was followed by John Moorwood of the same company. When Bray had reached the top of the ladder and Moorwood the middle, it slipped and was about to fall. The gazing crowd was seized with horror and every spectator held his breath in fearful suspense. Coolly as if it was a matter of little importance, Bray reached for the cornice, swung himself up and reached down and caught the falling ladder, thereby saving his own and his comrade's life. The feelings of the multitude below expressed themselves in a deafening cheer as the smoke hid them in from view." For a time an effort was made to save the books of the library, but after many had been taken out this attempt was given up. Within the building a terrible tragedy was taking place entirely unobserved by the spectators. Capt. Matthew Schwab of the hook and ladder company had groped his way with a party carrying a hose up the double stairway. He had lifted the hatch of the roof when flames struck the firemen in the face and made them retreat. All were thought to have been dragged out of the smoke by their comrades although six or seven were badly burned and some disfigured for life. Several persons stated that they had seen Schwab carried downstairs and away, although his hat and lantern were found in the building. At about three o'clock the north half of the roof of the Merchants' Exchange room fell in and a half hour later the fire was under control. In the evening it was learned that Captain Schwab could not be found. Finally the chief, Megrue, and his assistant, Lewis Wisbey, headed a party of firemen and searched the building. Schwab with his forehead and hands terribly burned, and his chest badly scalded was found at the extreme southern end of the corridor in the fourth story. He was near a window in a crouching position with his face in his hands. He evidently had been blinded by the flash of flames and had started to run but had been cut off by the walls on the one hand and the suffocating smoke on the other. His death at the age of 28 created a profound impression on the city and his funeral was largely attended by the different organizations of the city and citizens. He had served four years in the Civil War in the Fifth Ohio Regiment and had risen from the ranks to the

captaincy. Although the College Building had been reduced to a complete wreck, the damage to the library was not serious as no books of value were lost or ruined.

THE CALIFORNIA EXCURSION.

Another incident of city life of this year was the so-called Cincinnati excursion to California which was organized under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. In this excursion 53 citizens, including Mr. and Mrs. Robert Buchanan, Abram Swift, Robert Hosea, William Resor, Michael Werk, A. H. Smith, Alexander McDonald, Albert Mitchell, A. S. Merrell, B. S. Cunningham and Messrs. Morris White, D. J. Fallis, George Graham, C. B. Murray, George W. Jones, Frederick Burkhardt and others took part. The party traveled six thousand miles and were received with enthusiasm at many of the large cities of the West to which they carried the greetings of the city.

THE BIBLE CASE.

In this year began the contest with relation to the use of the Bible in the public schools. This litigation began by an order of the Board of Education forbidding the use of religious books including the Bible in the schools of Cincinnati. Thereupon certain well known citizens made an effort to restrain by injunction the enforcement of this order. The case was tried before the Superior Court in general term. Judges Bellamy Storer, M. B. Hagans and Alphonso Taft presided. The attorneys for the plaintiffs were William Ramsey, George R. Sage and Rufus King and for the defendants, George Hoadly, Johann B. Stallo and Stanley Matthews. The court decided in favor of the injunction; Judge Taft, however, delivered a strong dissenting opinion. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, which sustained Judge Taft's view and the action of the Board of Education. The arguments and opinions in this case have been published and constitute one of the most valuable contributions to the legal literature of the country.

CINCINNATI IN 1869.

In the year 1869 appeared another of the valuable contributions to the history of the city, the book entitled "The City of Cincinnati" by George E. Stevens. This gave, in the language of its sub-title, a summary of the attractions, advantages and institutions and internal improvements with a statement of its public charities. Mr. Stevens speaks of Cincinnati just entering upon the ninth decade of its existence as the largest and wealthiest inland city with a population estimated at over a quarter of a million. Early in its history it had achieved the title "Queen City of the West" and now by no idle fancy it was called the "Paris of America." Its river front at this time was about ten miles long and its northern line about two miles from low water mark. The map prefixed to the volume gave the city from a point east of Eden Park to Mill creek its western boundary. On its northern outskirts were the suburbs of Fairmount, Bellevue, Mount Auburn and Walnut Hills. In Eden Park was shown the proposed new reservoir. Many of the streets we are told were still adorned by shade trees and splendid avenues and parks were projected and in process of construction. The points of interest to a stranger included the hotels,—the Burnet, Gibson, Spencer, St. James, Walnut Street, Merchants', Galt, Metropolitan and Henrie House. Fourth street was the center of attraction and a special point of interest was the new Suspension Bridge. The great staples of the Cincinnati market,—iron, cotton, sugar and tobacco,—were handled along Front, Walnut and Second streets, while Pearl street was the center of operations for an immense capital employed in distributing dry goods, notions, clothing, shoes and the like. On Third street, the Wall street of the city, were assembled most of the banks, insurance and lawyers' offices and the like. Fourth street contained the magnificent retail establishments and was the fashionable promenade of the city. At its east and west ends were many handsome dwellings. The West End lying west of Central avenue was also a fashionable dwelling portion. The district across the canal had been known for years as "Over the Rhine." This was largely inhabited by Germans whose number was estimated as 80,000. On the hills could be seen the Cincinnati Observatory on Mount Adams and, beyond, the beautiful suburbs of Walnut Hills, Clifton and Mount Auburn, and far to the northeast that most beautiful cemetery, Spring Grove. The important public buildings that are mentioned are those of the Cincinnati Hospital, Cincinnati College, Court House, Ohio Mechanics' Institute and a number of church buildings of which there were 119 in the city at that time. Twenty-three of these were Roman Catholic. The old City Hall built in 1853 was still the seat of the city government. The Custom House Building on the corner of Fourth and Vine was very properly called an ornament

to the city. The Fountain had not yet been erected nor had the Garden of Eden been completed; both were among the possibilities of the near future. The beer gardens so largely frequented during the summer evenings received special mention. Other buildings of importance were those of the Gymnasium on Fourth street which had been entered by this association on March 12, 1869, Hughes and Woodward high schools, Lane Seminary and the Jewish Temple at Eighth and Plum. A well known hostelry, at that time one of the most fashionable resorts of the city, was Keppler's on the north side of Fourth street. In addition to Eden Park there were Lincoln, Washington, City and Hopkins parks. The City Park is now occupied by the City Hall. Mozart Hall, the present Grand Opera House, and the rebuilt Pike's Opera House were the principal amusement places of the city although to these should be added the Queen City Skating Rink on Freeman avenue and the Union Skating Pond west of Lincoln Park, used in summer for baseball. The great retail stores on Fourth street west of Main included Shillito's, Hopkins', De Land's, Boutillier's, Lewis & Livingston's and Wilson's establishments while art treasures could be seen at Bonte's and Wiswell's and jewelry at McGrew's, Dulme's, Smith's and Owen's establishments. In addition to Keppler's there were the catering establishments of Leininger & Buhr and the St. Nicholas. A feature of the city that has long since disappeared were the carriage stands, the principal one of which was on Vine street south of Fourth. Nine horse car routes are given on which the rate of fare except on that to Mount Auburn was six cents. These lines correspond in a way with what were known for so many years as the Seventh, John, Third and Fourth, Pendleton, Covington, Storrs and Sedamsville, Cumminsville and Spring Grove lines and the Mount Auburn line. The railroad depots were five (including one in Covington), used by 13 different lines. Those in the city were the depots of the Cincinnati Hamilton & Dayton, the Plum street, Little Miami and the Ohio & Mississippi depot on Front and Mill. The chief lines leading out of the city were the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, Cincinnati & Zanesville, Erie (Atlantic & Great Western) Cincinnati & Indianapolis Junction, Indianapolis, Cincinnati & Lafayette, Little Miami, Louisville & Cincinnati, Kentucky Central, Marietta & Cincinnati and Ohio & Mississippi. The United States mail line steamers including such steamers as "Major Anderson," "General Buell," "General Lytle" and the "St. Louis" were still an important feature of passenger travel. The suburbs specially mentioned are Avondale with a population of 1,200, Clifton, East Walnut Hills, Woodburn, College Hill, Glendale, Wyoming and Mount Auburn and Walnut Hills, large parts of which had been incorporated within the city. The estimated products of the city for the year were valued at sixty millions of dollars and the main branches of productive industry were iron ($5,500,000) furniture ($1,700,000) meats ($9,000,000) clothing ($4,500,000) liquors ($4,500,000) soap and candles ($1,500,000) oils, lards and resins ($3,000,000) and mills ($2,000,000); the aggregate wealth of the county was given as $160,945,497. Twenty-five thousand pupils were in the public schools and ten thousand more in the private and parochial schools. The volume also contains lists of city officers and of the various charitable, literary, scientific and social organizations of the time. The principal newspapers were the *Commercial*, *Enquirer*, *Gazette*, *Volksblatt* and *Volksfreund* among the morning papers and the *Times* and *Chronicle*, both evening papers.

JAMES PARTON ON CINCINNATI.

This brief account of Cincinnati in the "sixties" can be best concluded by a view of the city by a non-resident contrasting with that of a resident,—Mr. Stevens. James Parton, the celebrated historian, contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1867, a most remarkable article about the city of Cincinnati, one of a series of articles on Western cities. Mr. Parton obviously was more anxious to be sprightly than truthful and for that reason took care not to investigate his historical facts too thoroughly. His impression of the city, however, is that of many Western people and is worth quoting, if perhaps only as an illustration how not to describe a town. Speaking of the period before the war he says: "The Ohio, formed by the junction of two Pennsylvania rivers, is the natural western outlet for the redundant population of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and consequently the first twenty thousand inhabitants of Cincinnati were chiefly from those States,—honest, plodding, saving Protestants, with less knowledge and less public spirit than the people of New England. The Swedes, the Danes, the Germans, the Protestant Irish, who poured into Pennsylvania and New Jersey in Franklin's time, attracted by the perfect toleration estab-

lished by William Penn, were excellent people; but they had not the activity of mind nor the spiritual life of the English Puritans. Shrewd calculators and of indomitable industry, they were more able to accumulate property than disposed to risk it in bold, far-reaching enterprises, and took more pride in possessing than in displaying wealth,—in having a large barn than an attractive residence. They were more certain to build a church than a school house, and few of them wanted anything of the book-pedlar except an almanac. The descendants of such men founded Cincinnati, and made it a thriving, bustling, dull, unintellectual place. Then came in a spice of Yankees to enliven the mass, to introduce some quickening heresies, to promote schools, to found libraries, to establish new manufactures and stimulate public improvements. That wondrous tide of Germans followed that has made in each of the cities of the West a populous German quarter,—a town within a town. Meanwhile, young men from the Southern States, in considerable numbers, settled in Cincinnati, between whom and the daughters of the rich 'Hunkers' of the town marriages were frequent, and the families thus created were, from 1830 to 1861, the reigning power in the city."

It is not surprising that after such an introduction Mr. Parton should state that "perhaps there was no town of its size and wealth in Christendom which had less of the higher intellectual life and less of an enlightened public spirit than Cincinnati before the war." The great wealth of the city Mr. Parton conceives as being legitimately earned. It was Cincinnati he says "which originated and perfected the system which packs fifteen bushels of corn into a pig, and packs that pig into a barrel, and sends him over the mountains and over the ocean to feed mankind." He says that there were 64 persons in Cincinnati at that time whose estate was rated at one million dollars or more. In spite of this wealth, the city he thought displayed little of the spirit of improvement. "People were intent on their own affairs, and were satisfied if their own business prospered. Such a thing even as a popular lecture was rare, and a well-sustained course of lectures was felt to be out of the question. Books of the higher kind were in little demand (that is, little, considering the size and great wealth of the place); there was little taste for art; few concerts were given, and there was no drama fit to entertain intellectual persons. Cincinnati was the Old Hunkers' paradise. Separated from a Slave State only by a river one third of a mile wide, with her leading families connected by marriage with those of Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland, and her business men having important relations with the South, there was no city—not even Baltimore—that was more saturated with the spirit of Hunkerism,—that horrid blending of vanity and avarice which made the Northern people equal sharers in the guilt of slavery, while taking the lion's share of the profit."

An explanation of Mr. Parton's feeling is given in his account of the conduct of the mobs in breaking into Birney's office and attacking the negroes. The war according to Mr. Parton regenerated Cincinnati. "There were few of the leading families which did not furnish to the Rebellion one adherent, and all men, of whatever class, were compelled to choose between their country and its foes. The great mass of the people knew not a moment of hesitation, and a tide of patriotic feeling set in which silenced, expelled, or converted the adherents of the Rebellion. The old business relations with the South, so profitable and so corrupting, were broken up, and Cincinnati found better occupation in supplying the government with gunboats and military stores. The prestige of the old 'aristocracy' was lost; its power was broken; it no longer controlled elections, nor monopolized offices, nor lowered the tone of public feeling. Cincinnati was born again,—began a new life. There is now prevalent among the rulers of the city that noblest trait of freemen, that supreme virtue of the citizen,—PUBLIC SPIRIT; the blessed fruits of which are already apparent, and which is about to render the city a true metropolis to the valley of the Ohio, the fostering mother of all that aids and adorns civilization."

When it comes to describe the appearance of the city Mr. Parton is a little more accurate. Over Cincinnati says he "a dense cloud of smoke usually hangs, every chimney contributing its quota to the mass. The universal use of the cheap bituminous coal * * * is making these Western cities almost as dingy as London. Smoke pervades every house in Cincinnati, begrimes the carpets, blackens the curtains, soils the paint, and worries the ladies. Housekeepers assured us that the all pervading smoke nearly doubles the labor of keeping a house tolerably clean, and absolutely prevents the spotless cleanliness of a Boston or Philadelphia house. A lady who wears light-colored garments, ribbons or gloves in Cincinnati must be either very young,

THE ROOKWOOD POTTERY.

ENTRANCE TO SPRING GROVE CEMETERY.

very rich, or very extravagant; ladies of good sense or experience never think of wearing them. Clean hearts abound in Cincinnati, but not clean hands. The smoke deposits upon all surfaces a fine soot, especially upon men's woolen clothes, so that a man cannot touch his own coat without blackening his fingers. The stranger, for a day or two, keeps up a continual washing of his hands, but he soon sees the folly of it, and abandons them to their fate. A letter written at Cincinnati on a damp day, when the Stygian pall lies low upon the town, carries with it the odor of bituminous smoke to cheer the homesick son of Ohio at Calcutta or Canton. This universal smoke is a tax upon every inhabitant, which can be estimated in money, and the sum total of which is millions per annum. Is there no remedy? Did not Dr. Franklin invent a smoke-consuming stove? Are there no Yankees in the West?"

Despite the efforts of the smoke inspector, the tall chimneys of the city even in the most conspicuous block as well as from the power houses of the Cincinnati Traction Company to-day belch forth their all pervading clouds of smoke, very much as did the chimneys of Mr. Parton's day. Mr. Parton is more complimentary to the suburbs:

"Behold the Fifth Avenue of Cincinnati! It is not merely the pleasant street of villas and gardens along the brow of the hill, though that is part of it. Mount to the cupola of the Mount Auburn Young Ladies' School, which stands near the highest point, and look out over a sea of beautifully formed, umbrageous hills, steep enough to be picturesque, but not too steep to be convenient, and observe that upon each summit, as far as the eye can reach, is an elegant cottage or mansion, or cluster of tasteful villas, surrounded by groves, gardens and lawns. This is Cincinnati's Fifth Avenue. Here reside the families enriched by the industry of the low, smoky town. Here upon these enchanting hills, and in these inviting valleys, will finally gather the greater part of the population, leaving the city to its smoke and heat when the labors of the day are done. As far as we have seen or read, no inland city in the world surpasses Cincinnati in the beauty of its environs. They present as perfect a combination of picturesque and the accessible as can anywhere be found; and there are still the primeval forests, and the virgin soil, to favor the plans of the artist in 'capabilities.' The Duke of Newcastle's party, one of whom was the Prince of Wales, were not flattering their entertainers when they pronounced the suburbs of Cincinnati the finest they had anywhere seen. * * *

"It is partly because the rich people are so far away that the public entertainments of the city are so low in quality and so infrequent. We made the tour of the theatres and shows one evening,—glad to escape the gloom and dinginess of the hotel, once the pride of the city, but now its reproach. Surely there is no other city of two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants that is so miserably provided with the means of public amusement as Cincinnati. At the first theatre we stumbled into, where Mr. Owens was performing in the Boucicault version of 'The Cricket on the Hearth,' there was a large audience, composed chiefly of men. It was the very dirtiest theatre we ever saw. The hands of the ticket-taker were not grimy,—they were black. The matting on the floor, the paint, and all the interior, were thoroughly unclean; and not a person in the audience seemed to have thought it necessary to show respect to the place, or to the presence of a thousand of his fellow-citizens, by making any change in his dress. The ventilation was bad, of course. No fresh air could be admitted without exposing some of the audience to draughts. The band consisted of seven musicians. The play, which is very pleasing and simple, was disfigured in every scene by the interpolation of what the actors call 'gags,'—that is, vulgar and stupid additions to the text by the actors themselves, in which we were sorry to hear the 'star' of the occasion setting a bad example. Actors ought to know that when Charles Dickens and Dion Boucicault unite their admirable talents in the production of a play, no one else can add a line without marring the work. They might as least be aware that Western colloquialisms, amusing as they are, do not harmonize with the conversation of an English cottage. Yet this Cincinnati audience was delighted with the play, in spite of all these drawbacks, so exquisitely adapted is the drama to move and entertain human beings.

"At the West, along with much reckless and defiant unbelief in everything high and good, there is also a great deal of that terror-stricken pietism which refuses to attend the theatre unless it is very bad indeed, and is called 'Museum.' This limits the business of the theatre; and, as a good theatre is necessarily a very expensive institution, it improves very slowly, although the Western people are in precisely that stage

of development and culture to which the drama is best adapted and is most beneficial. * * *

"Upon leaving the theatre, we were attracted by a loud beating of drums to a building calling itself the 'Sacred Museum.' Such establishments are usually content with the word 'moral', but this one was 'sacred.' From a balcony in front, two bass-drums and one bugle were filling all that part of the town with horrid noise, and in the entrance, behind the ticket-office, a huge negro was grinding out discord from an organ as big as an upright piano. We defy creation to produce another exhibition so entirely and profoundly atrocious as this. It consisted chiefly of wax figures of most appalling ugliness. There were Webster, Clay, General Scott, and another, sitting bolt upright at a card-table, staring hideously; the birth of Christ; the trial of Christ; Abraham Lincoln, dead and ghastly, upon a bier; and other groups all revolting beyond description. The only decently executed thing in this Sacred Museum was highly indecent; it was a young lady in wax, who, before lying down, had forgotten to put on her nightgown. There was a most miserable Happy Family: one or two monkeys, still and dejected; a dismal, tired rooster, who wanted to go to roost, but could not in that glare of gas, and stood motionless on the bottom of the cage; three or four common white rabbits; and a mangy cat. Such was the Sacred Musuem."

As the Southern Railway, the industrial expositions and the Weather Bureau had their inception in the last year of the "sixties," they belong to this period of the city's development although their history extends practically to the present day.

THE CINCINNATI SOUTHERN RAILWAY.

The idea of a railroad to the South seems to have taken a firm hold upon the minds of the citizens of Cincinnati from quite an early period. Before any railroad had actually been built with this city as a terminus, the agitation of 1836 for a line to the Southeastern seaboard had resulted in the procuring of subscriptions to the amount of a million dollars. This was at a time when the ideas with regard to railroad operation were so primitive as to forbid the entrance of locomotives into the city for fear that the sparks might set fire to houses. For this reason the first train of the Little Miami Railroad was drawn into town by mules. This movement of 1836 and the convention held at Knoxville already described gave promise of a road to Charleston but the financial panic of 1837 put an end to the scheme. The building of the Little Miami and Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton roads for a time diverted the energies of capitalists from the South but the success of these undertakings made the plan seem more and more feasible. The incorporation of the provision into the new constitution of the State forbidding any city or county organization from lending its credit to a private corporation seemed to terminate, however, all possibilities in this direction. At that time the practice was to have railroads built by private corporations to whom public aid in the shape of bonds or a bonus of some sort was given. The gradual development of other cities to the West and North, particularly Chicago and St. Louis, seemed to make it clear that in time a large section of the territory which had contributed its business to this city would be cut off and that Cincinnati must look more and more for its prosperity and future business development to the South. The natural advantages, those given by the river and the advantages given by the Miami Canal, which had really done so much to push the city forward, were being offset by the growth of the competitors and it became necessary to resort to the new means of transportation. Louisville's possession of the Louisville & Nashville road gave her a great handicap in trade with the South so that this city was hemmed in on all sides. There was never any question in the mind of any one that better railroad communication with the South was necessary. The only difference of opinion that ever existed was as to the manner in which it was to be effected.

In 1859 the Kentucky Central and the Cincinnati, Lexington & East Tennessee road, which furnished a line from Cincinnati to Nicholasville, proposed to extend this roadway to Knoxville, provided Cincinnati should raise a million dollars as a bonus. Part of this money had been raised when the approach of the war ended the scheme. During the war itself the importance of some such communication was recognized by General Burnside and others and surveys were made by the military authorities looking to the attainment of such communications. The conclusion of the war left matters in a very chaotic condition. The South was prostrate as well as hostile. Its business such as it was had to be built up by Northern assistance. Cincinnati had no means of communication with the centers of distribution in the Southern territory and was in danger of being passed by other cities more

favorably located for the attainment of this business. In 1865 a bill was introduced into the Ohio Legislature by James Dalton a merchant of the city, providing for the building of a road from Cincinnati to the South, but the time was not ripe for it. About this time, however, E. A. Ferguson an attorney of the city began to push forward the idea that there was nothing in the constitutional provision forbidding the city to loan money to a private corporation which would prevent the city from building its own road. The suggestion once made gained adherents on every side and when on November 26, 1868, he made public a proposed bill to accomplish this object, the public and business organizations of the city at once took the matter up with great energy. The bill was passed by the Senate April 28, 1869, and a week later by the House and provided that whenever the Council of the city should declare it essential to the city's interest to provide a railroad from Cincinnati and a majority of the city electors should approve the action of the Council, the Superior Court of the city should appoint five trustees to put into execution the determination of the citizens. It also provided for the issue by the city of $10,000,000 worth of bonds to be secured by mortgage on the road and by an annual tax levy to pay interest and provide a sinking fund. The resolution was at once passed by the Council and on June 26, 1869, the special election registered the will of its electors in its favor. Immediately after the passage of the bill, an agitation began as to what should be the southern terminus of the road, Knoxville, Nashville and Chattanooga contending for the selection. A special committee of the Council finally selected Chattanooga. The day of the special election was made a holiday. The fire bells rang at various times during the day, bands of music paraded the streets and a complete organization of the different wards brought out the vote which was 15,423 in favor of the road to 1,500 against it.

Almost immediately, on June 30, 1869, the Superior Court selected the five trustees who were to have charge of the building of the road. They were Philip Heidelbach, Miles Greenwood, E. A. Ferguson, R. M. Bishop and William Hooper. The board organized by electing Miles Greenwood as its president and H. H. Tatem as secretary; W. A. Gunn was chosen as chief engineer and surveying parties were at once put into the field.

The next step was to procure charters from the States of Kentucky and Tennessee through which the road was to pass. The bill passed the Tennessee Legislature quite promptly in January, 1870, but the struggle in Kentucky continued for two years. Twice it was defeated but it became a law February 13, 1872. In the meantime opposition to the Ferguson act developed in Cincinnati itself and the question of its repeal was strongly agitated. The principal ground of objection was that the amount, ten millions, would be insufficient to complete the road. A bill was introduced in the Legislature to repeal the act and offer a $3,000,000 bonus in its stead. The success in the Kentucky Legislature, however, quieted to some extent the opposition and the first lot of Southern Railway bonds, amounting to but $150,000, was offered for sale. They bore seven per cent interest and were taken by a local bank. Mr. Hooper went abroad in the fall for the purpose of negotiating the entire issue but was unable to do so. In the meantime an act of Congress was passed permitting the building of a bridge across the Ohio. The Legislature of the State also passed a supplemental act authorizing the leasing and completing of the road and Kentucky finally relinquished many of the objectionable provisions that had characterized its original charter. Negotiations for the sale of the bonds in New York were begun in the following year but before they had been brought to completion came the failure of Jay Cooke & Company and the panic of 1873. Again opposition developed and many efforts were made to induce Mr. Ferguson the "Father" of the road to give up the plan. The trustees, however, secured five thousand dollars on their personal credit and on December 12, 1873, the first contract for excavation was awarded. This money was used to purchase the ground covering the entrance to the King's Mountain Tunnel and here was begun the first piece of work on the road. Two months later the entire line was located and on February 26, 1874, a statement of this action of the board was published in the newspapers. Mr. Hooper again went to Europe in the effort to float the loan but was not successful. Finally in March, 1874, as a result of negotiations with the American Exchange Bank of New York a million of bonds was sold in May, another in October and the balance in May, 1875. By the time the bonds had been delivered, the entire sum had been exhausted and in November, 1875, the chief engineer submitted an estimate showing that at least $6,000,000 more would be needed to complete the road, not including general expenses or rights of way.

Thereupon a new bill was introduced in the Legislature providing for a new loan of $6,000,000. This met with strong opposition, particularly among the most prominent business men of the city. The bill was finally amended so that the question was submitted to the people. Mass meetings were held all over the city and a very strong sentiment was apparent in favor of abandoning the $10,000,000 already spent rather than expending any more on the work. At the election on March 14, 1870, the new loan was carried by a vote of 21,701 to 9,013. In July, 1877, the road was so far completed as to be opened for traffic to Somerset, Kentucky. It was then leased on a determinable license to a company known as the Cincinnati Southern Railway Company and composed chiefly of local capitalists.

Soon, however, the funds were once more exhausted and the report of the engineer in charge on December 1, 1887, showed that the sixteen millions had been more than expended and that about three and three-quarter millions more would be needed. Again application was made to the Legislature and the opposition was stronger than ever. Charges of all sorts were made reflecting on the integrity and judgment of the trustees, none of which it is a pleasure to record had any foundation in fact. The issue of $2,000,000 more of bonds was submitted to the electors and at the same time a commission was appointed to investigate the management of the trust. At the election held May 3, 1878, the proposed issue was beaten by a vote of 11,456 to 11,237. This result was attributed to the doubt as to whether the two millions would complete the work. Another two million bill providing that the trustees should advertise for proposals to complete the line and that bids should not exceed the sum of two millions passed on May 15th. The bid of R. G. Hueston to this effect was submitted to the people on August 14, 1878, and there were cast for the issue 16,224 votes and against it 10,425. With the money so obtained the road was put in a condition for operation first by the Cincinnati Southern Railway Company and afterwards by the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway Company. The investigating committee made an elaborate report in January, 1879. It criticised the board as containing no one of experience in railroad construction and also the action of the trustees in some particulars of no special moment but concluded with the finding that there was no evidence of any violation of the trust in a pecuniary way. It is but proper to say that now after the lapse of years, despite the many bitter controversies of the times and despite the fact that many able critics had differed in judgment with the trustees, at no time during the continuance of this trust has the integrity of any member of the board of trustees been successfully assailed. The purposes for which they were appointed they have carried out without any reasonable suspicion of their entire good faith. The objections to their actions have been objections to these purposes, that is objections to the road itself and the manner of its building.

By the provisions of the Common Carriers Act of April 12, 1877, the road was leased to a company known as the Cincinnati Southern Railway Company which was incorporated April 30, 1877. The first board of directors chose Rufus King as its president. It became apparent that the trustees were unwilling to grant any more than a temporary license from Ludlow to Somerset and no contract from the completion of the road could be granted. Such dissatisfaction was manifested by the subscribers to the stock of the company as to make necessary a new agreement by virtue of which this company was to receive ten per cent on its paid-up cash capital and ten per cent on the balance of the net earnings and pay the remainder to the trustees for rent. Mr. King resigned and W. H. Clement succeeded him as president The first passenger train ran over the road on July 23, 1877, and freight trains began to run on the 13th of the following month. The completion of the bridge on December 8th made Cincinnati the actual northern terminus of the road. The first 11 months of the operation of the road showed net earnings of about $221,000 of which the trustees received about $130,000 and on September 9th the trustees gave notice terminating the license on the 12th of March following. After some correspondence a new license on May 21, 1879, was granted to the Cincinnati Southern Railway Company which was to receive seven percent on its capital actually paid in as a compensation for its investment. This was also determinable upon notice from the trustees. On February 21, 1880, the first two southbound freight trains and on March 8th the first passenger train started from Cincinnati for Chattanooga. The completion of the road was celebrated by a grand banquet in Music Hall given on March 18, 1880, by the citizens of Cincinnati to visiting merchants from the South. In this banquet three thousand persons took part. The

earnings for the first year, that ending December 1, 1880, were about one and a half million dollars, of which the stockholders of the company received a little over $70,000 and the trustees about $825,000.

By virtue of an act of March 18, 1881, providing for the leasing or selling of the road ten proposals were received on August 25, 1881. They were all for a lease of 25 years on the basis of a cash yearly rental. A lease beginning October 12, 1881, was awarded to Fred Wolfe and associates at a cash rental value of $800,000 for the first five, $900,000 for the second five, $1,000,000 for the third five, $1,090,000 for the fourth five and $1,250,000 for the last five years. The lessee was to pay all assessments and taxes and to keep the road in repair in the condition of a first class, single-track railroad. The lessee also was to pay $12,000 a year for the expenses of the trust. The principal office was to be maintained in Cincinnati. The trustees were to the extent of their trust funds ($300,000) to provide land in Cincinnati for terminal facilities. On October 11, 1881, the lease was signed by the trustees and president of the Trustees of the Sinking Fund and the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railroad Company, the assignee of the award. The new company was capitalized with $3,000,000, of which 49 percent was held by local stockholders and 51 percent by a London company which, known as the "Erlanger System," controlled including the Cincinnati Southern a total mileage in the South of 11,065 miles. Almost immediately controversies arose between the lessee companies and the trustees with regard to the improvements and repairs of the road and also with regard to the land provided for terminal facilities and finally on April 25, 1890, Charles Schiff, then president of the company, demanded arbitration, first for damages suffered from the lack of terminal facilities in Cincinnati and second for misrepresentation as to the condition of the road at the time of the lease. He named as arbitrators on the part of the company, Grover Cleveland and Clarence A. Seward. The courts, however, were appealed to and decided in favor of the trustees.

The capital stock of the lessee company was as already stated held to the extent of 49 percent by Cincinnati capitalists and as a result several residents of the city were members of the board of directors. The first president of the road from October, 1881, to December, 1882, was Theodore Cook; Capt. H. H. Tatem was treasurer and George F. Doughty was made secretary. E. P. Wilson was general passenger and freight agent. During Mr. Cook's administration came the Doughty over-issue by which the secretary fraudulently issued about $400,000 of signed certificates which were the subject of many years of litigation thereafter. Mr. Cook was succeeded by John Scott, an Englishman who had been vice-president of the road, but he resigned January 1, 1885. He was succeeded by Frank S. Bond who in turn yielded December 22, 1885, to Charles Schiff who had been vice-president. On December 19, 1890, S. M. Felton became his successor.

On March 18, 1893, the Supreme Court of the State handed down a decision holding the company liable for the $400,000 of over-issued Doughty stock. This resulted in an application to Judge William H. Taft of the United States Circuit Court, who that same evening appointed Mr. Felton as receiver of the company. The road continued under the receivership until September 30, 1899, at which time the property was restored to the control of the stockholders. Mr. Felton's administration both as president and as receiver was most fortunate in its results and with the termination of the receivership it was felt that the critical point of its existence was about ended. Mr. Felton resigned at the conclusion of the receivership to become president of the Chicago & Alton Railway Company and was succeeded by Samuel Spencer, who still remains president. The actual operation of the road from this time was in charge of W. J. Murphy. In 1896 a proposition was made by the leasing company to the city looking for the sale of the road but this was defeated by the voters at the polls.

The lease which had been made in 1881 for a period of 25 years was to expire in 1906. It was felt by the company to be onerous and profitless, partly as the result of the misconduct of the first secretary but more as a result of the improvements called for. Negotiations for an extension of 60 years began as early as 1898 and took definite form in 1901. On June 29th the trustees of the road by a vote of three to two agreed to an extension which on September 14th was ratified by the Sinking Fund Trustees. This provided for an extension for 60 years with a rental of the first 20 years of $1,050,000, the second 20, $1,100,000, and the third 20 years, $1,200,000. The city agreed to issue bonds at the rate of $500,000 a year up to the sum of two millions and a half, upon which the lessee company agreed to pay the interest and also $25,000

a year for their final redemption. The rental under the original lease was to continue until July 12, 1902. This lease was submitted to the people on November 5, 1901, after a very extensive agitation. Both propositions carried, the lease extension by 47,486 to 15,168 and the bond issue by 45,656 to 14,603 and on June 7, 1902, the trustees of the road, of the Sinking Fund, and of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway Company executed the new lease as well as the supplemental agreement with reference to the bonds.

The trustees for the city at the time of the execution of this supplemental agreement were Edward A. Ferguson, John Carlisle, Harry R. Smith, Thomas Morrison and John R. Sayler. Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Smith have since died and have been succeeded by Samuel Hunt and Levi C. Goodale. In addition to the trustees already mentioned, at various times the following have served on this board: W. W. Scarborough, Alphonso Taft, Henry Mack, John Schiff and A. H. Bugher. Mr. Scarborough and Judge Taft served but a few months and Mr. Schiff less than two years.

The Cincinnati Southern Railway is controlled and operated under the dominating influence of the Southern Railway Company which has a total mileage of over eight thousand miles extending from Washington on the east through all the important cities southeast, south and southwest of Cincinnati, including Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Mobile and Memphis, from Memphis via Corinth Junction to St. Louis and from Burgin Junction west through Louisville to St. Louis. This is justly regarded as one of the greatest railroad companies of the country and of the world.

The road forms a part of the so-called Queen & Crescent Route which has a total mileage of 1,156.41 miles, including the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway 338 miles, New Orleans & North-Eastern Railroad 196 miles, Alabama & Vicksburg Railway 142 miles, Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific Railroad 171 miles, and Alabama Great Southern Railroad 309.41 miles. (See Charles G. Hall's The Cincinnati Southern Railway, a large part of which was compiled by H. P. Boyden and Col. George B. Nicholson, the present chief engineer of the road.)

THE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITIONS.

A most important feature in the development of the industries of the city have been the so-called "Industrial Expositions." In the year 1868 an exposition of wool and woolen fabrics was held in the city of Chicago under the auspices of a newly formed organization known as the Woolen Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest. This was so successful that it was determined to repeat it the following year. At the suggestion of James H. Laws, a committee of Cincinnatians consisting of George W. Jones, James M. Clark, George W. McAlpin and Mr. Laws himself visited Chicago and induced the association to hold its next exposition in Cincinnati. The permanent organization was in charge of John Shillito as chairman who was assisted by an able corps of officers and a number of committees. The early part of August, 1869, was selected as the date of the exposition and invitations were extended to manufacturers of cotton, wool, flax, hemp and silk and to cotton and wool growers to take part in the undertaking. David Sinton offered his newly erected four-story building on the east side of Vine street between Third and Fourth streets for the use of the association and here on August 3rd the Exposition of Textile Fabrics was opened with appropriate ceremonies and speeches by George W. Jones, the chairman of the executive committee, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, Mayor Torrence, Judge Storer, Hon. Job E. Stevenson and Hon. Benjamin Eggleston and other orators of this and other cities. The exposition was a great success both in point of attendance and displays. Thousands of visitors were attracted to the city and 155 exhibitors from 20 different States exhibited about three thousand lots of goods. At the conclusion Mr. Laws, the original promoter of the undertaking, conducted a trade sale of the exhibits before what was claimed to be the largest and wealthiest company of gentlemen that had ever assembled at an auction sale west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The success of this undertaking suggested annual industrial expositions and on a larger scale. As a result came the First Cincinnati Industrial Exposition held under the management of a general committee consisting of five representatives from each of the three business institutions,—the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade. The five members of the committee appointed from the Institute were Charles F. Wilstach, Hugh McCollum, James Dale, Thomas Gilpin and P. P. Lane; from the Chamber of Commerce, James H. Laws, Abner L. Frazer, S. F. Covington, C. H. Gould and Jacob Elsas and

from the Board of Trade, A. T. Goshorn, Josiah Kirby, Joseph Kinsey, W. H. Blymyer and D. B. Pierson. Mr. Wilstach acted as president; Messrs. Laws and Kirby, vice-presidents; Mr. Gould, treasurer; Mr. Frazer, secretary and John B. Heich, superintendent. The question of site was largely settled by the fact that the German musicians of the city were at the time making arrangements for holding a festival of the North American Saengerbund in Cincinnati during the summer of 1870, for which purpose they were about to erect a great temporary building on the ground opposite Washington Park formerly occupied by the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum. This Saengerfest structure with three additional edifices built expressly for the exposition was chosen. The central building was 250 feet long by 110 feet wide, built in a succession of grand arches 72 feet in extreme height. The entire edifice was surrounded by galleries. To the north and northwest of this were buildings, one 224 by 80 feet, the other 112 by 104 feet in dimensions and to the southwest of the principal building was another one-story structure 184 by 150 feet. The total floor space of the exposition buildings including the connecting structures and several smaller ones was 108,748 square feet or about two and one-half acres. To this must be added the wall surface which increased the space to about four and one-half acres. The floor space was larger than the total area afforded for exhibits at the World's Fair held at the Crystal Palace in New York in 1853. The grounds were easily reached by lines of omnibuses and carriages as the street railroads had not yet been built in that direction. The exposition was opened on September 21, 1870, with addresses by Mayor Wilstach, Mr. Goshorn and Senator John Sherman. On this occasion the attendance was quite limited, there being less than 500 people distributed throughout these immense buildings. It became necessary to reduce the price of admission from fifty cents to a quarter and as a result 300,000 people visited the buildings before the close of the exposition on October 22nd. Almost every conceivable product of industry was exhibited at this the first of the long series of expositions each one of which was to surpass its predecessor. The first exposition was not only popular but it was a financial success. The guarantee fund was untouched and a balance left in the treasury. In the following year at which time A. T. Goshorn was president, 400,000 persons were admitted within the gates. Another great success was achieved so far as the exhibits and attendance could constitute success but there was a deficit of about $15,000 caused by the large building account.

The Third Industrial Exposition was also in charge of Mr. Goshorn and was attended by 540,000 people. A new building for the art department was constructed in the open square on the east side of Elm street now Washington Park and connected with the main building by a bridge over the street. A horticultural hall was built and a department of national history organized. The exhibits covered seven and one-half acres and were contributed by 30 States. Although the receipts amounted to almost $100,000, there was a deficit this year.

The Fourth Industrial Exposition held in 1873 was affected somewhat by the cholera and the financial situation of the country. W. H. Blymyer was its president. An immense guarantee fund of $226,000 was raised but the guarantors were not called upon as the exposition yielded a profit of over $10,000, which was used to reduce the indebtedness of former years.

D. B. Pierson for a time and afterwards George W. Jones acted as president of the Fifth Industrial Exposition held in 1874. Many new features were added this year. On the opening day a great military parade attracted large crowds to the city. Addresses were delivered by Governor Allen, Governor Hendricks of Indiana, Mayor Johnston, President Jones and S. Dana Horton. An exposition regatta was held on the river on September 14th and achieved a great success. The exhibition fell behind this year about $10,000.

John J. Henderson was the president of the Sixth Industrial Exposition held in 1875. This opened with a grand industrial parade through the streets and was especially noteworthy for the offering of prizes of increased value for exhibits in various departments. The exposition made a profit of about $9,500, which together with an assessment on the guarantee fund was used to clear the exposition of debt. The fact that a national exposition was to be held at Philadelphia in 1876 led to the abandonment of a local exposition for that year and the erection of the permanent buildings which were begun shortly after this time accounted for the failure to give expositions in 1877 and 1878.

After the Musical Festival of May, 1875, Reuben R. Springer through John Shillito offered to give $125,000 to build a permanent structure for musical festivals and other purposes if the lot on Elm street, at that time occupied by the

Exposition buildings and owned by the city,could be had for perpetual use without taxation and if the citizens would contribute an equal sum. The Music Hall Association as described elsewhere was formed in 1875 and the money was soon raised and the conditions complied with. Mr. Springer afterwards added $60,000 to his gift. The building was completed in time for the May Festival in 1878. The various Exposition buildings, including Music Hall and the two wings one to the north and one to the south, occupy a frontage on Elm street of 402 feet of which 178 are taken by Music Hall and 95 feet for each of the wings.

In October, 1878, the board of commissioners representing the three organizations, under whose auspices the expositions were held, was reorganized with Edmund H. Pendleton as president; James H. Laws, James Dale and E. V. Cherry, vice-presidents; John Simpkinson, treasurer and Hugh McCollum, secretary. Under this management the Seventh Industrial Exposition was held from September 10th to October 11, 1879. The opening exercises were attended by President Hayes, Governor Bishop and Generals Sherman and Sheridan and other notables. Twenty-four States were represented by the exhibitors and over 400,000 visitors attended the exposition, which netted a profit of over $15,000.

The Eighth Industrial Exposition was in charge of President Melville E. Ingalls, Vice-Presidents James Dale, W. L. Robinson and Henry C. Urner, Treasurer E. V. Cherry and Secretary Hugh McCollum. This exposition which continued from September 8 to October 9, 1880, was quite successful, netting a profit of $3,000, exclusive of the gross receipts of the last day which were donated to the Art Museum fund just started by the gift of $150,000 by Charles W. West.

R. H. Galbreath was the president of the Ninth Industrial Exposition held in 1881. This too was successful and left a balance on hand. Capt. W. W. Peabody was in charge of the Tenth and Eleventh expositions held in 1882 and 1883. Both of these were inaugurated by grand street pageants under the auspices of the Order of Cincinnatus. A feature of the Eleventh Industrial Exposition was the lighting by electricity introduced for the first time. Both these expositions were largely attended and more than paid expenses.

The Twelfth Industrial Exposition was held in 1884 under the charge of Edwin Stevens as president. A government display was a special feature of this year. The weather was unfavorable and this with the increased expense led to a deficit of over $22,000 to be assessed upon the guarantors.

Mr. Stevens was also the president of the Thirteenth Industrial Exposition held in 1886. A special feature of this was the Japanese Village. Almost 400,000 visitors atended this year and the result was a profit of about $6,000. The great success of the expositions of Cincinnati which had become national in their fame and which had contributed a director general, A. T. Goshorn, to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia encouraged the celebration of the centenary of the settlement of Ohio by a great Centennial Exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States which, inaugurated July 4, 1888, by a grand street pageant, continued 100 days until October 27, 1888. The commissioners in charge of this exposition were chosen as in the former cases. Those from the Chamber of Commerce were Lee H. Brooks, C. C. Waite, Levi C. Goodale, George B. Kerper and E. O. Eshelby; from the Board of Trade and Transportation, M. E. Kuhn, Henry J. Snider, J. M. Blair, John Goetz, Jr. (vice Howard Douglas resigned), and May Fechheimer and from the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, James Allison, L. H. McCammon, George Gray, Jr., P. G. March and A. B. Champion. Mr. Allison was the president and with him on the executive committee were Messrs. Brooks, Champion, Waite, Eshelby and Kuhn. In addition to these commissioners there were honorary commissioners appointed by the Governors of the various States of Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Tennessee, Pensylvania, Michigan, Iowa and Kansas and also the mayor of the city, five members of the Common Council and representatives of Covington and Newport. Two vast temporary frame buildings were erected in addition to the permanent Exposition buildings and Music Hall. One of these, Power Hall, extended along both sides of the canal and across Plum street from 12th to 15th and another in the form of a cross was erected in Washington Park and conected with Music Hall across Elm street by a bridge. The buildings covered 43 acres of ground and afforded over a million square feet of exhibiting space and the displays divided into 17 departments covered the entire range of American achievements in industry, art and science. Congress made a large appropriation for defraying the expenses of a display by the government departments which was one of the most

striking features of the exposition. The display at that time although of course not so large as those which have characterized some of the later government displays was very complete and practically as representative as any of its successors. The State of Ohio also made a display illustrating its century of growth. Another novelty was the great display of electrical appliance devices and lights used in the halls and in the surrounding streets which was regarded as surpassing all previous electrical exhibitions. There were also many specialties such as musical entertainments and a grand spectacular panorama "Rhodopis," the gondolas and gondoliers from Venice on the canal and in fact the usual forms of entertainment and instruction which have become so familiar in later years. The Art Gallery contained many fine productions of great masters and the collection of historical relics and exhibits showing the manners and customs of the pioneers were of special interest. The exposition was backed by a guarantee fund of $1,000,000, subscribed by the citizens of Cincinnati. It was not a financial success and the guarantors were called upon to make up a deficit.

THE WEATHER BUREAU.

In 1868 Cleveland Abbe, the well known meteorologist, was chosen director of the Cincinnati Observatory. He at once proposed an enlargement of the scope of the institution and began a series of investigations which was most fruitful in results both to the city and the country. In the following year he laid before the board of managers of the Chamber of Commerce a suggestion that Cincinnati should be made the headquarters of meteorological observations for the United States for the purpose of collecting and comparing telegraphic weather reports from all parts of the land and making deductions therefrom. Hon. Samuel F. Covington at that time a vice-president of the Chamber and S. C. Newton were appointed a committee to confer with Professor Abbe upon the subject. They soon became convinced of the practicability of the suggestion and made a report to the Chamber, suggesting an appropriation of $300 for the purpose of carrying on experiments. The appropriation was made although it is stated by one writer, Mr. Roe, that it was believed that the opportunity of having a good joke on the committee weighed more than faith in their recommendation. The results however justified the experiment. On September 1, 1869, Professor Abbe began the publication of the "Weather Bulletin of Cincinnati Observatory." The Smithsonian Institute had for 13 years used the telegraph for weather forecasts but these had not been sent out for the benefit of the public. Weather reports had also been made as part of the signal service during the war. Mr. Abbe's labors, however, showed the great benefit likely to result to the community from a more complete adoption of the system. The enormous losses sustained by the commerce of the Great Lakes in the year 1869 when 1,914 vessels were wrecked or otherwise injured by storms with damages to the extent of over four million dollars made this a peculiarly appropriate time to start such a series of investigations. The Cincinnati project was taken up by Congress through the efforts of Mr. Paine of Wisconsin and Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts and by joint resolution of February 9, 1870, the Secretary of War was directed to provide for taking meteorological observations at military posts in the interior of the continent and on the lakes and seacoast with a design of giving warning of the approach and probable force of storms. The new Weather Bureau was put in charge of Gen. A. J. Myer, chief of the army signal service in January, 1871, and he at once appointed Professor Abbe as meteorologist to prepare "probabilities" or storm warnings. In February of the same year the Associated Press made arrangements to telegraph the reports to the press of the country. Professor Abbe was the original "Old Probabilities" and under his direction the service soon reached a high degree of efficiency. Reports were telegraphed at the very inception of the work from 36 army stations as well as from Mount Washington and Abbe in person did the work of collating and tabulating which had to be done three times a day for over a year.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SEVENTIES.

THE CENSUS OF 1870—EVENTS OF 1871—THE TYLER DAVIDSON FOUNTAIN—THE MUSICAL FESTIVALS—THE GREELEY CONVENTION—EDEN PARK—THE FIRST INCLINED PLANE—THE PANIC OF 1873—THE TAN-YARD MURDER—CINCINNATI IN 1875—MUSIC HALL—THE JAMBOREE—THE CINCINNATI TABLET VINDICATED—HAYES NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY—THE YELLOW FEVER YEAR—THE BALDWIN CASE.

THE CENSUS OF 1870

Gave to Cincinnati a population of 216,239, an increase of 55,195 over that of ten years preceding. Of these 136,627 were of native and 79,612 of foreign birth; 210,335 white and 5,904 colored. The foreign population included 49,448 Germans, 18,624 Irish, 3,526 English and 2,093 French. The voters numbered 53,814. There were 42,937 families and 24,550 dwellings, an average of 5.04 to a family and 8.81 to a dwelling. The number engaged in industrial occupations was 77,923. Of these 33,972 were in manufactures, 25,666 in professions and personal service and 16,865 in trade and transportation.

The valuation of real estate according to the tax duplicate after the revised list from the Decennial Board of Equalization went into effect was $123,427,883, an increase of $61,908,966 over that of 10 years previous. The valuation of personalty was a little over fifty-seven millions, an increase of twenty-seven millions in the 10 years. The number of hands employed in the factories was 59,827, a 100 percent increase and the value of the products, $127,459,021, an increase of 170 percent. The amount of capital invested was $51,673,761 and the value of real estate occupied $37,124,119. The imports were $312,978,665 and the exports $103,577,600. The annexations for this year aggregated 12¾ square miles.

Among the important events of the year was the banquet to the Kentucky Legislature held February 19th, for the purpose of influencing that body in favor of the Southern Railway. On June 16th the new Saengerfest Hall was opened by the Saengerfest and in September came the opening of the First Cincinnati Industrial Exposition inaugurating the long series of these undertakings. During this year, too, Congress passed an act allowing the transportation of goods in bond from the seaboard ports to any inland port of entry without the breaking of bulk. This was regarded as of great convenience to the business houses of the city. Several accidents happened this year resulting in fatalities. One was caused by the falling of a stone wall at the corner of Third and Elm streets burying several persons in the ruins, which occurred January 15th. On July 9th a workman repairing the slate upon the spire of the new St. Paul's Methodist Church at the corner of Seventh and Mound fell to his death.

EVENTS OF 1871.

In 1871 came the reorganization of the City Council and the creation of the Board of Aldermen. The formal action declaring Cincinnati a port of entry dates from this year as well. In October came the dedication of the Tyler Davidson Fountain. Among the new buildings dedicated at this time was the Odd Fellows' Hall at Fourth and Home, the Central Christian Church

on Ninth street, the Evangelical Lutheran Church on Race street, the St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of the Atonement (a Catholic Church) on Third street and McLean Chapel on Ninth street. In February was held a grand jubilee of the Germans over the unification of the fatherland and in June the Catholics celebrated the 25th anniversary of the pontificate of Pius IX. Among the public improvements which were initiated during this year was the purchase of Burnet Woods for a park and the purchase of Markley farm for water works purposes. A celebrated visitor of the year was President Grant who came in September. In December the Reunion and Reform party was organized at a meeting held in the reerected College Building. A picnic riot at Parlor Grove and a death from yellow fever may also be mentioned. This was the year of the Chicago fire and the city contributed $100,000 and the citizens $55,185 more for the relief of the sufferers. July was characterized by a bitter agitation with regard to the observance of the Sunday law. Among the business organizations which began operations during the year were the Aurora Insurance Company incorporated the year before and the Amazon Insurance Company. Another important company was the United Railroads Stock Yards Company which was incorporated with a capital of a half a million dollars as a result of the gravitation of the slaughter houses from Deer creek to Mill creek. The Cotton Exchange was also organized in May of this year. Another industrial exposition was held this year, the second of the series that continued with the exception of 1876 and 1877 to the year 1886.

A visitor, Sir James Macaulay, thus gives his impressions:

"To a traveler going westward, Cincinnati may appear a half-grown, half-settled, recent city; but coming back upon it as I did from Chicago, it had a staid, compact, and almost venerable look. Smoke has helped to impart this aspect of premature antiquity. It is one of the smokiest and 'Auld Reekie' like cities in America. The brick-built streets have a sombre appearance in the older districts

"Forty years ago, when Chicago was beginning its existence, Cincinnati had its court house, gaol, college, medical school, museum, public library, five classical schools, forty-seven common schools, and twenty-five churches, and was a place of great trade and extensive manufactures.

"I consider Cincinnati at the present time one of the most 'representative' and fairly average of the great cities of the States. It is equally removed from the condition of the older cities of the East and the South, and of the newer cities of the West, such as Chicago or San Francisco. Boston and Philadelphia, Charleston and New Orleans, date from old British times, and, with Republican institutions, retain the continuity of social life and historical tradition from before the War of Independence. Cincinnati has sprung up since American nationality began, but has existed long enough to acquire all the distinctive features of American life and character, both social and political. The foreign or immigrant element, both Irish and continental, in its population, is larger, and influences the affairs of the city in the same ways, and much in the same proportion, as they do the whole Union. The difficulties which American statesmen have to encounter, in political and social life, from diversities of nationality and of religion, here present themselves in a marked manner. Observing this, I saw that in Cincinnati I could study the present position and future prospects of the American republic better than in most other cities, and therefore prolonged my stay beyond the proportion of time required for mere sight-seeing; in which, indeed, there is not much to attract the traveler."

THE TYLER DAVIDSON FOUNTAIN.

On February 15, 1867, Henry Probasco in a letter written from Palermo, Sicily, to Hon. Charles F. Wilstach, mayor of the city, proposed in memory of his brother-in-law, the late Tyler Davidson, to erect a public fountain on the Fifth street market space near the intersection of Walnut street to be made of Bavarian block granite, prophyry and bronze according to a design which was presented with the letter. The conditions of the gift were that the city should maintain the fountain in complete order and supply drinking conduits of pure water for the free use of the public for a certain number of hours each day, varying according to the season, and should keep it properly guarded and cleaned. On March 15, 1867, the City Council accepted the gift and an ordinance was passed granting permission to Probasco to erect the fountain in the market square and pledging the city to the conditions of the gift. According to the original terms of the donation, Mr. Probasco was to have the fountain in position before January 1, 1871, but the Franco-Prussian War and litiga-

tion with regard to the use of the market space delayed the work. It was at first contemplated and the ordinance so provided that the fountain should be erected in the square between Main and Walnut. The use of this square by the street railroad tracks and the fact that it was 11 feet narrower than the square next west suggested a change to the square between Vine and Walnut. Here, however, was the dilapidated Fifth street market house already declared a nuisance by the Board of Health but regarded by fifty or more butchers and market men as their peculiar property.

In 1869 Mr. Probasco received from the foundry in Munich a bronze model of the fountain and on Washington's Birthday he invited the City Council to his residence in Clifton with the view of showing them the model and discussing the proposed change of location. The mayor and nearly all the members of both branches of the Council spent the afternoon with Mr. Probasco. After examining the magnificent library and the superb works of art for which the house was noted, the company witnessed the unveiling of the model in the main hall and listened to a description of the work and its history by Mr. Probasco. Drawings prepared by William Tinsley the architect were exhibited showing the difficulties of the situation. After this, in accordance with the universal American custom of dining before transacting public business, the party partook of a collation. This was followed by toasts responded to by the mayor, Mr. Probasco and a number of others all to the general effect that the market house must give way to the fountain. Three of the gentlemen who spoke so ardently in favor of the plan subsequently voted against it after the effects of the collation had passed away.

On March 5, 1869, an ordinance was passed amending the original ordinance so as to locate the fountain between Vine and Walnut and to provide for proper granite posts for its protection. The auditor was directed to make no more leases for market space and was also directed to advertise the old market house for sale. The occupants of the market house thereupon instituted legal proceedings against the city to prevent the removal of the structure on the ground that some of the deeds by which the city had acquired the land required the maintenance of the market house there. The facts were that in 1827 the city for the purpose of enlarging its market space widened Fifth street between Vine and Walnut to 141 feet by taking 75 feet of land on the southern side. The 66 feet to the north formed part of the original street. The market house was more than 60 feet wide almost in the center of the space and extended almost the whole length of the square. The title to the eastern half of the extra 75 feet was not limited in any way. The western half was made up of seven lots. As to the lot on the corner of Fifth and Vine there was no restriction. Another deed declared that the conveyance was for a market space and the other five in a general way declared that the conveyance was for the sole use and purpose of erecting a market house and for market space and for no other use and purpose whatever. The original order of the city covered merely the eastern half to which there was no restriction but it was generally understood and of course was necessary that the whole space should be kept open for the fountain. On February 1, 1870, the Supreme Court rendered a decision in favor of the city, giving it the right to move the market house and keep the space open. (18 O. L. S., 563.)

At the meeting of the Council on February 24th by a vote of 25 to 8 the superintendent of the street cleaning department and chief of police were ordered to have the market house removed. These officials had already been notified the evening before to have their men in readiness and as a result Colonel Robinson, superintendent of the street cleaning department, had 90 men with axes, picks and crowbars and the chief of police, 50 policemen ready for action. Immediately after the issuing of the order, this force started for the market house. None of the 54 butchers who occupied stalls had any suspicion of such immediate action. Some were clearing up after their day's work and meat was hanging in some of the stalls. A committee of butchers was at that time at the office of the city solicitor, endeavoring to ascertain if the city expected to take any further proceedings. When Colonel Robinson's force accompanied with wagon loads of tools and hooks and ladders from the fire department filed into the market space, it created a great sensation and a crowd collected at once but the police kept it at a proper distance. The workmen immediately went to work, tore down the stalls and benches and signs, after which they climbed along the shed and in 43 minutes from the time the order was passed by the City Council the Fifth street market house was without a roof. During the work on the east end of the roof, four men lost their footing and fell through the rotten ceiling but none was seriously injured.

Colonel Robinson himself met with a similar accident but was not seriously hurt. After the roof had gone, the brick pillars of the old rookery were undermined and section after section fell to the accompaniment of comments of approval on the part of the bystanders. Naturally the merchants about the place were pleased and this satisfaction was shared by all the citizens except those who occupied the stalls. By six o'clock the market house was a mass of ruins which were almost immediately removed by the poor people to be used as kindling wood. A piece of timber was stuck up at the west end on which was inscribed in chalk "Born in 1827 and died in 1870."

Excavation for the foundation of the fountain was commenced in the spring and a fence was placed around the space which remained there until October 5, 1871, the evening before the fountain was unveiled and formally presented to the city. On Tuesday, July 12, 1870, the corner-stone was laid by Mr. Probasco in the presence of about twenty men, prominent citizens present by invitation. At 11 o'clock Mr. Probasco carrying a glass of ice water descended into the excavation accompanied by Mr. Tinsley the architect and followed by the invited guests each with a glass of water in his hand. Mr. Probasco placed the stone, after which he made a few remarks dedicating the fountain to the people with the hope that they would cherish and protect it as their individual property as the means of advancing the public taste and health and morals for the present and for the generations to come. He thereupon struck the hammer with three blows repeating each name of the Trinity and the "Amen" was responded to by the whole company who thereupon drank to the success of the fountain. Each person then threw from his glass a small quantity of water on the stone and after cheers for the speaker and his noble enterprise the ceremony concluded.

The original plan contemplated an ellipse surrounding the fountain of 79 by 54 feet but on October 28, 1870, Mr. Probasco, calling attention to the fact that the superstructure and the foundation of the platform as well as the cooling system were nearly completed, presented the plan for a superb esplanade, clean, comfortable and safe for women and children to be 400 feet long and 62 feet 6 inches wide, to be made of freestone. This was to have one step about one foot above the street and to be surrounded by 44 posts in which should be placed trees which within a very few years would give shade and beauty to the square and comfort and pleasure to the people. It was estimated that this would cost $20,000 less, from which of course was to be deducted the expense of paving the square in accordance with the original plan. This plan was approved and money appropriated by the city. In July of the following year a number of the gentlemen owning property in the neighborhood of Fountain square, including D. K. Este, R. R. Springer, W. W. Scarborough, W. P. Hulbert, F. Bodmann, J. Simpkinson and others, proposed a banquet and a presentation of a silver service to Mr. Probasco upon the occasion of the formal presentation of the fountain to the city. On July 8th, Mr. Probasco addressed a letter to Mr. Hulbert expressing his gratification at the proposed plan but declining the honor. On the same day Mr. Probasco issued a card inviting a number of friends to view the work on the anniversary of laying the foundation on July 12th. The bronze work had not arrived at that date but the porphyritic base, the rim of the base and the pedestals of the drinking fountain were in place and the latter were dispensing ice water. A beautiful bronze model of the fountain was exhibited. A platform covered by an awning had been erected and at the appointed hour Mayor S. S. Davis and Mr. Probasco ascended the platform. Both these gentlemen delivered appropriate addresses which were followed by remarks from Gen. E. F. Noyes and Enoch T. Carson. Thereupon the gentlemen were served with ice water and the ladies with the same in which was a mixture of lemon juice and sugar. After copious libations, A. M. Griswold the humorist well known as the "Fat Contributor" made a few remarks of a humorous character upon the subject of ice water, the general purport of which was to the effect that ice water had been introduced in Cincinnati for the first time upon that day. Other speakers were Flamen Ball, George Graham and Peter Gibson.

The bronze work of the fountain arrived in September in charge of Ferdinand von Müller the son of the founder who was received by the citizens generally and particularly by his fellow countrymen with great cordiality. On one occasion he was serenaded by the German singing societies including the Orpheus, Maennerchor, St. Cecilia, Liederkranz, Turners, Harugari, Druids and the Odd Fellow singing societies, who formed in line at the Saenger Hall and marched to the Burnet House with music and torches. When the procession reached the Burnet House, it numbered 5,000 people.

The fountain was presented to the city of Cincinnati with appropriate ceremonies on October 6, 1871. The arrangements were in charge of the Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce and Common Council. About the esplanade were temporary seats sufficient in number to accommodate 4,000 people. Each seat was especially marked and cards of invitation were issued, each calling for a specified seat. The grand stand was on the north side of the square facing the fountain and about the square the occupants of stores had built platforms over the sidewalks and had decorated their buildings with flags, models and transparencies. The fence was removed and the fountain covered with a white canvas. The procession coming from the Burnet House entered the square from Vine street escorted by the German Battalion under command of Col. Gustav Tafel. This battalion wore the spiked helmet of the Prussian army and took position on the south side of the fountain. The members of the city government had seats assigned to them at the right of the speakers' stand. The enormous crowd that had gathered made it impossible for the police to control the seats and within a few minutes the whole square was packed and the balconies, windows and roofs from Vine to Main street were filled with people estimated at more than 20,000 in number. The exercises continued for more than an hour and a half, during which time the best of order prevailed. The chairman of the committee of arrangements, George F. Davis, opened the exercises after which followed addresses by Archbishop Purcell, Governor Hayes, Hon. William S. Groesbeck and Rev. Dr. Lilienthal, interspersed with musical selections and the singing of an ode composed by Lewis J. Cist by the pupils of the High School. Then followed the presentation of the fountain to the city by Mr. Probasco who introduced Colonel von Müller who delivered a brief address. After Mr. Probasco concluded his remarks, Mayor Davis accepted the gift on behalf of the city. At the conclusion of his remarks, Colonel von Müller drew the cord and loosed the knot which secured the canvas at the top of the fountain. As the canvas fell the fountain beautiful in its bright shining bronze with jets of water descending from the central figures and from the drinking fountains appeared to arise from a white cloud. The impression made upon the assemblage by this scene of extraordinary beauty was most marked. The crowd lingered for hours and it was thought that at no time before 10 o'clock in the evening were there less than 10,000 persons in the square. At night the buildings in the neighborhood were illuminated, and transparencies linking the names of Probasco, Davidson and von Müller were exhibited. Music was furnished by the barracks' band from Newport and the fountain was illuminated by colored lights and fireworks of every description. In the evening the band from the exposition then in progress serenaded Mr. Probasco and Colonel von Müller at the Burnet House. A few mishaps occurred during the day to mar the proceedings. Several sections of seats fell, injuring a few persons but fortunately killing no one.

An ordinance was subsequently passed regulating the care of the fountain and by resolutions the city solicitor was instructed to prepare an ordinance making the municipal name of Fifth street between Main and Vine, Probasco place. Colonel von Müller bade farewell to the city on October 14, 1871, expressing in his farewell letter to the citizens thanks for the reception tendered to him and special admiration for the men who had worked with him in the construction of the fountain,—Messrs. Tinsley, Graveson, Gibson, Allison and Earnshaw, whose names should always be remembered in connection with this most beautiful bronze.

The design of the fountain represents a reaction from the pseudo-classical tendency of the earlier half of the 19th century. A not uninteresting story is told with regard to it. Sometime about 1840 a number of artists were in the habit of meeting at the house of the bronze founder Herr Ferdinand von Müller, where they discussed art from the historical, esthetic and in fact from every point of view. Among them was one particularly prominent for his fund of imagination and freshness of ideas. This was August von Kreling afterwards the director of the art school in Nuremburg and the son-in-law of Kaulbach. On one occasion when the conversation turned to work in bronze von Müller expressed the view that the fountain afforded the best opportunity for the expression of the bronze founder's art He also gave in a general way the outlines of a conception which he had in mind, that of a fountain representing the blessing of water having a genius on top from whose fingers this great gift should fall. Von Kreling thought the idea a good one and especially adapted to representation without the use of the old figures of the Tritons, Nereids and the other mythological personages. This precipitated a discussion, as a result of which von Kreling

evolved a design of a fountain representing his ideas. It excited the admiration of his acquaintances and von Müeller was most anxious to put it into bronze but at no time did the opportunity offer itself nor were funds available for so large an undertaking. The old plan was laid aside for many years and was almost forgotten when in 1866, nearly a quarter of a century after the discussion, an American introducing himself as Henry Probasco of Cincinnati came into the foundry at Munich and stated that he desired to erect a monument in memory of his deceased brother-in-law, Tyler Davidson, and that his choice was a public fountain. The founder made various suggestions including the embodiment of historic and mythological ideas but none of them seemed to appeal to Mr. Probasco, who finally began talking about a glass window in a church. In this critical moment von Müller remembered von Kreling's fountain. No sooner had Mr. Probasco grasped the fundamental idea of this work than his mind jumped to the conclusion that here was exactly what he wished. As the time was limited it was found necessary to impress not only Director von Kreling into the work but the two sons of the bronze founder who designed the children in the niches of the socle and the boys of the drinking fountain. The Franco-Prussian War took 12 of the best foundrymen away as well as the son Ferdinand but after its conclusion the work was hastened and as a result the four men,—the bronze founder, his two sons and the sculptor,—produced a masterpiece of art which to-day stands preeminent throughout the whole world among the works of its class. Many difficulties presented themselves and were overcome. The base and border of the fountain, made of the beautiful porphyry from the Fichtel Mountains, a stone which combines the most beautiful colors and the finest polish with an almost inconquerable hardness and durability, were constructed of blocks some of which weigh 18,000 pounds and which at first no ship would venture to carry. Finally the Bremen line of steamers took them one at a time and at length, as has been already described, the work was taken a distance of four thousand miles and here set up under the direction of one of the artists who had participated in the design.

The superstructure when the basin is filled weighs about 200 tons which has made necessary most massive foundations. In these foundations are subterranean chambers where is held the apparatus for regulating the flow of water as well as a cooling chamber. The exterior dimension of the circular basin is 43 feet and the interior 38 feet. The rim is of porphyry, which material is used in the pedestals of the drinking fountain. The base on which the fountain stands is composed of eight blocks of Bavarian porphyry weighing more than 40 tons, fitted together with perfect precision at the angle of the curves. The fountain itself is wholly of bronze cast from cannon purchased of the Danish government. The metal is of the finest quality both in texture and color and the mass weighs about 24 tons. In the pedestals are four bas relief representations of the uses and benefits of water,—steam, water power, navigation and fisheries. At each corner is a niche in each of which is a child partaking of the pleasure of water. One is a girl adorning herself with pearls, another a boy putting on his skates, the third a girl listening to the music of a shell and fourth a boy taking a lobster from his net. These figures were designed by Frederick von Müller, the eldest son of the founder. About the pedestal are fluted basins ornamented with shells, coral and wreaths of water lilies. From the center of the pedestal rises a shaft spread at the top with interlaced vines and foliage and about these are four groups. On the north is a workman standing upon a burning roof and imploring the aid of water; at the south is a farmer standing in the midst of a field where are plainly seen the effects of a drought,—he too is praying for rain. Upon these two groups the Genius of Water is dropping a gentle spray. At the west a young girl is offering the water to an old man with crutches. The face of the girl is said to be that of von Kreling's daughter. On the east side is what is regarded as the most beautiful group of all. A mother partially nude is leading her naked and sportingly reluctant boy to the bath. The modeling of these figures is exquisite and the group is in itself a masterpiece. The figures about the base are all of heroic size, some measuring seven feet in height. The central and crowning figure is that of the Genius of Water, a female in flowing robes standing over all with outstretched arms from which fall the life-giving spray. The expression of the face is most beneficent and the whole conception is of surpassing grace. The figure is nine feet high and weighs two tons. On the northern die of the pedestal is the name "Tyler Davidson," on the southern "Henry Probasco," on the eastern "To the People of Cincinnati," on the western "MDCCCLXXI." On the drinking fountains are figures of nude boys —one riding a dauphin, another playing with

ducks, a third struggling with a snake and the fourth on the back of a turtle. These figures are the work of Ferdinand von Müller. The entire height of the fountain including the porphyritic base is 43 feet of which the bronze portion is 38 feet. Mr. Probasco's original estimate of the cost was $30,000 in gold. The actual cost was almost four times that sum. (See pamphlet, The Tyler Davidson Fountain, 1872.)

For more than 30 years this marvelous work of art has done its share towards uplifting the ideals of the people. Many thousands pass it each day and each passerby is unconsciously affected by it. At times suggestions have been made looking to its removal to some of the outlying parks and the argument has been advanced that in its present position in the midst of a crowded city it does not receive proper attention from the hastening throng. Such a claim is based on an entirely false conception both of the work itself which is particularly adapted for its location and of the manner in which esthetic influences make themselves felt. It has been said that the great love for the beautiful resulting in the most exquisite creations that art has given to man which so characterized the Greeks came from the constant association with beauty rather than from a study of it. The exquisite perfection to which they brought their representation of the human figure has been charged to the daily associations of the public baths where all unconscious of any impropriety the people were brought into contact with the highest embodiment of beauty—the human form. In the same way the many thousands who daily pass the Tyler Davidson Fountain, apparently unconscious of its presence, are impressed by its beauty and learn its lesson. That lesson is all the more powerfully impressed upon the minds of those who receive it from the fact that they are unconscious of the teaching. Environment is after all the greatest formative influence upon human character and it can be safely said that to no other influence does Cincinnati in its higher forms of development owe more than to the fountain.

THE MUSICAL FESTIVALS.

The idea of holding a musical festival in Cincinnati was first discussed in the summer of 1872 and in the fall of that year an executive committee consisting of George Ward Nichols, president, and Carl A. G. Adae, John Shillito, Bellamy Storer, John Church, George W. Jones and Daniel B. Pierson was organized. A guarantee fund was raised and in November it was announced that a festival would be held in the city in the following May. A circular of invitation was addressed to the choral societies of America, which met with hearty response and was accepted by 36 societies representing a membership of some 1,250 singers. Theodore Thomas was placed in charge of the festival, a position which he has held ever since and Otto Singer came on from New York to take charge of the final preparation of the chorus, a trip which resulted in his residence for some years in this city. A festival was held in May, 1873, in the hall which had been erected for the Saengerfest of the North American Saengerbund held in 1870. The first festival was a great success. It was given by an orchestra of 108 musicians under the charge of Mr. Thomas and a chorus of 700 leading soloists. This success resulted in the organization of the Cincinnati Biennial Musical Festival Association which organization and its successor, the Cincinnati Musical Festival Association, have been in charge of the festivals ever since.

This year (1872) was a smallpox year. There fell victims to this disease 1,179 of the inhabitants. Another disease known as the epizootic attacked the horses. For several days not a street car moved in the city and on the 13th and 14th of November a citizens' organization was formed for the purpose of dragging the fire engines. This was a year of national conventions. One held for the purpose of amending the constitution so as to recognize Christianity was in February. Another convention was held in July of the National Society of Stove Manufacturers.

THE GREELEY CONVENTION.

The opposition to the reelection of General Grant for the presidency in the year 1872 resulted in the formation of the so-called Liberal Republican party. This organization had its origin in the State of Missouri and a mass meeting held in that State in January, 1872, called a national convention to meet in Cincinnati on the first of May. This convention excited great interest throughout the country and it was attended by many men of national prominence. George Ward Nichols was the chairman of the local committee of arrangements and Gen. A. T. Goshorn, chairman of the citizens' committee. The convention was held at Exposition Hall and Mozart Hall was also utilized in connection with it. The temporary chairman was Stanley Matthews and Colonel Nichols was one of the

three temporary secretaries. Carl Schurz, at that time Senator from Missouri, was the permanent chairman and dominant influence in the convention. The prominent candidates for the convention were Charles Francis Adams from Mississippi who it was thought would probably receive the nomination; David Davis of Illinois, who had great strength because of his relationship to Lincoln whose executor he was as well, as by reason of his conservative character; B. Gratz Brown of Missouri and Horace Greeley. At the last moment Lyman Trumbull of Illinois was urged prominently. As is usually the case the rumors of different combinations flew fast and thick and the city was filled with excitement. According to Colonel McClure, Greeley had agreed to accept the nomination for vice-presidency on the ticket with David Davis and this combination was regarded as settled on the night before the convention met. About midnight a rumor got about that a new combination had been made with Greeley in the first place and Brown as second. Other combinations which were talked of about the streets and in the papers placed Trumbull or Jacob D. Cox of Ohio at the head. In the end the contest narrowed down to Adams and Greeley. On the first ballot Adams led with a vote of 203 delegates; Greeley was second with 147. Other candidates received votes as follows, Trumbull 110, Brown 95, Davis 92½, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania 62, and Salmon P. Chase 2½. On the last ballot the sixth, Greeley received 332 votes and the nomination by acclamation followed; Adams 324, Chase 32, Trumbull 19, and Davis 6. In the balloting for the vice-presidential nomination, Brown led on the first ballot and was nominated on the second by a vote of 435. The others voted for were Lyman Trumbull, George W. Julian of Indiana, Gilbert C. Walker of Virginia, Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, J. M. Scoville of New Jersey, Thomas W. Tipton of Nebraska and John M. Palmer of Illinois.

During the time that this convention was occupying Music Hall another national convention was in session at Mozart Hall, that of the Reunion and Reform national party. The secretary of this convention was Judge Johann B. Stallo and prominent in the organization were E. W. Kittredge and J. R. Challen of this city. The permanent chairman of the convention was Rufus P. Ranney, one of Ohio's greatest lawyers and as members of the committee on resolutions Ohio furnished E. W. Kittredge and Charles Reemelin. This convention adjourned from time to time to await the conclusion of the Liberal Republican convention but the nomination of Greeley was so disappointing to its members that it finally adjourned after refusing to endorse his candidacy.

EDEN PARK.

The improvement of Eden Park, purchased in 1865 and 1869, began in 1872. It was graded, planted with shrubs and trees and stocked with birds and for a time a deer park was maintained. The two great reservoirs of the water works were a most picturesque feature that really made possible the improvement on so splendid a scale. Burnet Woods was bought this year but not opened to the public until two years later.

A new building of this year was Robinson's Opera House erected at the northeast corner of Ninth and Plum by John Robinson, the veteran circus manager. In the cellar beneath were constructed the winter quarters for his menagerie. The Odd Fellows' Hall at Fourth and Home was dedicated on April 26th. The year was notable for strikes of coal shovelers and cart drivers which occurred in April and a number of disturbances growing out of the bitter political contest which took place in October. During the summer came the first prosecutions under the Adair liquor law. Among the visitors of the year were the celebrated musical composer Franz Abt and Horace Greeley, the Democratic and Liberal Republican candidate for the presidency. A great fire in March consumed six steamers at the Public Landing and in April a 16-foot rise in the river resulted in a heavy loss of coal barges. The year ended with bitterly cold weather, which resulted in several deaths and a number of casualties. Among the organizations of the year 1872 were the Fidelity Insurance Company and the Pork Packers' Association and a new member of the newspaper fraternity appeared February 2nd, known as the *Evening Star*, which eight years later was consolidated with the *Times*.

THE FIRST INCLINED PLANE.

The Mount Auburn Inclined Plane, the first of its kind in the city, was built this year at an original cost of almost a hundred thousand dollars. It ascends from the corner of Main and Mulberry streets directly up the face of the hill a distance of almost 900 feet until it reaches the brow of Jackson Hill, the southwestern point of Mount Auburn, 312 feet above. It was re-

garded as a very speculative scheme but its success was immediate and prompted the erection of similar inclines in other parts of the city which by opening up the hills speedily led to a spread of population over a large extent of territory, and relieved the congestion of the lower level.

THE PANIC OF 1873.

The year 1873 will be chiefly remembered as the year of the great panic. During the closing months of the year previous the money market had been much embarrassed and the rates of discount were high. There was a slight revival in January but by April the situation became more strained. The inflation which had followed the conclusion of the war had led the public away from safe business methods and the unfortunate results were felt throughout the entire year. The climax came in the suspension of Jay Cooke & Company on September 18th, which was followed by many of the leading banks of the East. In New York the Stock Exchange was closed for 10 days. The panic spread throughout the country and affected every city and every section. Cincinnati perhaps reaped the reward of her so-called conservatism and escaped with less damage than other cities. Under the advice of the Clearing House Association, the banks suspended currency payments except in small sums, settling balances by certifying the checks drawn on them payable only through the Clearing House. Business was suspended for a time and great distress was felt. The suspension in the financial circles lasted from September 25th to October 13th, after which payments were resumed. Within a month the certified checks issued, which had amounted to about half a million dollars, were canceled and immediate stringency passed away. The effects however as is well known continued for years. Mayor Johnson in his message of the following year referred to the situation in the following language:

"There was a stagnation of business; a large number of public and private improvements were suspended. Laborers were thrown out of employment, and that expressive term called 'hard times' was everywhere in vogue. From this state of things, Cincinnati was a sufferer, but probably in a less degree than almost any other city. The panic, in fact, brought into strong relief the solid capital and comparatively small liabilities of our citizens, and we were thus enabled better to weather the storm, which was so destructive to other communities that were not in our favorable condition. Not only was our wealth tried and vindicated, but there was a similar triumphant result on the side of charity and humanity. While many of our wealthy citizens were contributing to relieve, so far as they could, the unfortunate, the municipal authorities also took prompt and energetic action. Soup and lodging houses were established and placed in charge of a committee of Council, and thereby a large amount of suffering and destitution was relieved or prevented. It was also properly deemed advisable that such public works as were of an indispensable character should be pushed vigorously forward, in order to afford the largest amount of employment to our laboring population. By these means the winter, which providentially was a very mild one, was passed without bringing with it that misery which was so generally feared and anticipated. With the opening of spring there is no disagreeable change. Not in several years have there been so many building permits applied for as at the present time; and this is one of the best signs of returning prosperity. The future has a more promising appearance than was deemed possible a few months ago, and I think the indications are not to be mistaken that the progress of Cincinnati, in the increase of its wealth and in its general prosperity, will be more marked in the decade now nearly half through than at any previous period of its history."

The cholera also came this year beginning with a death on the 14th of June. Between that time and October 18th, 207 persons died of this disease in the city. The Board of Health was very active and rendered valuable service in preventing the spread of the disease. In this year too came the last of the annexations which had been so numerous during the three years previous; they were those of Columbia, Cumminsville and Woodburn. The city had increased from an area of seven square miles in 1868 to 24 square miles. In July of this year came the consolidation under one management of the five street railroad companies operating in the city. During the last month of the year labor troubles and a strike on the "Panhandle" Railroad disturbed the even tenor of business. The condemnation of the property on the north side of Fifth street between Walnut and Main for government purposes was concluded during this month and the compensation to be paid to owners was fixed by the courts at $695,133.63. Other events of the year were the letting of the

first contract for the building of the Cincinnati Southern Railway, the opening of the new rooms of the McMicken School of Design, of the County Infirmary at Carthage, the Cincinnati Stock Yards and the laying of the corner-stones of the Mount Lookout Observatory, and the Second Presbyterian Church at Eighth and Elm. There was also a May Musical Festival and an exposition this year. In November bonds to the extent of $100,000 were voted for park improvements. Other new organizations of the year were the German National Bank, the Mutual Fire Insurance Company, the Cincinnati & Portsmouth Railway Company and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. During the year a number of prominent citizens died, including Judge Humphrey H. Leavitt of the United District Court, Stephen Molitor, Judge William Tilden, Platt Evens, Maj. Daniel Gano and Bishop McIlvaine.

The year 1874 opened on the 6th and 7th of January with a 30-hours continual snowfall which caused the most complete suspension of telegraphic and railway communications. On the day of the beginning of this storm came the organization of the Zoological Society. The Cuvier Club was also organized this year. In February the Public Library Building was dedicated; in August, Burnet Woods Park opened to the public; in September, the new Grand Opera House and in the same month the Grand Hotel. In January of this year a great temperance crusade was started by the ladies of the city. Many mass meetings were held by the so-called "Crusaders" and in May most of the saloons of the city were visited by the praying bands. Mass meetings were held in Exposition Hall and in Pike's Opera House in favor of liquor license and also against the sale of liquor. A State anti-license convention was held in April at Wesley Chapel with branch meetings in the various churches throughout the city. The prayer meetings continued throughout the year. On the 4th of May a hose was turned on a praying band at one saloon and on the 14th and 15th riots occurred in the West End as a result of these meetings. Forty-three of the lady crusaders were arrested on May 17th and immediately held a prayer meeting in the station upon their arrival there. They were dismissed on the 20th by the Police judge with an admonition against demonstrations likely to cause breaches of the peace. In August came a celebration of the defeat of the license law in the proposed constitution. The crusade continued throughout the year with a decided revival in November. Another agitation of the year was that in favor of municipal reform, in whose behalf a number of mass meetings were held in the spring of the year. A summer flood in the Licking in July was quite destructive. This year was noteworthy for the generosity of several citizens. Joseph Longworth gave $50,000 to the School of Design and David Sinton $100,000 to the Bethel and $33,000 to the Young Men's Christian Association. On August 25th the first number of the daily *Freie Presse* was issued. Among the deaths of the year were those of J. Bryant Walker, Jonathan Cilley and Peter Ehrgott, a well known German.

THE TAN-YARD MURDER.

The most horrible crime that disfigures the pages of Cincinnati history was "the tan-yard murder" of November 7, 1874. The victim was Herman Schilling a young tanner who boarded for a time with a saloon and boarding house keeper named Andreas Egner at No. 153 Findlay street adjoining the tannery where Schilling worked. Egner's daughter, a young girl of about 16, attended bar for her father who seemed to have no compunctions of conscience as to the temptations to which she was subjected. Schilling aroused the father's ire by too great familiarity with this young girl who subsequently died as the result of a brutal attack made by her own father. Egner regarded Schilling as responsible for all his troubles and determined to avenge himself. He was assisted by one George Rufer an ex-convict who had incurred Schilling's enmity. On the night already mentioned Egner and Rufer were together in the former's saloon and a third member of the party was Egner's son Fred, a rather stupid boy of about 18. The mention of Schilling's name aroused the evil passions of all three and they determined to kill him that night. Schilling had long since left Egner's house and had his bedroom in the tannery stable. As he entered the stable about half-past ten and walked over to the stall to stroke the horse, he was struck to the ground by a terrific blow delivered by Rufer with a large stave sharpened to a point. Egner using a five-pronged pitchfork immediately came to Rufer's assistance and the two soon beat Schilling into unconsciousness; time and again the infuriated old man plunged the pitchfork into Schilling's body while Rufer struck more than a dozen blows with the stave on Schilling's head. The boy took no part in the murder but

stood on the watch while the crime was committed. The next question was the disposition of the body and finally it was determined to throw it into the furnace in which was burning at the time a fierce fire. This was done although with much difficulty. After the trio had disposed of the evidences of their crime as they supposed, they returned to their homes. In the morning Schilling was missed. A neighbor who had heard the pounding told of it and the stable was burst open. The signs of the struggle were on every hand and the horse was still shaking violently from fright. The details of the murder and of the evidences which pointed to its perpetrators are too revolting to be placed in print. What made it peculiarly horrible was the general belief which seems to have been borne out by the discoveries made that Schilling was not dead when placed in the furnace. There was no question as to who had perpetrated the crime; everything pointed at once to the Egners and Rufer and they were arrested forthwith. Almost immediately the boy turned State's evidence and so secured immunity from adequate punishment. The father and Rufer were convicted and received life sentences. Egner however was subsequently pardond by Governor Foster on the theory that he was dying from consumption. He recovered after being released and lived for several years longer, dying a raging maniac in 1889.

CINCINNATI IN 1875.

In 1875 appeared another of the numerous books descriptive of the city entitled "Illustrated Cincinnati" by D. J. Kenny. This little volume is profusely illustrated, containing over 320 engravings as well as a map which shows the city divided into 25 wards. It devotes a large amount of space to the business houses of the city and was largely used for advertising purposes but in some respects it gives a better contemporaneous view of Cincinnati at the time of its publication than many of its predecessors. Not only does it describe principal points of interest and various organizations of the city, but it takes up a number of the streets, particularly Fourth, Fifth, Main, Walnut, Vine, Race, Third, Pearl, Second and Front, and gives an account of the different business houses located on these thoroughfares in the order in which they would be met by one passing by. It also describes the suburbs of the city including a number of drives which if taken to-day as well as at the time in which they were suggested would give a most comprehensive knowledge of the environment of Cincinnati.

Among the places and sights which a stranger must see, Mr. Kenny included the Tyler Davidson Fountain, the Suspension and Newport bridges, St. Peter's Cathedral, the interiors of the Hebrew Synagogue, Pike's Opera House, Public Library, Cincinnati Hospital, Grand Hotel and Masonic Temple and views of the city from Price Hill (to which one must take an omnibus) and from Lookout House on Mount Auburn (which could be reached by street cars). The sights which a stranger should see were Mount St. Mary's Seminary on Price Hill with its library and pictures and the view from the turret, "one of the finest in America;" the great reservoirs in Eden Park, the water works, any one of the large breweries, Wielert's saloon and garden "Over the Rhine," Lincoln and Washington parks, the Phoenix and Cuvier clubs, Bethel, United States Signal Service rooms, Mercantile Library, the printing offices of the *Commercial*, *Gazette*, and *Enquirer*, the studios of the artists including the photographic galleries of Van Leo and Landy, and Wiswell's picture store, the Ohio by moonlight (from the Suspension Bridge), Spring Grove Cemetery, the Harrison restaurant at Spring Lake and the "Grand Drive" so-called, which included a trip through Avondale, the "Zoo," Burnet Woods, and Clifton with views of the Mill creek valley and Spring Grove. The street car lines were still comparatively few in number and to reach any point in the suburbs it was necessary to employ the omnibus or similar means of conveyance.

The places of amusement in 1875 included Pike's, Grand, and Robinson's opera houses and Wood's and the National theatres. Of these but one now remains. Pike's has been entirely destroyed by fire, the Grand was burned and has been rebuilt, and the National is used as a warehouse. Wood's Theatre, for many years a popular place of amusement located at the southeast corner of Sixth and Vine, was replaced by the Gazette Building, now known as the Hulbert Block. The newspapers of the time were the *Gazette*, *Enquirer*, *Commercial*, *Volksblatt*, and *Volksfreund* and the evening papers, the *Times* and the *Star*. The *Neue Freie Presse* is given as a new paper. The new Public Library Building had been opened for about a year and was regarded as one of the sights of the city.

The musical organizations included the Cincinnati Orchestra which was organized in 1872.

and the Maennerchor, which organized in 1857 was the oldest musical society in the city, and its offshoot, the Orpheus, the St. Cecilia, and Germania Maennerchor (all of which were German societies), the Harmonic, the nucleus of the May Festival choruses, and the various church choirs. The Gymnasium at that time on Fourth in the LeBoutillier Building and the Turn-Verein were the principal gymnastic associations.

An interesting picture is that of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, upon the site where now stands the St. Paul Building. There were but two bridges, the Suspension Bridge and Newport Bridge, and the Cincinnati Southern Railway Bridge was partially completed. Of special interest to visitors were the inclined planes to Mount Auburn and Mount Adams. Mr. Kenny also speaks with enthusiasm of the views from the river and the life to be seen upon it and in its neighborhood. It is however in the description of that classic region known as "Over the Rhine" that the author becomes most enthusiastic. He says: "London has its Greenwich, Paris its Bois, Vienna its Prater, Brussels its Arcade and Cincinnati its 'Over the Rhine.' Thither, in each of these cities, the citizen, wearied of business and its exhausting details, wends his way when, like John Gilpin in his famous expedition to Edmonston, he is bent on pleasure and a holiday. Unluckily, however, for the Londoner and the Parisian, Greenwich and the Bois are not within the limits of everybody's purse, and the gay and merry denizens of the Austrian Capital, and the dwellers in Brussels, can not extract half so much change and variety from their Prater and their Arcade as the Cincinnatian can from his trip 'Over the Rhine.' He has no sooner entered the northern districts of the city lying beyond Court street, across the canal, than he finds himself in another atmosphere—in a foreign land as it were. Germans and Americans alike love to call the district 'Over the Rhine' and by that name it is known wherever Cincinnati is heard of. There is nothing like it in Europe—no transition so sudden, so pleasant, and so easily effected. There may be a parallel for the Frenchman visiting the English quarter in Boulogne, but there is nothing in all these at all comparable to the completeness of the change brought about by stepping across the canal. The visitor leaves behind him at almost a single step the rigidity of the American, the everlasting hurry and worry of the insatiate race for wealth, the inappeasable thirst of Dives, and enters at once into the borders of a people more readily happy, more readily contented, more easily pleased, far more closely wedded to music and the dance, to the song, and life in the bright, open air. The canal is by no manner of means the Rhine, or any thing like it. No lordly Ehrenbreitstein towers over its shores; no beautiful stories of old legendary folk-lore fill its banks and its waters with romance; but none the less surely Father-land is upon the other side of its bridges. The people are Germans; their faces are German; their manners and customs are German; their very gossip is German. They dance the German waltz as none but Germans can; they cook their food by German recipes, and sit long over their foaming beer, ever and again shaking it round their glasses with that peculiar circular motion which none but a German can impart to the beverage he loves."

The beer-garden, the waiter, the wienerwurst man, and the various attractions of this wonderful region are described with great eloquence and illustrated by so distinguished an artist as Farny. The place and the name remain a part of Cincinnati, but it is doubtful if the description, true as it was at the time it was written, can any longer be held to apply in this territory.

Mr. Kenny also issued a book upon the city as it appeared in 1879.

MUSIC HALL.

The most noteworthy event of the year 1875 was the contribution by Reuben R. Springer of the sum of $125,000 for the purpose of erecting upon the Exposition site on Elm street the great Music Hall. This gift was conditioned upon the raising of an equal sum by the citizens and the exemption of the property from taxation. By November the conditions of Mr. Springer's gift had been complied with and in December of the same year a joint stock company was formed, consisting of 50 shareholders, under the name of the Cincinnati Music Hall Association. The shareholders were elected by the entire body of subscribers to the fund and in their turn elected from their number seven trustees to act as an executive member. Each stockholder under the rules of this organization is entitled to hold but one share which can be sold only to a purchaser approved by the trustees. The original board of trustees included Reuben R. Springer, Robert Mitchell, William H. Harrison, Julius Dexter, Timothy D. Lincoln, Joseph Longworth and John Shillito. Messrs. Longworth, Dexter and Shillito were the president, secretary and treas-

urer, respectively. Mr. Dexter was the chairman of the building committee and associated with him were Mr. Longworth and A. T. Goshorn. The building which was finally erected by this board is known as Springer Music Hall and the small hall in the third story of the building has received the name of Dexter Hall in honor of the chairman of the building committee. Mr. Springer in all gave to this enterprise the aggregate sum of almost $250,000, nearly doubling his original offer. Contracts for the building were not let until April, 1877, and it was opened formally April 8, 1878. Another gift of this year was that of William S. Groesbeck, who gave to the city $50,000 to endow a regular series of free instrumental concerts in Burnet Woods Park. This too was the year of the opening of the Cincinnati Base Ball Park, the Zoological Garden, the Chester Driving Park and the Hebrew Union College; of the dedication of the Second Presbyterian Church and the selection by the Queen City Club of the site on Seventh and Elm for its club house. One of the most picturesque events in the history of this city occurred at the "Zoo" on March 24th. This was the well known fight between an escaped lioness and a donkey. The lioness attacked the latter but was kicked to death; the donkey however died from its wounds and both properly mounted can be seen in the carnivora building at the Zoological Garden. In March of this year ground was broken in Kentucky for the Cincinnati Southern Railway Bridge. This year too was noteworthy for an earthquake in June and an infernal machine explosion in St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church at that time in process of erection. There was also a visitation of smallpox. A musical festival and exposition were also held this year. The Phoenix Mutual Fire Insurance Company and the College Hill Railroad Company were incorporated this year.

The Price Hill Inclined Plane was built this year and opened on July 13th. It is at the Western end of Eighth street and by both freight and passenger elevators extends up the face of the hill a distance of almost 800 feet and to an elevation of 350 feet.

The death of Father William Taylor, which occurred in January, 1875, aroused once more the discussion as to the first male child born in Cincinnati. He was said to have been born in the settlement of Cincinnati on March 20, 1791. He left the city in 1812 joining the army as a private and at the end of the war he settled in Hamilton. The discussion at the time of his death brought out other claimants in addiiton to those already mentioned in this work, notably Daniel Baker, said to have been born in Cincinnati, March 6, 1791. Another early birth is that of Daniel Gideon Howell, which took place at North Bend, August 3, 1790. Other noteworthy deaths of the year were those of S. S. L'Hommedieu, Judge Bellamy Storer, Judge Robert Moore, Dr. Thomas E. Thomas of Lane Seminary, Rev. C. H. Taylor of the Third Presbyterian Church, Dr. Irwin House, Benjamin Pine the pioneer and Charles Avery, a centenarian.

THE JAMBOREE.

The centennial year 1876 was ushered in at the stroke of 12 on New Year's eve by Mayor Johnson's celebrated "Jamboree." After a few hours every bell in the city rang, every whistle on the steamboats, fire engines and the manufactories screeched, every musical instrument gave forth unmusical sounds and every small boy and many not small screamed themselves hoarse to vindicate their appreciation of the spirit of independence. All restrictions were thrown aside and it is doubtful if this city or any other city has ever witnessed such an extraordinary scene. As a matter of fact, however, the unbridled license of the community resulted in little or no serious damage, except in the murdering of sleep. On Washington's Birthday came another celebration and the Continental costume reception. On the 28th of February, Mardi Gras was celebrated by a street parade of a very elaborate character which unfortunately was accompanied by the death of a well known citizen, Mrs Mary A. Thornton, whose benefactions caused her name to be revered by many charitable organizations of the city. Among other public celebrations were the one in honor of Dom Pedro the Emperor of Brazil who visited the city in May and that by the Catholic societies in honor of Archbishop Purcell, whose 50th anniversary of service in the priesthood was celebrated in the same month. The Fourth of July, the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, was also celebrated with great enthusiasm.

THE CINCINNATI TABLET VINDICATED.

In 1876 Robert Clarke succeeded in closing beyond dispute a controversy which had waged for some years around the authenticity of the so-called "Cincinnati Tablet." In a pamphlet published at that time he for the first time presented the statements of the persons who found

this remarkable relic in 1841. The story of this occurrence properly belongs to that year but as it was not made public until 35 years later, the omission in the narrative of that time can be supplied as of the time of the publication of these statements with relation to the discovery. The mound on Fifth and Mound streets has been frequently referred to and was, although partially cut away on the southern side at the opening of Fifth street, plainly visible until the fall of 1841 when Mound street and the alley running west from it were opened. At this time was found this tablet which afterwards became the subject of controversy. An engraved representation of the stone appeared in the *Gazette* of December 12, 1842, and it was frequently described by authorities on mound relics. In 1872 however Col. Charles Whittlesey, a well known archaeologist and historian, published a pamphlet in which he denominated the tablet as a forgery and a fraud. To support his statement he quoted certain comments of Dr. Jared P. Kirtland. This attack upon the authenticity of one of the most important relics of prehistoric man that had been discovered in this country brought Mr. Clarke to the front and in his pamphlet in vindication of the tablet he published the statement of Joseph L. Wayne, than whom no man has been better known in Cincinnati and whose credibility as a witness has always been beyond question. Mr. Wayne states that as a boy he was interested in what were commonly called Indian relics and that therefore at the time of the opening of the mound, as he happened to be present, he watched the proceedings of the workmen with great interest. He stood among the workmen when the cavity or grave was broken into and says that it showed no signs of having been tampered with and that it would have been impossible to introduce anything in the grave without disturbing the earth and breaking the crust. As soon as the opening was made and before the crust fell his hand was groping among the charred materials. He first picked up a skull which was taken away from him by the workmen who proceeded to examine it. "They gathered round the skull and I then inserted my hand into the place left vacant by it and beneath where the back part had been, as if the skull rested on it, I found a carved or engraved stone." This was the celebrated "Cincinnati Tablet" now in the Art Museum. It immediately passed into the possession of Erasmus Gest, the owner of the lot on which it was found, much to the disgust of the finder. Mr. Clarke calls to his support also Erasmus Gest, Robert Buchanan, S. T. Carley and George Graham, whose statements so completely refuted those made by Colonel Whittlesey that the latter afterwards acknowledged that he was convinced that he had been in error.

HAYES NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

In 1876 the National Republican Convention was held at Cincinnati. It met on the 14th of June and lasted three days. It was generally supposed that James G. Blaine of Maine would receive the nomination of the convention but the opposition to him was most earnest and stubborn and although at the outset it is claimed that Blaine was the favorite of the majority of the delegates this opposition aided by the circumstance of Blaine's illness was able to defeat him. It is claimed that there was not an hour during the continuance of the convention when a majority of the delegates did not desire to nominate him. This is probably true but the instructions under which many had been elected made this impossible. He received at various times the votes of the majority of all the delegates in the convention but unfortunately for him this never happened on any one ballot. The permanent chairman of the convention was Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania. An interesting feature of this occasion was the nominating speeches, particularly that of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll placing the name of Blaine in nomination. This speech, one of the most eloquent and effective ever heard on the floors of a convention, gave to its maker a world-wide reputation as an orator and to Blaine a title, that of "Plumed Knight," which his friends were proud to apply to him for the rest of his days. The other candidates before the convention were Levi P. Morton of New York, Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, and Governors Hartranft and Jewell who received on the first ballot respectively the following number of votes: 285, 125, 113, 99, 61, 58 and 11. There were three scattering. Blaine's vote increased on the second ballot and to the end never fell below that of the first. His nomination was confidently expected on each ballot and was finally prevented by the political acumen of Secretary Cameron, who headed the Pennsylvania delegation. According to the story generally accepted and told by Colonel McClure as well as by Mr. Blaine himself, when Cameron feared that he had to give up the fight, he was able to make a compact

which resulted in his ultimate victory. The important point was to hold the Pennsylvania delegation to their instructions for Hartranft. The proposition was made and agreed to by Blaine's friends that the Pennsylvania delegation should continue to vote for Hartranft so long as his vote increased and that whenever he dropped in the race the delegation should then vote as a unit as the majority directed. It was thought by the Blaine advocates that Hartranft's votes would soon begin to fall away from him and as a result that the whole delegation would then be theirs. Cameron's lieutenants arranged things contrary to their expectations. They had a number of delegates from the Southern States who would vote as they were instructed. These at first were scattered among other candidates but on each of the early ballots a few of these men were instructed to vote for Hartranft so that he gained constantly for the first four ballots. His vote on the first ballot was 58, 63 on the second, 68 on the third and 71 on the fourth. By this time the forces had been brought to bear which resulted in a greatly increased vote for Mr. Hayes as a compromise candidate. Hayes had received 61 votes on the first ballot but had not increased beyond 68 which was his ballot on the fourth. On the fifth his vote increased to 104 and as a result a stampede followed, which brought about his nomination on the seventh ballot. On this ballot Hayes received 374, Blaine 351, and Bristow 21. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated by acclamation for the vice-presidency.

This convention was one of the most exciting ever held in this country and during its continuance the city was in a continuous turmoil of excitement. Naturally the residents were interested in the success of their former fellow townsman, Governor Hayes, and undoubtedly brought what influence they had to bear upon the delegates. This gave rise to many stories, one of which gained general currency. It has been repeatedly stated that at a critical time when Blaine's nomination seemed imminent the local adherents of Hayes in order to stop the proceedings of the convention and gain time cut off the lights at Music Hall which necessitated an adjournment. That there was an accident is undoubtedly true but that it was for the purpose of any such effect upon the convention has been repeatedly denied and the story no longer receives credit.

During this year on the 5th of February occurred the terrible panic at the newly erected Robinson's Opera House. A false alarm of fire startled the auditors who were witnessing a performance by the children of the city known as "The Great Republic." As a result a number of persons were killed and the opera house for some years suffered seriously because of this misfortune. Among the new organizations of this years were the National Bank of Commerce with which three years later the Lafayette Bank consolidated, the Cincinnati & Eastern Railroad Company (later the Cincinnati, Portsmouth & Virginia), the Cincinnati & Westwood Railroad Company, the Mercantile Mutual Fire Insurance Company and the Western German Bank. The College Hill Railroad which had been incorporated the year before was completed to Mount Pleasant in May of this year. Among the deaths of the year were those of Judge William B. Caldwell, Judge David K. Este, John Gerke and Dr. Stephen Bonner. The Bellevue Inclined Plane at the head of Elm street was built this year. Its length is about 980 feet and it ascends to an elevation of 300 feet. The Mount Adams Inclined Plane was built a year later in 1877. Its length is 945 feet and elevation, 268 feet.

The year 1877 was the year of labor strikes which for a time menaced seriously the business interests and peace of the city. One strike lasted 10 days. A citizens' committee was formed which purchased a Gatling gun which they presented to the police force. One hundred picked citizens were appointed special policemen and served throughout the strike. Fortunately the troubles were settled without any great loss of life or property other than the interruption of business. Ex-President Grant visited the city and was tendered a reception on March 29th at the Queen City Club, whose club house had been opened with a reception a few months before. Another public event of somewhat similar character was the banquet tendered on April 4th to Alfred T. Goshorn in honor of his brilliant executive career as director general of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. Another visitor to the city in September was President Hayes. Francis Murphy, the great temperance leader, started the temperance movement here in May. Cincinnati continued its record as a convention city by entertaining this year the Ohio Archaeological Association, the National Anthropological Association and the Ohio College Association. The first passenger train passed over the entire length of the Cincinnati Southern Railway on April 20th. Four days later the corner-stone of the new Government

Building on Fifth street was laid with appropriate ceremonies. In July the corner-stone of the new Children's Home was laid and in August the Robert L. McCook Monument was unveiled in Washington Park. In this year came the organization of the Manufacturers' Mutual Insurance Company and the banking institution of Seasongood Sons & Company successor to Seasongood, Netter & Company. The Cincinnati & Eastern (narrow-gauge) Railroad was opened for travel as far as Winchester in June. The Caledonian Society celebrated its 50th anniversary on November 30th. Among the calamities of the year was the sinking in January of two steamers, the "Calumet" and the "Andes," which were crushed in front of the city by the breaking of the ice. The necrology of the year includes Mr. and Mrs. Vachel Worthington and Mrs. Deborah Sayre.

THE YELLOW FEVER YEAR.

The year 1878 was the yellow fever year. Prior to September, 1871, a case of yellow fever seems to have been unknown in the city. At this time a white man from Mississippi died at a private house in Cincinnati. Again in 1873 three persons died of the disease in the city. The summer of 1878 was a very hot one. Over 300 persons were overcome by the intense heat and a large number of deaths from sunstroke were reported. In the latter part of July a well known cotton merchant of New Orleans named William Himes arrived at the Grand Hotel accompanied by his wife. A couple of days later he was ill and Dr. Thaddeus A. Reamy, the physician in attendance, suspected yellow fever. The suspicion was concurred in by Dr. T. C. Minor, the health officer, and the patient finally was treated for that disease by Dr. Eichberg, the house physician at the Cincinnati Hospital to which he was removed; he fortunately recovered. A day or so later another case, that of a colored deckhand on a New Orleans steamboat, was reported. This man died at the hospital. The first non-imported case was that of a young girl who lived in the quarters frequented by boatmen along Water street. This was a fatal case. In August two cases were traced to the steamer "John Porter" which had left New Orleans bound for Pittsburg on July 18th, six days before the disease had declared itself in the former city. This led to the establishment of a quarantine on August 17th against all steamers arriving from the South, which were required to remain 500 feet below Keck's Landing until inspected by the quarantine physician and sanitary inspectors. In all 35 cases of which 17 were fatal occurred during the year; but two of the cases were those of residents. The last case was October 9th. The steamer "John Porter" whose name was "synonymous with all that was terrible" seems to have been a floating pest house and was responsible for the introduction of the yellow fever at Hickman (Kentucky), Gallipolis and elsewhere. Complete reports of her voyages made by Dr. Lawrence C. Carr and others who were on duty on board of her, representing the Cincinnati Health Department, appear in the report of that department for the year. In the autumn of this year diphtheria and scarlet fever also prevailed with 58 fatalities from the former and 181 from the latter. It is safe to say that during no year of the city's history has the efficacy of the health department of the city been more thoroughly established.

Notable events of this year were the organization of the Builders' Exchange, the opening of the Children's Home, of the Music Hall, of the College of Music, the Women's Loan Exhibition, the first commencement exercises of the University of Cincinnati, the meeting of the American Social Science Association, the State Republican Convention, the unveiling of the monument of William Woodward, the completion of the $100,000 subscription for Exposition buildings, the suspension of the Miami Valley Savings Bank and the assignment of the Catholic Institute. Another noteworthy event was the opening of the new store of John Shillito & Company. The $2,000,000 proposed loan to the Cincinnati Southern Railway was defeated in May of this year. A national narrow-gauge railroad convention was held at the Highland House in July. Among the new narrow-gauge railroads projected during the year were the Cincinnati & Fayetteville, Cincinnati & Blanchester Northeastern, Cincinnati & Hamilton, Cincinnati Suburban and Cincinnati & Walnut Hills railroads. The necrology of the year included the names of Larz Anderson, Mrs. Mary A. Slough, Dr. O. M. Langdon, Mrs. Nancy W. Miller, the pioneer Mrs. Elizabeth Yeatman, Thomas H. Yeatman and Prof. Arthur Forbriger the superintendent of drawing in the schools.

The year 1879 opened with a notable spell of cold weather, the Ohio freezing over at Cincin-

nati on the last day of January. A week previous to this there was a fall of 20 inches of snow and the thermometer fell to 20° below zero. In March the Chamber of Commerce offered $100,000 for the site of the old Custom House at the southwest corner of Fourth and Vine, where it was proposed to erect a new Chamber of Commerce. This offer was accepted by the commissioners appointed by the President,—Alphonso Taft, J. W. Stevenson, William Dennison, William S. Groesbeck and Christian Moerlein. A movement was started to remove the old building, which was regarded as one of the most beautiful structures in the city, to Eden Park and David Sinton and others offered to bear the expense of removal and reerection. The scheme however was found to be impracticable. An echo of slavery times came in February when Henrietta Wood, a colored woman who had been kidnapped 26 years before by Zebulon Ward, was awarded $2,500 damages against Ward. The failure of Archbishop Purcell occurred during this year and the Cathedral and other church property were seized upon attachment in March. On January 16th following, Bishop Elder was appointed coadjutor to the Archbishop and attended to the business of the archdiocese until the death four years later of Archbishop Purcell, whom he succeeded. A socialist banquet was held in May as a result of a lecture by Henry Ward Beecher delivered in the city on the 10th of that month. The newsboy John King earned everlasting fame by presenting in June his library, consisting of 2,500 well chosen volumes, to the Public Library. Another yellow fever scare led to the establishment of a quarantine against Memphis on July 21st. At the opening of the Seventh Industrial Exposition, President Hayes and many distinguished guests took part in the exercises. Several conventions were held during the year, including those of the music teachers and railroad master mechanics. A Sunday closing agitation in December resulted in the temporary closing of the theatres Sunday. The newly erected Lincoln Club building at Eighth and Race was formally opened this year on the 27th of May. In November came the funeral of Gen. Joseph Hooker, which was a very imposing ceremony. The announcement of the completion of the Cincinnati Southern Railway was made towards the close of this year. Among the notable deaths were those of James W. Gaff, Edmund Dexter, John Shillito, Peter Neff, J. U. Windisch and W. P. Noble the artist.

THE BALDWIN CASE.

One of the celebrated cases in the annals of Cincinnati crime is the Baldwin case which remains until this day a mystery. On Sunday morning, March 16, 1879, about a quarter of one, two patrolmen of the city who were standing at the corner of Court and Elm streets heard a pistol shot from the direction of Ninth street. Hurrying to the point from which the shot proceeded they found two private watchmen holding a young man, in whose hand was a pistol. The man turned out to be a prominent young brewer of the city who explained that he was celebrating his birthday and had fired off his pistol as a result of a dare made to him by a well known woman of the town who resided at that point. Fortunately for him one of the policemen examined the pistol and found that it was of 32-calibre. As he pleaded that the arrest would result in unnecessary notoriety which would be of no benefit to any one, he was allowed to go with his friends and his pistol was returned to him. About an hour later the two officers once more passed the same point on Elm street. This time they recognized the two private watchmen dragging a third man along the pavement on the opposite side of the street from the house of the woman referred to. He was a large well dressed man who from the fact that he was unconscious and that his clothing was very much disarranged they supposed was intoxicated. On his temple was a little scratch from which a little blood had flowed. He was taken to the Central Police Station and locked up for safekeeping. There subsequently he was recognized as Harry Baldwin, a member of one of the prominent families of the city. His relatives were communicated with but as he was found to be in a sort of stupor he was sent to the hospital. Here as soon as a physician came to examine him he ascertained that he was dead and that he had died as a result of a bullet wound in the temple. Of course this discovery created great excitement and the first thought of the officers was that of the shot fired by the young brewer. He was taken in charge but subsequently as the bullet found in Baldwin's brain was of 22-calibre it was apparent that there was no connection between the chance shot of the loitering birthday celebrators and the dead man. Every effort was made at the time to discover the perpetrator of the crime but without success and today an unsolved mystery in the history of the city is the case of Harry Baldwin.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS SINCE THE WAR.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—THE COLORED SCHOOLS—THE HIGH SCHOOLS—SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS—PRIVATE SCHOOLS—SECTARIAN SCHOOLS—OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—THE TECHNICAL SCHOOL—THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI—THE CINCINNATI OBSERVATORY—THE OHIO MECHANICS' INSTITUTE—THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY—THE CUVIER CLUB—THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO—THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND ITS PRECURSORS—THE CINCINNATI LAW LIBRARY—OTHER LIBRARIES.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Superintendent Isaac J. Allen continued in charge of the public schools until 1861 when he resigned to represent the United States at Hong Kong.

Lyman Harding became superintendent of the public schools at the end of Dr. Allen's term, and remained in that position for seven years to September, 1867. In July of that year Mr. Rickoff was reelected to his old position but he declined the appointment to accept in preference the superintendency of the schools of the city of Cleveland. As a result John Hancock was elected to superintend the local schools in September, 1867. During the year 1868 he was given a leave of absence and an appropriation to visit the Eastern schools and report as to their success. As a result of this visit, his report of 1868 gives a very complete discussion of the schools of Cleveland (then under charge of Mr. Rickoff), Oswego, Boston and other points. Among the new branches to be taught in the schools he announced drawing, a subject which had not been taught in other cities of the country. The City Normal School was opened in 1868.

Mr. Hancock's administration has always been regarded as a very successful one. He struggled vigorously against the memory system and the excessive use of percentages in examination and the too great dependence on text-books. He strongly favored the encouragement of good reading and moral education in the schools and although perhaps not completely successful he did much to relieve the work of its dryness and dulness.

A feature of Mr. Hancock's administration was the Bible discussion, which reached a critical point in the spring of 1869, when on September 6th a resolution was introduced in the Board of Education reciting the desire on the part of various members of the Catholic Church to unite certain schools under the control of the church with the public schools and appointing a committee of five to arrange a basis of consolidation. Thereupon Samuel A. Miller offered an amendment to the effect that religious instruction and the reading of religious books including the Bible be prohibited in the common schools so that the children of all sects and opinions might be permitted to enjoy the schools. This precipitated a violent discussion and many public meetings were held. The resolutions were adopted on November 1st by a vote of 22 to 16; 10 of those voting in the affirmative were Catholics and this was used to support a claim that this sect had

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PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

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Another prominent school exclusively for girls and young women is the Bartholomew-Clifton School situated at Evanswood, Clifton. This school is the result of the consolidation in 1900 of the old Bartholomew English and Classical School for Girls, which established in 1875 at the corner of Fourth and John streets and afterwards removed to Third and Lawrence was a leading school of the city for 25 years, and the school of Miss E. Antoinette Ely. Dr. George K. Bartholomew is the regent, Miss Ely, principal and Miss Mary F. Smith, associate principal at the head of a large corps of teachers. The H. Thane Miller School for Girls was founded as the Mount Auburn Young Ladies' Institute in 1856 and for many years occupied the building now used as Christ Hospital. In 1897 the school was moved from Mount Auburn to

attempted to control the board. On the following day John D. Minor and others brought a suit to restrain the board from putting its conclusion into execution. The case was argued before the Superior Court in general term, Judges Storer, Hagans and Taft, on November 30th, by Messrs. Sage, Ramsey and King for the Bible and Matthews, Hoadly and Stallo for the city. The court on February 15, 1870, granted a perpetual injunction but Judge Taft dissented. The case was carried to the Supreme Court and in December, 1862, that body sustained the opinion of Judge Taft to the effect that the control of the Board of Education could not be interfered with. From that date the reading of the Bible in the schools, which had been begun in 1829, ceased.

Dr. John B. Peaslee was selected as superintendent of the schools in 1874. He was a graduate of Dartmouth and the Cincinnati Law School and had been principal of both the Fifth District and Second Intermediate schools. His administration was a most energetic one and characterized by many reforms He opposed the requirement of too much home work and favored the cutting down of the hours of tuition and the length of the school year. Greater attention than ever before was given to ethical training as well as to the physical condition of the children. The matter of the eyesight of the children was particularly investigated. The study of German received greater attention than ever before and drawing and music were taught with great efficiency. Dr. Peaslee invented a new method of addition and subtraction which known as the "Cincinnati plan" was adopted in many cities. In 1876 the schools of Cincinnati prepared an exhibit for the Philadelphia Exposition and a similar one was sent to the Paris Exposition of 1878. The jury awarded a gold medal diploma and a silver medal diploma to the Cincinnati schools and our national commissioner of education characterized the exhibit as one that had never been equaled before in the known world. Dr. Peaslee was a great stickler for neatness and insisted upon much of the work of the schools being done in writing. As had his predecessors, Dr. Peaslee opposed vigorously the memory plan of education and in report after report characterized much of the time devoted to study as wasted because of adherence to this method. He took great interest as well in the literary training of pupils and especially in making them acquainted with the writings of American authors. For this purpose he prepared a selection of "Memory Gems," which included some of the best writing in English literature. He also inaugurated the celebration of the birthdays of celebrated American writers, the first one of which was held on December 17, 1879, the anniversary of the birth of John G. Whittier. Other authors honored in this year were Longfellow, Holmes and Emerson. Arbor Day also became an important event in the calendar of the schools and on April 27, 1883, the school children of Cincinnati planted "Authors' Grove," a six-acre tract in Eden Park in which each tree was dedicated to some writer of distinction and properly marked. This grove which has since become a splendid forest is unique in the history of the country.

Dr. Emerson E. White was elected to the superintendency of the schools in 1887 and held the position for three years, too short a time perhaps to give him an opportunity of impressing his personality upon the system. He introduced some changes in the method of promoting pupils as well as in teaching. During his administration the appointment of the teachers of the city was placed in the hands of the superintendent, a system that is bound, especially at the outset, to embarrass any one holding that position. It was during his administration also that colored children were admitted to the schools on the same footing as white children.

William H. Morgan was elected superintendent of schools May 6, 1889, to succeed Mr. White and held the position until September 5, 1899, at which time as a result of a stroke of paralysis which he had suffered in the preceding May it became necessary to elect a new superintendent. Richard G. Boone was chosen as his successor. Mr. Morgan died January 6, 1900. His predecessor Mr. White died in 1902. Dr. Boone was succeeded in 1903 by F. B. Dyer who had formerly been one of Mr. Boone's assistants but had subsequently acted as dean of the State Normal School at Oxford.

The superintendents of the schools of Cincinnati with their respective terms of service have been as follows: Nathan Guilford 1850-52, Joseph Merrill 1852-53, A. J. Rickoff 1854-58, Isaac J. Allen 1858-61, Lyman Harding 1861-67, John Hancock 1867-74, John B. Peaslee 1874-86, Emerson E. White 1886-89, William H. Morgan 1889-99, Richard G. Boone 1899-1903, and F. B. Dyer 1903.

THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

The first school organized for colored people was that of Henry Collins who kept school in 1825 on Seventh street between Broadway and Deer creek. Colored children of a light hue were received in private schools as late as 1835 but apparently not in the public schools. In 1834 a colored man, Owen T. B. Nickens, opened the first successful colored school on Sixth street hill. This was afterwards moved to New street where it came into the charge of John McMicken, a natural son of the founder of the University. The latter at one time purchased a large tract of land north of Liberia which he named "Ohio in Africa" and to which he urged negroes to immigrate. This attempt of colonization was a failure but it was sufficient to cause Mr. McMicken to insert a clause in his will prohibiting colored youth from sharing the advantages of his great benefaction. During the agitation of 1834 against the discussion of slavery, a number of the students of Lane Seminary came down to the city and established schools for the education of the colored youth and one, John O. Wattles, kept a school for boys in a house east of Sixth and Broadway. Another teacher in the public schools was the well known Professor Fairchild, afterwards president of Berea. The largest of the colored schools up to 1841 was that established by Messrs. Goodwin and Denham in the Baker Street Church. In 1854 Rev. Hiram S. Gilmore established what he called the "Cincinnati High School" at the east end of Harrison street, which taught the common branches of an English course,—Latin, Greek, music and drawing,—and prepared colored children for Oberlin and other colleges which would receive them. In 1849, as a result of the Free Soil balance of power in the Legislature, the Democrats enacted legislation for the establishment of free schools for colored children. This was followed by litigation as the school authorities of the city refused to obey the law. In 1852 the act was sustained and the schools which had been established shared in the public funds. One of the teachers was Peter H. Clark and another was Mr. Nickens. The superintendent of the colored schools, which comprised an eastern and western district and afterwards a Walnut Hills district, was Stephen L. Massey, a white man, who was shortly succeeded by Mr. Clark. Mr. Clark was succeeded in 1866 by W. H. Parham. The colored schools for many years were under control of a separate board of trustees with a few intermissions, during which time the regular Board of Education had charge. In 1874 they came finally under the control of the Board of Education. For many years the clerk of the colored board was John I. Gaines, who kept a provision store on the river front from which the steamboats' larders were supplied. He died in 1859 and the colored citizens erected a monument over his grave in memory of his services in the cause of education. When in 1866 Peter H. Clark succeeded in obtaining the establishment of a colored high school, it was given the name of "Gaines High School." Mr. Clark was its principal. Here in the building on Court near John four years later was graduated a class of six and the school became a great factor in the education of colored youth. The superintendency of the colored public schools was abolished in 1876 and in 1887 separate colored schools as a class were abolished. In 1887 Mr. Parham succeeded Mr. Clark as principal of the Gaines High School where he continued until 1890. The placing of the colored and white children in the same schools naturally resulted in the abandonment of the Gaines High School which occurred in the year last mentioned. At present there is what is known as the Frederick Douglass School and its one-room colony, of which Andrew J. DeHart is the principal.

THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

At the beginning of the war Joseph L. Thornton was principal of Hughes High School. He was succeeded on December 10, 1863, by E. W. Coy a graduate of Brown University, who had previously served as high school principal and superintendent of public schools at Peoria, Illinois, and also had been in charge of the high school department of the Illinois State Normal University. Mr. Coy received the degree of Ph. D. from Princeton University in 1886. He is now serving his 31st year at the head of Hughes.

The Woodward High School building erected first in 1854 was altered in 1867 and again in 1880. At the beginning of the war the superintendent was Daniel Shepardson, who resigned in June, 1862, to take charge of a girls' high school at Granville. He was succeeded by Moses Woolson. In 1865 Mr. Woolson gave way to George W. Harper. Mr. Harper graduated from Woodward in 1853 and taught in that institution from that time until 1900, a period of 47 years. He it was that organized the university department which was carried on at Woodward for a time (1873). He retired in June, 1900,

and was succeeded by Prof. A. M. VanDyke, who had been for many years teacher of English literature in the school. Professor VanDyke was a graduate of the class of 1857 at Hughes. He served throughout the war participating in over fifty battles and was subsequently superintendent for some years of the public schools at Ironton, Ohio. He organized in 1893 the Woodward Cadets. This body proved so popular as to induce Hughes and Walnut Hills to follow Woodward's example in this particular. The overcrowded condition of the high schools made apparent the necessity for establishing another school of the same character which should accommodate the residents of the hilltops and the suburbs. As a result the Walnut Hills High School located at the corner of Burdett and Ashland avenues was completed in 1895 at a cost of over $120,000. The lot 200 feet square cost $24,000. This is regarded as the best equipped school in the city. It contains 16 recitation rooms, an assembly hall, gymnasium, chemical and physical laboratory besides an office and library. The school was dedicated October 11, 1895. The principal of this school is J. Remsen Bishop, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1882, and subsequently a teacher at St. Paul's and principal of the Princeton Preparatory School. From 1888 to 1895 he was an instructor in Hughes High School.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS.

The teaching of music was introduced into the public schools in 1844. The first teacher was William F. Colburn who acted as superintendent until 1848 when he was succeeded by Charles Aiken, a graduate of Dartmouth. Mr. Aiken served until 1870 when he gave way to G. F. Junkerman. Walter H. Aiken, a son of the second superintendent, was elected to this position in 1900. A bust of Charles Aiken executed by Preston Powers, the gift of the teachers, stands in a niche south of the Springer Monument in Springer Music Hall vestibule.

The first teacher of penmanship in the public schools was James Bowers who was employed in 1841. This was the first special department organized in the schools. It was abandoned in 1850 but was reestablished in 1854 under the charge of Miss L. S. Barrett. Her marriage to Gen. R. D. Mussey in 1860 resulted in the abolition of the office. In 1870 E. A. Burnett was appointed and in 1874 Charles W. Bell for the colored schools. The exhibits of penmanship made by the public schools at Vienna in 1872 and at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition attracted great attention. The department was abolished in 1887 and again revived in 1892 at which time Howard Champlin was placed in charge. The vertical system was adopted in 1889 under A. H. Steadman. This system was abandoned in 1901 for what is known as the natural slant.

The teaching of drawing was introduced into the schools in 1862. In 1868 Arthur Forbriger was appointed superintendent and two years later three other teachers were added, one of whom was H. H. Fick. Elaborate exhibits of the work of the schools in this direction were sent both to Vienna and Philadelphia. At the death of Mr. Forbriger in 1878, Mr. Fick succeeded him. In 1884 Mr. Fick resigned and was succeeded by Miss Christine G. Sullivan. W. H. Vogel is now in charge of the department. An exhibit of drawing by pupils of the school was sent to the New Orleans Exposition in 1885 and attracted such attention that at the request of the French commissioner of education it was presented to the Paris Pedagogical Museum. At the Cincinnati Centennial of 1888 over 3,000 mounted drawings were exhibited by the schools and a still larger display was made in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair and also at Atlanta in 1895.

A feature which has been a part of the Cincinnati school system since 1840 is that of the public night schools and the night high schools, the first one of which was opened in 1856.

In 1857 attention was first given to physical culture in the public schools and in 1860 gymnastics was made a part of the school curriculum. In 1890 as a result of the efforts of Francis B. James the high schools were provided with gymnasiums. During the latter year the Turners offered their three teachers of gymnastics for the purpose of acquainting the schools with the merits of systematic exercise which offer was accepted. In accordance with the law passed in 1892 a department of physical culture was organized and placed in charge of Carl Ziegler in September, 1892.

In 1868 the Cincinnati Normal School was established. The purpose of this was the preparation of young women for teaching. A German course was introduced in the department in 1871. The school was suspended in 1900.

In the old Goodhue residence on West Sixth street is located the Sign School for the Deaf organized in 1875 and the Oral School for the Deaf organized in 1886.

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The president of the Board of Education for the year 1903-04 is John G. O'Connell and the vice-president, S. B. Marvin. The members of the board, from the First to the 24th ward respectively, are Mr. O'Connell, John Schwaab, George W. Harper, William Degischer, Joseph H. Toelke, H. W. Albers, John Grimm, Jr., S. B. Marvin, Charles G. Smith, George Friedlein, Charles A. Gehrlein, Anton Berger, L. J. Danner, William J. Klein, J. M. Robinson, George J. Schliebte, John Gigos, E. G. Betty, John H. Macready, John B. Peaslee, August Meltzer, Jacob E. Cormany, Ira D. Washburn and Fred Eggers. From this body Messrs. Schwaab, Danner, O'Connell, Cormany, Klein, Harper and Albers are delegates to the Union Board of Cincinnati High Schools. The delegates from the Woodward Fund are A. H. Bode, John B. Peaslee, Robert W. Stewart, Jacob Shroder and Otto J. Renner and from the Hughes Fund, R. D. Barney and Charles H. Stephens. Mr. O'Connell is president and Judge Shroder, vice-president of this board.

The schools of Cincinnati have been fortunate in the literature of the subject. In addition to the regular reports of the Board of Education and the elaborate chapter in Ford's history as well as the still more valuable one written by W. H. Venable for Nelson's "Hamilton County," there are works on the schools of Cincinnati by John P. Foote, Isaac M. Martin and John B. Shotwell to all of which acknowledgment is made for assistance in the preparation of this work.

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Lenox place, Avondale, and its name was changed to honor one of its founders, a long-time president who died in 1895 after a life of great usefulness. Miss Butler's School for Girls on Oak street on Walnut Hills embraces primary, intermediate and collegiate departments and occupies a building specially designed and built for it. The Collegiate School for Girls is under the charge of the Misses Mary Doherty and Maria C. Collins. Other schools include the Educational Institute on the Lane Seminary grounds, the schools of the Misses Lupton, Neff and Maxwell, Sattler, Madam Fredin, Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Entrup.

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

There are over 60 Catholic parochial schools and a number of colleges of this denomination for the education of priests and for entrance in the various religious orders. Prominent among these are St. Xavier College which, started in 1831, has been for many years a leading educational institution of the city; St. Joseph's College, Mount St. Mary's Seminary, the academies of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of Mercy, Ursulines of Brown County, Mount St. Vincent and Notre Dame. Lane Seminary (Presbyterian), whose history has been given at length, is still a leading institution for the education of "pious young men for the gospel ministry."

OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

There are four business colleges: Bartlett Commercial College, Nelson Business College, Traub's Cincinnati Business College and Watters' Business College and a number of schools of shorthand including that of Miss Littleford and the Cincinnati School of Phonography of Miss A. R. Campbell.

In addition to the Ohio College of Dental Surgery, which is affiliated with the University of Cincinnati, is the Cincinnati College of Dental Surgery. The Pulte Medical College, the Miami Medical College and the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati have been referred to in earlier portions of this work. In addition there is the Laura Memorial Woman's Medical College and a number of sanitariums and medical institutes.

The Cincinnati College of Pharmacy dates from 1850 and has always been a strong influence in the keeping up the standard of pharmaceutical knowledge. It is the oldest pharmacy college west of the Alleghanies. Since 1902 it has been a department of the Ohio University at Athens.

The College of Music and several conservatories, including that of Miss Baur established in 1867 and now occupying the magnificent Shillito residence on Mount Auburn, and the schools of B. W. Foley, E. W. Glover, Oscar Ehrgott, and Sterling and Roberts, and the Art Academy supply the instruction in the fields of music and art. As in every large city, private schools of music, art, business, stenography and expression are innumerable.

THE TECHNICAL SCHOOL

Of Cincinnati was incorporated in 1886 as a result of the agitation of the Order of Cincinnatus and its representative, Col. W. L. Robinson, who was the first president of its board. In 1888 Melville E. Ingalls succeeded Colonel Robinson and remained at the head of the school until its union with the University. Rooms were secured in the Music Hall and George R. Carothers was chosen superintendent. The school opened in November, 1886. A year later at a dinner given by the Commercial Club to Matthew Addy, the sum of $30,000 was subscribed by those present (the largest subscription being $10,000 by Charles Schiff) with which after the close of the Industrial Exposition of 1888 the entire second and third floors of the north wing of the Music Hall were fitted up for the school. This school moved into these quarters in February, 1889, and remained there until June, 1901. Dr. L. R. Klemm was its principal for the year 1888-89. He was succeeded in June, 1889, by James B. Stanwood, who became the director with Dr. E. R. Booth as principal. Dr. Booth in 1899 was succeeded by T. L. Feeney. Mr. Stanwood and Mr. Feeney served until the school was transferred to the University in 1901. In the latter year the school came under the control of the University of Cincinnati and was moved to its new quarters at Burnet Woods, where it became a constituent part of the College of Engineering.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI.

In the year 1806 a school association was formed in Cincinnati which was incorporated in 1807. The endowments, in the language of Dr. Drake, were not exactly correspondent to its elevated title consisting only of moderate contributions. An application was made to the Legislature for permission to raise money by lottery which was granted. The lottery was a greater failure than most lotteries; although many tickets were sold, no drawing was ever had and, per-

haps as a matter of retribution, the building erected for university purposes was blown down by the tornado of Sunday, May 28, 1809, and thus perished the first University. The struggles of the College have been described at length in the earlier chapters of this work and need not be recounted here.

What John Harvard is to the university at Cambridge and Elihu Yale to that at New Haven, Charles McMicken is or should be to the University of Cincinnati. To the first two for their generous donations on behalf of education, posterity has paid full tribute by fixing their names to the institutions founded by them. Charles McMicken, however, gave far more to the city of his residence and made possible a university in a community where all others had failed in such an undertaking. By far greater claim of right his name should remain attached to the gift but the same spirit that rejects the names of pioneers and those who made the city great in selecting the names of streets was displayed in this instance and McMicken University, a distinctive name doing honor both to the founder and the city of its location, was abandoned for the higher sounding appellation of the University of Cincinnati.

Charles McMicken was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on November 23, 1782. He removed to Cincinnati in 1803, having for property we are told the clothes that he wore and the horse, saddle and bridle used in his journey. Upon his arrival in this city, he engaged at first in flat-boating and soon undertook a general merchandise business. His transactions included both the cities of Cincinnati and New Orleans as well as the river country between and he finally became a merchant in Bayou Sarah in Louisiana but kept his summer home in Cincinnati. Although his business was not very successful at first, at the time of his death he had accumulated a fortune estimated at more than a million dollars largely invested in real estate in Cincinnati, and in New Orleans and elsewhere in the State of Louisiana. He died in his 70th year on March 30, 1858, of pneumonia which he contracted on the boat on the way from New Orleans to Cincinnati.

Although not a man of liberal education his actions during his life showed how highly he valued it in others. Some years before his death he had subscribed $10,000 to endow a professorship of agricultural chemistry in Farmers' College on College Hill and three years before his death on September 2, 1855, he executed a will which, probated on April 10, 1858, laid the foundation of the university which should bear his name.

The thirty-first item of this will gives, devises, and bequeathes, "to the CITY OF CINCINNATI, and to its successors, for the purpose of building, establishing, and maintaining, as soon as practicable after my decease, two Colleges for the education of white Boys and Girls, all the following real and personal estate, IN TRUST FOREVER, to-wit," etc.

The property enumerated in the item included certain tracts of land in Louisiana and in the city of New Orleans, a tract of land in Delhi township in this county, all the testator's real estate in Cincinnati, all the real and personal property to be acquired after the date of the will, and all bonds, stocks, moneys and rents of all the property of the testator not otherwise specifically devised.

Mr. McMicken having, in a residence of over 50 years in Cincinnati, discovered the wonderful facility with which the public authorities dispossessed themselves and the city of any real estate left for public purposes attached certain conditions to his bequest which time has since shown to have been injudicious, as is usually the case when one attempts to bind his property for all time. He provided that none of the real estate in Cincinnati should at any time be sold and directed that the college buildings should be erected from the income of the estate. This provision which at times has seemed a burdensome one is in the minds of many people having in view past events indicative of great wisdom on the part of the testator. It is only when Mr. McMicken attempted to go into details that he made the mistake. He directed that the college buildings should be erected on the premises where he resided and that there should be one building for boys and one for girls. He even went so far as to designate the number of acres to surround each building and to locate exactly their positions on the grounds. He also limited the terms of leases to 15 years for unimproved property and 10 years for improved property. This provision too has been criticised but it is by no means uncertain that time will vindicate his judgment here. By a special item of his will he directed that "the Holy Bible of the Protestant version, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, shall be used as a Book of Instruction in the said Colleges," a provision more honored in the breach than the observance. In the event that there should be any surplus he

made elaborate provisions for the support of orphans. These provisions although never put into effect showed the wisdom of the testator. A curious one provided that in case of any of the male orphans intermarrying with the female orphans they should be entitled to a loan from the funds.

Unfortunately this bequest, one of the most public spirited and philanthropic ever given to the city, failed in part. Much of the property covered by it was in Louisiana where the civil law prevailed. As a result many of Mr. McMicken's nephews and nieces who, although liberal bequests in the shape of legacies and annuities had been made, were dissatisfied with this great gift for public purposes, resorted to the courts of that State to defeat their uncle's long cherished desire. As a result it was held by the highest courts of that State (15 La. An., 154) that a devise to a municipal corporation in trust was invalid and property valued at nearly half a million dollars was lost to the University.

An attempt was also made by the New Orleans relatives to invalidate the will so far as the Cincinnati property was concerned on the ground that the city was incapable of taking and executing the trust and for other reasons. This case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States where it was argued for the city by three of the ablest lawyers of their time, —Aaron F. Perry, George E. Pugh and Alphonso Taft. The decision in this case which favored the city was made in 1869. (24 Howard, 463.)

The fact that much of the property in Cincinnati was situated upon that part of Main street which was depreciating in value, because of the westward tendency of business, decreased the amount of revenues very materially. The buildings were in the main old and needed much repairing and rebuilding. These unfortunate conditions together with the fluctuations of rents and the inability to sell or lease the property for a long term of years reduced the receipts so that for some years the average revenue was not over $16,000 a year and one year there was no revenue at all. Shortly after Mr. McMicken's death, the City Council passed an ordinance establishing the McMicken University and elected a board of six directors consisting of George B. Hollister, Henry F. Handy, Rufus King, Miles Greenwood, Cornelius G. Comegys and James Wilson. A meeting for organization was held in the council chamber on December 30, 1859, at which the mayor, R. M. Bishop, was also present. Rufus King was elected president of the board and by-laws, rules and regulations adopted. An office was opened in one of the McMicken buildings on Main below Fourth and the trustees entered into possession of the estate except the mansion house and grounds which were to be occupied for five years by a nephew and niece. Nothing could be done, however, for a year or so in view of the litigation then pending.

The War of the Rebellion, which so seriously affected the business of the city, weighed with particular severity upon the McMicken property. In 1864, however, the directors were able to show a cash balance of $4,409.82 and $10,000 invested in city bonds. The property had been put in repair and efforts to secure a release from taxation had been successful. During this year the ladies of the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts had presented their collection of paintings to the University and this was established temporarily in a large room of one of the McMicken buildings at the northeast corner of Fourth and Main.

The first instruction under the auspices of the University was given on the first Monday of January, 1869, by the McMicken School of Art and Design in charge of Thomas S. Noble, an artist and teacher from New York. Mr. Noble was assisted by seven teachers and during the first year gave instruction to 120 pupils. The school was kept for many years in the fourth story of the old College Building on Walnut street. It was soon found, however, that if the University were to be a success it must receive further encouragement both from the city and other generous minded citizens. By an act of the Legislature passed April 16, 1870 (67 O. L., 86), there was established a board of directors for the University of Cincinnati, which was authorized to accept any property or funds given to the city for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding a university, college or any other institution for the promotion of free education. The Board of Education was also authorized to make a levy of not more than one-tenth of a mill for the support of the University. Thereafter on March 14, 1871, the Common Council of Cincinnati passed an ordinance to provide for the University of Cincinnati. By its terms the board of directors of the McMicken University were directed to transfer to the board of directors of the new institution all the property held by them. At that time the directors were elected by the Council. Subsequently in

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

1880 the law was changed so that a board of 19 directors was established, of whom the mayor should be one and others should be appointed by the Common Council from persons nominated, six by the Board of Education and 12 by the Superior Court. On February 18, 1892, the appointments were all vested in the Superior Court of Cincinnati. Under the code of 1902 the board, composed of nine members, is appointed by the mayor of the city.

At the time the McMicken bequest was taken over by the city, the name of the institution was changed to the University of Cincinnati. On April 27, 1872, an issue of bonds to the amount of $150,000 was authorized to provide the buildings and apparatus necessary for the University and from these funds the building was finally erected on the grounds of the McMicken homestead. This building intended for use by pupils of both sexes was ready for occupancy in September, 1875. In the meantime an Academic Department had been opened in 1873 at Woodward High School in charge of Principal George Harper and instruction was given by the teachers of that school in language, mathematics, chemistry and physics. Fifty-eight students were admitted, forty of whom were women. Many studied French and German only. Benn Pitman conducted a class in wood carving in the School of Art and Design, which moved that year to the College Building from its first location at Third and Main. The following year the work of instruction was carried on at the Third Intermediate School on Franklin street. In 1874 the Academic Department was fully organized and three professors were appointed,—one of mathematics and civil engineering, one of Latin and Greek and one of physics and chemistry. In October, 1875, the north wing of the new building was occupied by the Academic Department offering three courses of study leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science and Civil Engineer. H. J. Eddy was appointed professor of mathematics and astronomy and civil engineering, and Frederick D. Allen of ancient languages and comparative philology and there were also instructors in French and German. In November, 1885, the building was largely damaged by fire which broke out in the laboratory and from that time until June, 1886, the instruction in the Academic Department was carried on at the Hebrew Union College on West Sixth street. The same year that witnessed the opening of the institution in the new building added the Cincinnati Observatory to the University. In 1876 Joseph Longworth made a gift of $59,500 to the Art Department on condition that the University should add $10,000, which was done. The first degrees were conferred in 1877, that of Bachelor of Arts upon Frank McFarlan and Master of Arts upon Herbert A. Howe and Winslow Upton. In December of this year Thomas A. Vickers, who was at that time librarian of the Public Library, was appointed rector of the University. The first regular public commencement was held at Pike's Opera House on June 20, 1878, at which time an oration was delivered by Hon. George H. Pendleton and degrees conferred upon five young men from Cincinnati, one from Brazil and a young lady from Newport. The students of the Academic Department during this year numbered 89. This department of the University occupied the building on McMicken avenue for 20 years. The increase in the number of students and the undesirable character of the land made it apparent at a very early period that the site was not adapted for the purpose. An ordinance was passed on September 20, 1889, by which the mayor executed on October 22, 1889, an agreement with the board of directors of the University setting aside for university purposes a tract of land in Burnet Woods Park of 43.302 acres upon condition that construction of the main building for university purposes should be begun within three years and that within five years not less than $100,000 should have been expended in building and improvements upon the ground. As the acceptance of this grant involved the moving of the principal buildings of the University from the McMicken homestead, it became necessary to have a judicial construction of the will of Mr. McMicken. The Hamilton County Circuit Court in December, 1891, (4 C. C. R., 188) upheld the right of the University to expend the sums bequeathed in the erection of buildings in Burnet Woods or other grounds and for the maintenance of colleges on such grounds and this decision was affirmed without report by the Supreme Court on March 7, 1893. (29 W. L. B., 168.)

The Legislature thereupon authorized an issue of $100,000 in four per cent bonds and with the proceeds of the sale of these bonds the principal building, McMicken Hall, was erected. This was dedicated on the anniversary of McMicken's birth on November 23, 1895.

In June of the same year Henry Hanna gave $50,000 for the erection of Hanna Hall, the north wing of the principal building, in which were

installed the chemistry and engineering departments. In the following year he donated $20,000 to equip the building. In 1898 the south wing of the building known as Cunningham Hall and occupied by the departments of physics and biology was erected from a donation of $60,000 given by Briggs S. Cunningham in memory of his wife, Anna Evans Cunningham. In this same year Asa Van Wormer donated 1,000 shares of stock of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company (par value $50,000) for the building and equipment of the fireproof library building which lying south of Cunningham Hall is known as the Van Wormer Library.

In the summer of 1901 an anonymous benefactor, acting through Melville E. Ingalls, donated to the University the sum of $22,500 to be expended in the construction of a building adapted for shop work as part of the equipment of the College of Engineering. This building has been completed and lies east of the main tier of buildings.

The Observatory since 1873 has stood on Mount Lookout about six miles from the center of the city. The ground on which it stands was given to the city by John Kilgour in 1872. It was valued at $10,000 and accompanying this gift was a sum of $1,000 afterwards increased by Mr. Kilgour by a donation of $10,000 more for the erection of the building. The original corner-stone was removed from the old building on Mount Adams and is the corner-stone of the building erected in 1873. At that time the books and instruments which had been given by the Cincinnati Astronomical Society valued at $8,000 were removed to this structure.

Other buildings occupied by branches of the University are the newly erected Law School Building on the south side of Ninth street east of Race, the old University Building at the McMicken homestead occupied by the Medical Department (Medical College of Ohio) the building of the Ohio College of Dental Surgery at Central avenue and Court street and a Dispensary Building erected in 1896 on the homestead grounds. The Clinical and Pathological School of the Cincinnati Hospital occupies rooms at the hospital building at 12th street and Central avenue.

The University has been generously endowed in the few years of its existence by the citizens as well as by the tax payers. The latter pay at present three-tenths of a mill for university purposes and three hundredths of a mill for observatory purposes. In addition to the gifts already mentioned, there have been many others. In 1873 Julius Dexter gave $1,000 to the Observatory. In 1869 the trustees of the real estate devised by McMicken to the city established the School of Design which two years later became a department of the University. At different times during his life Joseph Longworth gave to the support of the School of Design the sum of $100,000. In 1883 his son proposed that if the School of Design should be surrendered to the management of the Cincinnati Museum Association, he would endow it with perpetual ground rents of the market value of a quarter of a million dollars. This proposition was accepted and in February, 1884, this department of the University passed under the management of the Cincinnati Museum Association. Rev. Samuel J. Browne bequeathed $150,000 to establish a university. His will was set aside and by a compromise agreement his heirs gave $1,000 to the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum, $1,000 to the Widows' Home and certain property for educational purposes of which one-third was given to Lane Seminary and two-thirds to the University. This endowment is now represented by investments of a little over $20,000. Matthew Thoms, who died in 1890, left the University an estate valued at $130,000. His heirs were about to contest the will but finally agreed upon a compromise in which they received $20,000 in money. From this fund was established the William Thoms professorship of civil engineering in memory of Mr. Thoms' father.

The David Sinton chair of economics and political science is maintained from the income of the gift made by Mr. Sinton in 1899 of the sum of $100,000. Other noteworthy gifts were those of W. A. Procter who in 1898 gave the Robert Clarke library consisting chiefly of Americana and including 6,759 volumes and in the following year the Enoch T. Carson Shakespeare library of 1,420 volumes and in 1900 the chemical library of Prof. T. H. Norton containing 992 volumes. Other benefactors of the University who have contributed funds or collections of various sorts are Professor Lilienthal of New York, Mrs. Nancy Fechheimer, Prof. A. G. Weatherby, Frank J. Jones, Laura Seasongood, Louis Seasongood, Christian Moerlein and Charles F. Windisch. Many others contributed books and apparatus.

The total endowment of the University of Cincinnati as estimated in its last catalogue is $3,136,709.01. In this is included the capitalization of the revenue from taxes, a little over $50,-

000 a year. Leaving this out of consideration, the endowment is about a million and a half, of which the amount contributed by Mr. McMicken is estimated at about $700,000, Matthew Thoms $130,000, David Sinton $100,000, Henry Hanna $70,000, Briggs S. Cunningham $60,000, and Asa Van Wormer and William A. Proctor $50,000 each.

The latest catalogue of the University of Cincinanti shows the faculty, including all officers of administration and instruction, as 185 and a total number of students during the year ending June, 1902, as 1,293. Of these the Academic Department is credited with 471, the Ohio College of Dental Surgery 257, the Clinical and Pathological School of the Cincinnati Hospital 238, the Medical Department (Medical College of Ohio) 179, the Summer School 135, the Law Department 67, College of Engineering 50 and the Graduate Department 30. From the total of these figures must be deducted 134 for the students counted twice.

In May, 1899, the office of president which had been vacant for 10 years was filled by the election of Howard Ayres to this position. Under President Ayres' administration many changes were made in the faculty and in the details of the administration of the University. Not only are complete courses of instruction given in the professional schools but in the Academic Department the number of courses offered graduates and undergraduates exceeds 200 and it is thought that the instruction given both in scope and character compares favorably with that of any other university of the same age and endowment.

The faculty as at present constituted includes Wayland R. Benedict, professor of philosophy, Jermain G. Porter, astronomy, Edward M. Brown, English, Frederick C. Hicks, economics, Harris Hancock, mathematics, John M. Burnham, Latin, Max Poll, German Joseph E. Harry, Greek, Merrick Whitcomb, history, Louis T. More, physics, Thomas Evans, chemistry, and Christian W. Marx, mechanical engineering.

As a result of the new code of 1902 the government of the University is vested in a board of nine trustees appointed by the mayor. This board consists of Frank J. Jones, John G. O'Connell, Samuel W. Trost, Ellis G. Kinkead, Dr. Joseph Ransohoff, Oscar W. Kuhn, Rev. Henry M. Curtis, Alfred B. Benedict and S. Sanford Brown. This board has elected as the new president of the University to take charge in the summer of 1904 Charles W. Dabney, at present president of the University of Tennessee.

The Medical College of Ohio which had continued to occupy the same site on the south side of Sixth between Vine and Race for the 70 years following 1826 (although the old building was replaced by a new one in 1851) moved to the University building at the McMicken homestead in 1896. This was the result of an agreement entered into by the directors of the University and those of the College under date of April 27, 1896. On the same day an act was passed by the Legislature providing that the affairs of the College should be under the management of the directors of the University.

The dean of the medical faculty is Dr. P. S. Conner, who also acts as professor of surgery and clinical surgery. Other members of the faculty are: Drs. Thad. A. Reamy, C. D. Palmer, Frederick Forchheimer, Joseph Ransohoff, James G. Hyndman, R. K. Ratchford, Allyn C. Poole, E. Gustav Zinke, August Ravogli, Albert V. Phelps, Charles L. Bonifield, William H. Crane, Brooks F. Beebe, Horace J. Whitacre and William Mühlberg.

The Ohio College of Dental Surgery was affiliated with the University of Cincinnati in 1888. This institution had been founded in 1845 and its first board of trustees included the names of some well known Cincinnatians,—Drs. B. P. Aydelott, Robert Buchanan, Israel M. Dodge, William Johnson, J. P. Cornell and Calvin Fletcher. The first president was Dr. Aydelott and the first dean, Dr. Jesse M. Cook. In the faculty in addition to Dr. Cook were Drs. M. Rogers, James Taylor and Jesse P. Judkins. Dr. H. H. Smith is the present dean and Dr. H. T. Smith, the secretary of the dental faculty. Other members of the present faculty are Dr. J. S. Cassidy, C. M. Wright, William Knight, Grant Molyneaux and T. I. Way.

The Law Department of the University of Cincinnati was organized in 1896 for the purpose of conducting a school along the methods of the Harvard Law School. In May of the following year the Law School of the Cincinnati College which had been founded in 1833 entered into a union with the University and its Law School by which the faculty of the Law Department of the University and certain members of the faculty of the Law School of the Cincinnati College should be the faculty of the new school. The degree of Bachelor of Laws is by the terms of this agreement conferred by concurrent action of the board of directors

of the University of Cincinnati and the trustees of the Cincinnati College. The first dean of the reorganized school was Hon. William H. Taft who was succeeded upon his appointment as Governor of the Philippines by Gustavus H. Wald. Mr. Wald was dean from March, 1900, until the time of his death in June, 1902. He was succeeded by Harlan Cleveland who acted as dean from July 2, 1002, to September 10th of the same year at which time William P. Rogers was selected as dean of the Law Department. In the faculty of this department in addition to the dean are Professors William H. Taft, Henry A. Morrill, Judson Harmon, John R. Sayler, Lawrence Maxwell Harlan Cleveland, John W. Warrington, William C. Herron and Robert C. Pugh.

Rufus King, for many years a professor in the Law School of the Cincinnati College, bequeathed by his will to the College the sum of $30,000 for the establishment of a professorship of constitutional law. After the death of Mr. Wald, his mother and brother established the Gustavus H. Wald professorship of contracts. The former chair is held by Professor Morrill and the latter by Dean Rogers. The Law School has just moved into the beautiful new building especially erected for it at a cost of $33,000.

THE CINCINNATI OBSERVATORY.

E. D. Mansfield in his "Personal Memories" has given us an account of the first Cincinnati Observatory. After the appointment of his father Jared Mansfield as surveyor general of the United States, it was found that the object of the appointment, the establishment of meridian lines as the basis of public surveys, could not be accomplished without suitable astronomical instruments. General Mansfield notified President Jefferson that these instruments could not be had in the United States. Congress had made no appropriation for any such purpose but the means were found to procure the instruments from England. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, wrote to Troughton, the mathematical instrument maker at London, and procured from him a three-foot long, reflecting telescope, a 30-inch portable transit instrument, an astronomical pendulum clock and some astronomical books at a cost of $1,054. The instruments were ordered in 1803 but did not arrive until 1806 at which time they were set up in a room of Mansfield's house at Ludlow's Station. They were used in making many astronomical observations and calculations, among others those concerning the orbit of the great comet of 1807. The instruments which were very excellent of their kind were afterwards deposited in the philosophical department at West Point where they remain as memorials of the first observatory of the United States.

In 1842 was founded the Cincinnati Astronomical Society to which we are indebted for our present Observatory. The credit of this organization must be given to one man, Ormsby M. Mitchel at that time serving as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy and astronomy in the Cincinnati College. He found his instructions hampered by the lack of proper equipment and apparatus. He finally conceived the idea of an astronomical observatory which should include a fine telescope and other necessary instruments. His first steps took the direction of exciting popular interest in astronomy. He began in the spring of 1842 by a series of public lectures. The first lecture was in the presence of an audience of 16 persons; the last is said to have been listened to by two thousand. He finally organized the Cincinnati Astronomical Society with 300 shares at $25 each and on June 16th he sailed for Europe in search of a proper refracting telescope which should be sufficiently large and properly mounted for his purpose. It is said that there were not more than a half dozen glasses such as he desired in existence at that time but in the cabinet of the Frauenhofer Institute in Munich, at that time in charge of Maertz and Mayer, Mitchel came across an unfinished glass of 12 inches in size which after thorough testing he found was just what he wished. The price of this was $10,000, but despite the fact that Mitchel had nothing like such a sum he closed a contract for the glass and was home again in a little over three months, having visited a number of great observatories abroad and made acquaintance among foreign astronomers. The glass as mounted was the largest telescope in America with the diameter of its object glass 12 inches and its focal length 17¼ feet and it was with great enthusiasm that Mitchel described his adventures to the members of the association who gathered to welcome him on his return home. Nicholas Longworth offered to the society any four acres out of 25 of his property on what was afterwards known as Mount Adams. Here on November 9, 1843, at the very peak of Mount Adams where afterwards stood the monastery of the Passionist Fathers, ex-President John Quincy Adams then

over 77 years of age laid the corner-stone of the Observatory. In the presence of a vast multitude, Mr. Adams delivered an oration such as but few men of the time were capable of. He was introduced by Judge Burnet who had been instrumental in securing the attendance of the distinguished statesman. His address and more than that the dignity of his person made such an impression upon the community that the hill upon which the Observatory was erected received from that time the name "Mount Adams," which it holds to-day. At the time of the laying of the corner-stone, Mitchel had been able to collect but $3,000 which was the amount to be paid upon signing the contract. It became necessary therefore to raise the additional amount of $6,500 in time to meet the payment of the balance due when the great refractor should be shipped to the United States in June, 1844. The amounts that had been subscribed by reason of the commercial conditions were hard to collect. Mitchel took this duty upon himself and he made a most systematic attempt to get together the necessary funds. He kept a regular journal of each day's work, noting the persons visited, the sums collected, promises to pay and the day when told to call again. Although the postponements at times were as much as four months, promptly at the hour he presented himself for his money. At the end of 40 days he was able to pay over to the treasurer $3,000 collected from the old subscribers and nearly $2,000 in due-bills payable in carpenter work, painting, dry goods, boots and shoes, hats and caps, plastering and bricklaying, blacksmith work, paints and oils, groceries, pork barrels, flour, bacon and lard, hardware, iron, nails, etc., in short in every variety of trade materials and workmanship. From these due-bills there was raised within the next thirty days about $500 in cash, leaving $3,000 still to be collected. Mitchel made out a list of the prominent and wealthy citizens and opposite the names of eight he marked $200 and opposite ten, $100 and opposite the names of others $50 each. Every man called upon with one exception responded with the amount placed opposite his name. The necessary funds were finally turned over for the instrument but this left nothing for building. Several thousand dollars had been subscribed payable in work and materials. As Mitchel could get no one to take the contract for the building he concluded to hire workmen by the day and superintend the erection of the building himself. The price of hauling brick to the summit of Mount Adams was so great that it was found necessary to build it of limestone taken from the ground. In June, 1844, he engaged two masons and a tender and proceeded with the erection of the Observatory. As exorbitant charges were made for delivering lime, he built a lime-kiln and made his own lime. He finally opened a sand pit in the neighborhood and purchased horses to do the hauling. In many instances he filled the carts with his own hands and drove them to the top of the hill, demonstrating how much work could be done in a day. For the purpose of obtaining water, he built a dam in the ravine on the top of the hill. By the end of the first week he had raised sufficient money to pay his hands and to employ two more masons and a tender as well as workmen in the quarry, in the lime-kiln, and sand pit. These were paid half in cash and half in trade. During all this time Mitchel was discharging his duties as professor of mathematics and philosophy in the Cincinnati College, teaching five hours a day from eight until one. Before beginning his lectures at this early hour in the morning, he visited his workmen and arranged the work for the day and by two o'clock he was once more with them or occupied in raising funds. By the third week he was able to double his hands and during the fourth week to double them again, finally having over 50 day laborers engaged in the work. Each Saturday exhausted his funds and he began each week with the whole wages for the ensuing week to collect. With his various due-bills he was able to get certain work done in town and he at one time had as many as 100 hands engaged on the prosecution of his work,—half on the hills and half in the work shops. The doors were made by one carpenter, the window frames by another, the sashes by a third. The painter took them to a joiner, who in turn delivered them to a glazier. The carpenter paid up his stock-subscription by hanging them with weights purchased by stock and with cords obtained in the same way. In some instances the joists for the same floor came from two or three different mills.

The great telescope arrived in February, 1845, and was placed in position during the next month. The structure was completed by June, 1845, the time within which Mr. Longworth had insisted it should be done and Mitchel was installed as director, residing with his family in the building. He devised a number of ingenious and delicate instruments, received and instructed students and continued to make astronomical ob-

servations with much success. There was no endowment and he received no salary or other compensation or any assistance outside of that of his family. He was obliged to support himself by engineering on the route of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad and by lecturing, but despite these drawbacks he earned for himself and his institution a world-wide reputation. The burning of the College Building stopped all income from that source but it gave him more time to devote to his work. During the years 1854 to 1859 he practically revolutionized the system of cataloguing the stars and made nearly 50,000 observations of faint stars. Up to the outbreak of the war, the Observatory remained the best equipped in the United States and Mitchel himself stood among the first astronomers of the world.

At the outbreak of the Rebellion, he became an enthusiastic supporter of the North. A graduate of West Point in the same class as Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston and afterwards instructor in that institution, and as Adjutant-General of Ohio in 1847-48, he felt that it was his duty to take an active part in the war. He had been called in 1859 to the charge of Dudley Observatory in Albany and remained there until 1861, retaining his connection with our own Observatory. He was in New York at the time of the fall of Sumter and at the great Union meeting brought about by this event he was the most effective speaker. It will be remembered that at all times during his life he had regarded oratory as an essential study for a man of science who desired to give the world the benefit of his labors. His eloquence on this occasion carried the multitude by storm and before he had completed his oration many men and women in the audience were violently weeping, while it was almost impossible for him to be heard because of the repeated cheering. He was made brigadier-general of volunteers of Ohio and reported to General McClellan. At the request of the citizens of Cincinnati, he was transferred to this city and placed in charge of fortifying the city and preparing recruits for the field. He served in the Tennessee and Alabama campaigns of the winter of 1861-62. The so-called "locomotive chase," one of the most famous raids of the war, and his conspicuous service gained for him the rank of major-general in April, 1862. In September he was in command of the Department of the South at Hilton Head in South Carolina. There he was stricken with yellow fever and died. He was known throughout the army as "Old Stars" and his death was deplored as a public calamity and he was mourned as a great general.

Mitchel was succeeded as director of the Observatory by Henry Twitchel who served in 1861. During the war the Observatory languished but afterwards interest in it revived, particularly after the establishment of the University of Cincinnati. Cleveland Abbe was director from 1868 to 1870, during which time he established the Weather Bureau. In 1872 the growth of manufacturing and other interests in the neighborhood of Mount Adams made the place an unsuitable one for the Observatory. Thereupon the heirs of Mr. Longworth agreed with the Cincinnati Astronomical Society to surrender the ground occupied to the city upon the specific trust that it should be leased or sold and the proceeds applied towards endowing the School of Art and Design, established in connection with the University. The city agreed to sustain an observatory to be connected with the University. For this observatory John Kilgour gave four acres of land and the sum of $10,000 and the Cincinnati Astronomical Society surrendered all the apparatus belonging to the Observatory. The new building on Mount Lookout was begun in 1873 and the corner-stone of the old building was relaid in the new structure. The old Mount Adams property was leased to the Passionist Fathers who have used it as a monastery and school at a ground rent. Julius Dexter added a gift of $1,000 to the Observatory in 1874 and the building was completed without delay and finally opened in 1875 with Prof. Ormond Stone in charge. The old glass purchased by Mitchel was subsequently reground and reduced slightly in size so that it is now 11 inches. On March 24, 1902, the University of Cincinnati concluded to purchase a 16-inch telescope and the contract for that purchase has been made with the celebrated Clarke establishment of Cambridgeport. The price of this glass is to be $9,500, the same as the price of the original. Its present director, Jermain G. Porter, has served since 1884.

THE OHIO MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

In the year 1828 Dr. John D. Craig delivered a course of lectures on natural and experimental philosophy which attracted much attention. At the close of his lectures he suggested the propriety of establishing a Mechanics' Institute. On the evening of October 25, 1828, in pursuance of a public notice signed by W. Disney, Luman

Watson, John P. Foote and John Locke, it was determined that such an institution should be formed in this city and the four gentlemen named as well as J. Bonsall were appointed a committee to report a plan of action. At a meeting a month later, November 20, 1828, Rev. Elijah Slack in the chair, Dr. Craig delivered a discourse on the subject of "Mechanics' Institutes" and Mr. Foote read the report of the committee. As a result of this step, a charter was obtained from the Legislature on February 20, 1829, for the organization of an institution for advancing the best interests of the mechanics, manufacturers and art designers by the more general diffusion of useful knowledge in those important classes of the community. The founders of the Institute included Messrs. Foote, Craig, Watson and Disney already mentioned and also Thomas Riley, William C. Anderson, David T. Disney, George Graham, Jr., Calvin Fletcher, Clement Dare, William Greene, Tunis Brewer, Jeffrey Seymour, Israel Schooley and Elisha Brigham. Classes were formed for instruction in chemistry, geometry and arithmetic under Drs. Cleaveland and Locke and John L. Talbot. Lectures in chemistry were delivered partly in College Hall and partly in the council chamber on Fourth street between Main and Walnut. Other lectures were delivered at Mr. Talbot's school. A little later the Enon Baptist Church on Walnut between Third and Fourth was purchased and arranged for the purpose of the Institute. On the ground floor were the library, reading room and the class room. In 1831 Jeptha D. Garrard bought from Dr. Craig his valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus and presented it to the Institute. In the hall of the Institute were given the introductory lectures of the Medical College of Ohio and some attempt was made to combine the Cincinnati College and the Institute. When the first payment of the $4,000 purchase money came due, the Institute was unable to meet it; thereupon the property was conveyed to Messrs. Foote, Graham, Fletcher and Bonsall as trustees to raise the necessary funds. At the same time stock was issued in the sum of $16,000 divided into $25 shares; with this it was expected to erect a building to include stores and school rooms as well as a public hall and other necessary rooms but the public did not subscribe and the time passed within which the trustees were to have received their money. At this time (1833-34) the suggestion was made by the Cincinnati College to relinquish to the Institute the college edifice on condition that the Institute should comply with the terms of the college lease in relation to the tuition of the 28 free scholars, the use of the building and the preservation of the partition walls but for some strange reason the board of directors declined to accept the offer. During this winter Professor Stowe of Lane Seminary gave an introductory lecture on the history of letters followed by Hon. James Hall on the importance of establishing a library in Cincinnati. The audiences were so small and the interest manifested so slight that the course was abandoned. In May, 1835, Dr. John D. Craig was appointed librarian and general superintendent but in November of that year as a result of the unsatisfactory financial condition of the institution the building was abandoned and the large hall of the College Building and the front rooms above were procured (at a rent of $100 per annum) to be used as a lecture and library rooms. After a year another move was made to the building on the south side of Fifth street just east of Vine. The Western Academy of Natural Sciences had a room in the third floor while the lectures were delivered in College Hall. Here Dr. Craig gave two lectures a week, one course of which was to a class of ladies. In 1838 it was determined to attempt to raise funds by giving a grand "Mechanics' and Citizens' Ball" at the National Theatre. The ball was held on February 26th and was a great success. Seven hundred tickets at $5 each were sold and the Institute received about $2,400 from this source. This was followed by a fair held in the Trollopean Bazaar on May 30, 31 and June 1, 1838. This building was crowded with the various products of Western artisans and the fair was quite a success. J. C. Vaughan delivered an address during its continuance and it was closed by an address by E. D. Mansfeld. The affairs of the Institute were in better shape and as a result in February, 1839, the Bazaar was purchased from Blackly and Longworth for $10,000, one-fourth down and the rest in five annual payments. Another ball was given in the National Theatre where the pit was floored over to a level with the stage, forming an area capable of accommodating one hundred sets of cotillions. Over two thousand persons were present and the profit to the Institute was about $2,500.

Dr. John Locke than was employed as lecturer of the Institute, delivering two lectures a week. The building however was found to be too far from the central portion of the city. In 1841 a committee was appointed to consider the

sale of the property and the erection of a hall elsewhere. The sites considered were what was known as the "Garden" lot at Sixth and Vine streets, the Odd Fellows' lot at Third and Walnut and the park on Eighth street.

Pending negotiations in May, 1843, the building on Walnut opposite College Hall, afterwards occupied by U. P. James' book store, was leased. Another fair was held this year in College Hall to which the music was contributed without cost by the Amateur Musical Society. Lectures were suspended until the winter of 1844, when a course was delivered by Messrs. Cranch and U. T. Howe. In November of the following year a lot on the west side of Walnut between Third and Fourth belonging to Lane Seminary was taken on a perpetual lease on condition that a building worth $5,000 should be erected within 18 months and rooms were rented in the old Post Office building on Third between Walnut and Vine. A possible sale of the Bazaar was frustrated by Mr. Longworth's refusal to close the sale unless he received compound interest on the balance due and in February, 1847, the mortgage was foreclosed and "Trollope's Folly" with $4,500 which the Institute had put into it was lost. Finally after the adoption of a new constitution and the obtaining of a new charter in 1847, public interest was sufficiently aroused as to enable the raising of between $17,000 and $18,000 for the purpose of erecting a proper building. This money was raised principally by the exertions of Miles Greenwood. With it was purchased the lot at Sixth and Vine for the sum of $15,000 and the corner-stone of the building was laid July 4, 1848, by the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. The money subscribed was soon exhausted and the cholera made further subscriptions unobtainable but the trustees were able by the use of their own personal credit to complete the building and in 1850 the tenth annual fair was held in it. This netted $2,400, the first contribution of the Institute towards its own building.

In 1854 the indebtedness of the Institute was about $50,000 of which about $18,000 was owing to Miles Greenwood and Marston Allen, two of the trustees. These gentlemen offered to surrender their claims to the Institute upon the condition that sufficient money be raised to pay the rest of the indebtedness. An effort was first made to obtain subscriptions averaging 75 cents each from the four thousand mechanics of the city for whom the Institute was particularly designed but this failed. A call upon the merchants was more successful and finally the debt was reduced to $15,000. During this time Dr. Locke delivered lectures and there were a number of others including one by P. T. Barnum on "Humbug." The annual exhibitions were also continued and were uniformly successful. During the following years, classes were given instruction in bookkeeping, penmanship, German, chemistry, physics, geology and natural history. Strangely enough at no time were the receipts from admission fees, about two cents per lecture, sufficient to pay more than one-third of the lecturers' expenses although their services were given gratuitously. Finally in the year 1857 an arrangement was entered into by which the Public and School Library took charge of part of the building, relieving the Institute from the maintenance thereof, in consideration of which enough money was advanced to pay the debts of the Institute. The debt was entirely paid and the Institute became the undisputed owners of the property. In acknowledgment of their services, Messrs. Greenwood and Allen and afterwards John P. Foote were elected as a board of emeritus trustees and advisory directors for life.

During the year 1856 the establishment of a mechanical museum was considered but the enterprise was dropped. The School of Art and Design however was established in the fall of the year and has been most successfully maintained ever since. The 15th exhibition held from September 10 to October 8, 1857, was the most important one that had yet been held. A special building with a framework of gas pipes and roof of sheet iron was erected at a cost of $8,000. This unusual outlay resulted in a loss but the success of the exhibition warranted the expenditure. Lectures were delivered during the year by Professors J. C. Zachos, Ward, Allen, Warriner and Dr. Samuel Silsbee, as well as by Prof. Daniel Vaughn, William M. Davis and J. R. Hamilton. During the war much of the work of the Institute was suspended. The School of Design however was continued and removed from Greenwood Hall to the Institute building. After the war was over, lectures were given from time to time by Rev. A. D. Mayo, I. W. Wiley and Prof. Daniel Vaughn and regular classes were conducted by William M. Davis and J. F. Wisnewski. In 1869 there was held in this city the exposition of the Woolen Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest. This was so successful as to lead to the holding of a grand in-

dustrial exhibition during the fall of the following year. This was the first of Cincinnati's industrial expositions, all of which were held under the joint management of the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade and the Mechanics' Institute, and was so great a success as to lead to the establishment of the series of expositions which have made Cincinnati famous in this particular.

The history of the Institute from this time has been one of constant progress. It is now one of the most important educational factors in the city. It has at present a faculty of over 30 members and provides instruction in every phase of mechanical and scientific education, including mechanics, steam engineering, architecture, free-hand drawing and designing, mathematics, chemistry, physics, applied electricity, wood working, wood carving, metal work, clay modeling, languages (English, German, French and Spanish), history and economics, and music. There is a summer school and both day and night sessions. The enrollment for the year is about 1,500 in number. The director for some years has been John L. Shearer.

THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.

The Western Museum projected in 1818 by William Steele, in which Dr. Drake took such a cordial interest and which was so important a feature of the educational life of the days when Cincinnati was passing from the narrow life of a town to the wider field of a city, has been described in an earlier chapter. The plan of this establishment according to Dr. Drake's address at the opening of the Museum in 1820 embraced nearly the whole of those parts of the great circle of knowledge which require material objects either natural or artificial for their illustration. The Museum at that time owned a cabinet with philosophical and chemical apparatus and funds exceeding $4,000 and it was regarded as especially auspicious that the newly organized Cincinnati College was given access to the property of this institution. At a later time it will be remembered it was moved to Second and Main streets where under the charge of Mr. Dorfeuille it comprised specimens, including those from both the animal and mineral kingdom. At a later time it was at Pearl and Main and in 1834 it is said to have possessed specimens including mammoth and Arctic elephant bones and the bones of other animals, fossils, mineral and botanical specimens, Egyptian and American antiquities and microscopic designs over 14,000 in number. It also included paintings and models in wax and plaster. Here too were the well known "Infernal Regions."

In April, 1835, the Western Academy of Natural Sciences was organized and soon after was located in the building of the Cincinnati College. This society had about 50 members and many correspondents and immediately began the collection of specimens of objects of natural history. Its president was Robert Buchanan and among its officers were John P. Foote, Mr. Dorfeuille and others interested in scientific matters. The catalogue of flowering plants and ferns found in the vicinity of Cincinnati was prepared by Joseph Clarke and published by the society. Its quarters were moved from time to time, to the Trollopean Bazaar where it was the guest of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, afterwards to the hall of a fire company and finally back to the College Building. This organization was in some respects a successor of the Western Museum and carried on for a time the interest in natural history of which the Museum was a product. As time passed however the Academy seemed to lose its popularity and Mr. Foote writing in 1855 speaks of it as being in danger of soon belonging like the Academy of Fine Arts "to airy nothing." Although the cabinet and library were no longer growing, a number of private cabinets were increasing, some rich in specimens. Among those specially mentioned were the cabinets of Professor Christy, Dr. Locke, Mr. Anthony, James Clarke, Robert Buchanan, Robert Clarke, George Graham, H. C. Grosvenor, U. P. James, S. T. Carley and Professor Ward.

The Cincinnati Society of Natural History, today one of the most important of the city's educational institutions, is the successor of these early efforts to excite interest in the study of nature. It was organized on January 19, 1870, with 25 members and incorporated on June 20th of the same year. Its first president was Dr. John A. Warder. Among those taking an active part in its early days were Robert Clarke, Julius Dexter, Charles Dury, John M. Edwards, Horatio Wood, Henry Probasco, S. A. Miller, R. C. McCracken and J. Ralston Skinner, and Drs. R. M. Byrnes, H. H. Hill, W. H. Mussey, Charles E. Low, Joseph E. James, William Owens, E. S. Wayne, C. A. Miller, E. Williams and S. E. Wright. Rooms were soon rented in the College Building and Prof. John M. Edwards was elected custodian and Charles Dury, taxidermist. In September, 1871, the society, which had already collected a number of spec-

imens and a small library, received from the Western Academy of Natural Sciences some 265 volumes, $351 in money and the remnant of the latter's collection. The collection of Robert Buchanan was acquired in 1872 through the generosity of Mr. Probasco and other members who gave for it $1,000 as a partial compensation for 111 volumes and three upright cases of fossils, shells and minerals. Mr. Buchanan was elected an honorary member and subsequently Robert Clarke, U. P. James, George Graham, D. E. Bowles, John L. Talbot, S. T. Carley and Mr. Buchanan, surviving members of the Western Academy, were elected to life membership Donations were subsequently received from the Cincinnati Exposition, Dr. W. H. Mussey and others so that by 1874 it appeared from the custodian's report that the society had in its collection 22,200 natural history specimens and about 1,000 volumes. The building fund had increased to a little over $3,000. Charles Bodmann, a member of the society, died in May, 1875. By his will he left to the society an unconditional bequest of $50,000. Eleven thousand five hundred of this was invested in the purchase and repair of the property on the southeast corner of Broadway and Arch streets occupied by the organization and the collection, the product of the labor of so many years and so many organizations and persons, was removed to that building in 1877, where the first meeting of the society was held on November 6th of that year. The collection of specimens and books has been increased by donations and purchases until today it is regarded as one of the most valuable in the West. It illustrates as nothing else can the fauna and flora, geology and mineralogy of this neighborhood and is of the greatest value in the teaching of natural history. These collections are open to the public without charge. Its president (1903) is Dr. C. R. Holmes and director, Dr. Joshua Lindahl.

THE CUVIER CLUB

Was formed in 1871 by a number of gentlemen who desired to elevate the tone of field sports and to enforce the game laws. It was first known as the Ohio State Society for the Protection of Game and Fish. In 1875 its name was changed to that of the celebrated French naturalist and at this time a large public reception was held. In 1882 it moved into its present handsome building on Longworth street. It subsequently started to collect a museum which now comprises several thousand birds, fishes, animals and bird eggs. There is also a collection of standard works on natural history most of them the gift of Alexander Starbuck, its president. The custodian of the museum is Charles Dury. A feature of this institution are lectures on natural history, which are open to the public. The museum is free and is largely used by teachers and students of natural history. The club banquet which occurs in November of each year is one of the great features of the city. The Cuvier Club has devoted its attention to the passage and enforcement of laws for the protection of the game and fish of the State and to it more than to any other organization is the public indebted for the suppression of the wanton spirit of destruction so often mistaken for the love of field sport.

A kindred organization which meets at the Cuvier Club is the Audubon Society of the State of Ohio, which, organized in 1898, has for its purpose the dissemination of the knowledge of birds and their protection.

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

In 1822 the Legislature of Ohio passed an act incorporating an Ohio Historical Society but the society if any there was failed to take advantage of the act. Nine years later on February 11, 1831, a charter was issued to Benjamin Tappan, S. P. Hildreth, Alfred Kelly, J. McBride, Ebenezer Lane and a number of others to organize the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. The Cincinnati charter members were Dr. J. Cobb, Dr. Elijah Slack, N. Longworth, John P. Foote and Timothy Flint. The society was organized on December 31st at Columbus, Ohio, and Benjamin Tappan became its first president. Ebenezer Lane became president in 1836 and Judge Jacob Burnet in 1838. Judge J. C. Wright succeeded Judge Burnet who was reelected in 1844. For the first 17 or 18 years of its existence, the society had its home at Columbus and its members came from all parts of the State. In 1838 the society issued its first publication in which, in addition to the act of incorporation and by-laws, list of officers and annual addresses, were contained a number of papers which had been read before the society. In the following year the second part of the first volume was published in which were addresses by Judge Walker and others and more particularly Judge Burnet's letters addressed to J. Delafield, Jr., concerning the settlement of the Northwest Territory. The meetings during these years were usually held in the Representatives' Hall in the old State

House or at the Neil House. The few possessions of the society were in a case kept in a room of the canal commissioners. The society seemed to have but little vigor and its meetings ceased for two years when on the occasion of the annual meeting Mr. Randall of Cincinnati suggested the removal to this city and the turning over of its papers and property to the newly organized Cincinnati Historical Society, which suggestion was adopted and the society was moved to the Queen City.

The Cincinnati Historical Society was organized in August, 1844, with James H. Perkins as president; John P. Foote and William D. Gallagher, vice-presidents; recording secretary, E. P. Norton; treasurer, Robert Buchanan; and librarian, A. Randall. Three years later Judge Este became president to be succeeded on the following year by W. D. Gallagher. In 1847 Dr. S. P. Hildreth presented to the society the manuscript of his "Pioneer History," which was published in 1848. The transfer of the Columbus organization to Cincinnati took place in February, 1849, at which time the two societies were united, members of the Cincinnati society elected members of the older association and all the property of the Cincinnati society donated to it. The first president of the new organization was William D. Gallagher and prominent among its officers were James H. Perkins, E. D. Mansfield, Robert Buchanan, A. Randall, John C. Wright, John P. Foote and David K. Este. In 1850 the society's constitution was revised and its primary object was announced to be "research in every department of local history, the collection, preservation and diffusion of whatever may relate to the history, biography, literature, philosophy and antiquities of America—more especially of the State of Ohio, of the West and of the United States." In April, 1850, a meeting was held to commemorate the 62nd anniversary of the first settlement of Ohio and Mr. Gallagher the president delivered an address which was subsequently published by the society. Hildreth's "Memoirs of Pioneer Settlers of Ohio" was published two years later. Other early presidents were E. D. Mansfield, John Johnson, John P. Foote and Robert Buchanan. Judge M. F. Force became president in 1870. Among others who were active in the affairs of the society were George Graham, Peyton Symmes, James Lupton, J. G. Anthony, Osgood Mussey, John D. Caldwell and A. R. Spofford. The books of the society were first deposited in the front room of the fourth story of a brick building at Third and Race. About 1853 they were transferred to the basement of the Cincinnati College and later were taken to Mr. Buchanan's store. About 1860 they were packed in boxes and deposited in the Public and School Library then in the Mechanics' Institute building at Sixth and Vine. At the close of the war but four active members remained in Cincinnati: Messrs. Buchanan, Graham, Caldwell and Force. Three others who afterwards did more in contribution of time and money than any three of the society's friends —Julius Dexter, Robert Clarke, and Eugene F. Bliss—became interested with the four survivors in the reorganization of the society which took place in May, 1868. The library was resurrected and placed in the hospitable rooms of the Literary Club. It contained at that time 700 bound volumes, and 1,250 pamphlets. Robert Buchanan became the president, Judge Force the corresponding secretary, Charles E. Cist recording secretary and John D. Caldwell librarian. Judge Force was elected president in 1870 and retained that position until 1889 at which time he left the city and Eugene F. Bliss was elected in his place. Mr. Bliss had been the treasurer from 1874 to 1885. John M. Newton became librarian in 1869 and was succeeded by Julius Dexter in 1870 who continued in that position until 1880. Miss Elizabeth Appleton was librarian from 1880 to September, 1886, at which time she was succeeded by the present incumbent, Mrs. C. W. Lord. Mr. Bliss resigned the presidency in 1899, at which time he was succeeded by Joseph Wilby.

In 1871 the library was removed from the rooms of the Literary Club to five rooms in the upper story of the College Building on Walnut street between Fourth and Fifth, which were furnished by the Cincinnati College rent free. Here it remained 14 years to move in 1885 to No. 107 West Eighth street just west of Race. The Garfield Place building held the library for 16 years at the end of which time it was transferred to the Van Wormer Library on the grounds of the University of Cincinnati. The library at present has on its shelves 17,450 bound volumes and 65,320 pamphlets. It has 80 corporate members, 22 life members, 10 corresponding members and two honorary members. The use of the library is free to the public under reasonable regulations. In addition to the bound volumes and pamphlets on the shelves of the library, there are a number of collections of manuscripts, many of which are of great value to a student of local history. Among these are

the Torrence papers, including a large number of letters relating to the early history of Cincinnati and in these occur such names as those of Findlay, Harrison, Whiteman, Longworth, Ludlow, Taylor, Burnet, Storer, Kilgour, Yeatman, Ruffin, Baum, Carneal, Kemper, Worthington, Short, Wright, Lytle, Drake and Hammond. Other papers are the Walker papers, the Gano papers, the Follett papers and the Clarke papers. Among the volumes belonging to the library are many of great value and rarity. There is the Williamson collection, that of Peter Force, the books of the New England Society, the Centennial collection presented to Gosborn, the Robert Clarke collection, and the Thomson collection, a library of 768 beautifully bound volumes and 11,063 pamphlets in itself. On the walls of the library hang a number of portraits of prominent Cincinnati personages as well as views of the city showing its appearance at various times in its history. Among the publications of the society have been the reports already referred to, the journal of Capt. John May and the journal of David Zeisberger translated from the German manuscript with annotations by Eugene F. Bliss. (See address of Joseph Wilby, February 11, 1902, and reports of the society.)

The Public Library and Its Precursors.

By N. D. C. Hodges, Librarian of the Public Library of Cincinnati.

At 6 o'clock on the evening of February 13, 1802, a few people met in one of the rooms of Yeatman's Tavern, in response to a call printed that morning in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, and addressed to those interested in having a public library in Cincinnati. Jacob Burnet, Martin Baum and Lewis Kerr were appointed a committee to open a subscription list, the subscribers to agree to take one or more shares of stock and to pay for these at the rate of $10 for each share. A second meeting of subscribers and "others desirous of encouraging the library" was called for Monday evening, March 8th, also at Mr. Yeatman's, to receive the report of the committee. The list of subscribers was headed by Arthur St. Clair, the first Governor of the Northwest Territory. The subscription paper, once owned by Robert Clarke, is now in the possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. In a note on the back it is stated that the library went into operation March 6, 1802, with Lewis Kerr as librarian. Of the fate of the library nothing is known. It may have been merged in the collection of the Circulating Library Society.

The early history of the Library Society has come down to us in a preface to a catalogue of the books of the society, published in 1810. In the autumn of 1808 several persons "desirous of seeing a public library established in Cincinnati" assembled for the purpose of applying to the Legislature for a law of incorporation. A petition and the draft of a bill were forwarded but for reasons never disclosed to the petitioners their prayer was not granted. In 1811 the project was revived and a subscription paper was circulated by George Turner, Esq., with considerable success. The subscribers, in answer to a call published in *Liberty Hall* of June 20th, assembled at Goodwin's Tavern (Eagle and Plough) opposite the Court House, on the following Saturday, at early candle-light. Two meetings were, in fact, held and a constitution adopted, officers chosen and a committee appointed to apply for a charter at the next legislative session. This application was not made and all further exertions ceased for a twelvemonth.

At the expiration of that period, two or three persons succeeded in obtaining the papers which the committee had prepared the year before and transmitted them to the Legislature, which enacted a law of incorporation January 2, 1813. In this act seven directors were named, to hold their places until the annual election in the ensuing March. Still public enthusiasm at the prospect of having a public library was not at a white heat. No election was ordered in March and in a call for a meeting printed in *Liberty Hall* of May 25th, to be held next day, the subscribers are urged to come forward and discharge their subscription without further delay and the directors express a regret that little attention had been given to previous notices and indulge a hope that there will be no further cause of complaint. The subscriptions were payable either in cash or in books. William Corry was the librarian.

The original directors continued, by common consent, in the exercise of their functions until the spring of 1814, when the first election was held, and on the 16th of April the library, containing 300 volumes, apparently all received in lieu of cash, was opened. To effect an immediate increase in this diminutive collection was regarded as so desirable that, in addition to a pressing call for the unpaid subscriptions, the directors borrowed small sums of money on a credit of three years without interest, and purchased

books on the same terms. With the money borrowed and collected from the subscribers or received from further sales of stock, there was made in the ensuing summer, at Philadelphia, the first purchase of books, amounting to about 250 volumes. In the autumn the charter, through the omission of the former directors, having become extinct, and being moreover considered defective, application was made by the board to the Legislature and a new act of incorporation was passed December 22nd.

In the summer of 1815 the trustees of the Miami University authorized a committee of that board to examine the books belonging to the college and to dispose of such as were not essential to its library. Of the works thus rejected, the Library Society purchased on credit 100 volumes. In the autumn of the same year a member of the board about to visit the Eastern cities was vested with discretionary powers to purchase books. As a result, nearly 400 volumes, among them "many rare and valuable works," were secured.

By the spring of 1815 it had become apparent that the proceeds from the fines and sales of stock were insufficient to meet the current expenses and leave any balance for a yearly addition to the library and the directors passed an ordinance levying on each share an annual contribution of $1. In the year 1816 it was necessary to double this assessment. The money was wanted: 1st, to discharge the rent of a room and the salary of the librarian; 2nd, to pay for the binding and repairing of books; 3rd, to pay for the printing of catalogues and blanks; 4th, to meet the annual subscription for Rees' Cyclopædia and the seven periodicals taken by the library; 5th, to make occasional purchases of new books; and 6th, to pay off the outstanding debts. From the citizens, who had not extended their support to the library, the directors solicited that patronage "which is equally calculated to benefit the community and the persons who afford it." Shares were offered at the original price, either on an extended credit or payable in books, and the directors, evidently of a sanguine disposition, entertained a hope very soon to observe an augmentation of the library "which will render it equally honorable and useful to our flourishing town."

The directors of the society in 1816 were: Daniel Drake, president; Jesse Embree, secretary; Peyton S. Symmes, treasurer; William S. Hatch, Thomas Pierce, David Wade and Micajah T. Williams. The librarian was David Catheart. Daniel Drake, the president, was also deeply interested in the Cincinnati College, first known as the Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary, and as early as 1819 the books belonging to the society had been placed in the Cincinnati College for the use of the students in common with the proprietors. In 1819, Dr. Drake was still president and the directors were: Jesse Embree, Thomas Pierce, Peyton S. Symmes, William Corry, David Wade and Micajah T. Williams, with David Catheart as librarian.

In the Cincinnati Directory of 1825 this library, referred to as "belonging to the city," was still in the Cincinnati College edifice. By 1829 the books had been removed to Williamson's book store on Main street near Third. At that time there were about 1,500 volumes. The Cincinnati Directory of 1831, under the heading "Public Libraries," enters the Cincinnati Circulating Library as on Main near Fifth, with 6000 volumes, probably an exaggeration.

The end of the Library Society is chronicled in the minutes of the Apprentices' Library, now in the possession of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. A considerable portion of the stock had been forfeited, probably through non-payment of dues. George T. Williamson had become owner of 11 shares of the unforfeited stock, while Henry Avery owned one. These they donated to the Apprentices' Library in 1837 and the books were removed to the room of the Apprentices' Library, where they stood apart from the other books and were marked in the catalogue with the letter "B." This action was the result of a meeting of the directors of the Apprentices' Library April 28, 1837, at which meeting were present: A. H. Ernst, S. S. L'Hommedieu, D. F. Meader and H. L. Tatem.

The books of the Circulating Library had evidently been neglected for at a meeting of the Apprentices' Library held May 26th, it was resolved that the City Council be asked for an appropriation of $75 to defray the expenses incurred in cleaning the books obtained from the old Cincinnati Library and arranging and fixing the shelves. This money was appropriated as reported at the meeting of June 30th.

From the minutes of the Apprentices' Library it appears that a public meeting of citizens was convened on the 8th of February, 1821, for the purpose of forming a library for the use of apprentices in the city of Cincinnati. A committee was appointed for each ward to make personal application from house to house for contributions of books, money or other valuable com-

modities. This committee had 18 members. The minutes of the first meeting are signed by E. Stone, chairman (who was one of the first directors of the Cincinnati Circulating Library), and Joseph Buchanan, secretary, and are dated February 8, 1821. The committee of 18 collected about 1,200 volumes and with this collection the library went into operation and continued some 15 years with occasional additions, when it was nearly doubled in size by receiving the books of the Circulating Library Society already referred to. The library was open every Saturday from one to four P. M., and all young people, girls as well as boys, had the privilege of taking out books on giving security for their safe return and proper usage.

The library had no funds or income other than donations and the receipts from fines. The City Council provided a room during most of the library's existence and a small salary for the librarian. After the first meeting in 1821 there are no records until the first annual meeting on March 5, 1822. The minutes were then signed by Ephraim Morgan, the librarian. At the second annual meeting on March 6, 1823, the report of the librarian shows 1,127 volumes in the library and a weekly circulation of 180 to 200 volumes. The library had a struggle for existence and it was necessary from time to time to appoint committees to canvass the different wards for donations of money and books.

In the minutes of a meeting of May 29, 1852, it is recorded that for the 10 years preceding the usefulness of the library had gradually diminished until at last, in its then unsuitable location in the City Building on Eighth street, near Western row, its patronage was merely nominal and it was resolved that the library be removed to the Mechanics' Institute and placed under the care of that institution.

Such is the story of the two associations through which the people of Cincinnati were given the advantage of semi-public libraries during the early years of the last century. There were at least two other organizations doing the best they could in the same line of public endeavor—the Lyceum, of which Salmon P. Chase was a prominent member, and the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, which, in the course of time, absorbed the Lyceum collection as it did others.

The first home of the Institute was the Enon Baptist Church on Walnut street between Third and Fourth. On the ground floor were three rooms, two of which were used for a library and a reading room. A series of lectures was planned by the Institute for the winter of 1833-34. These lectures attracted but small audiences and only two were given. One was by Hon. James Hall on "The Importance of Establishing a Library in Cincinnati." This lecture (in spite of the small audience) inspired a more active library propaganda. The library of Morgan Neville was purchased soon after for $300, which was considered a great bargain, and there were individual donations of books. In May, 1835, Dr. John D. Craig was appointed librarian and general superintendent with a salary of $500. By 1845 13 daily and eight weekly papers were regularly received, together with a considerable number of magazines, and there were 203 minors drawing books from the library. The present building, at the corner of Sixth and Vine streets, was completed in 1850 and rooms on the second floor were occupied by the library. The library by 1852 had grown to more than 6,000 volumes, there were on file 70 periodicals, and, in addition to the members, about 400 minors had the privilege of taking books and using the reading room.

The school law, passed in 1853, contained a provision for a State tax of one-tenth of a mill for the purchase of apparatus and books to be distributed among the schools. The consensus of opinion in Cincinnati was that the establishment of a library in every school district would be a wasteful multiplication of the same books and at a meeting of the School Board, held December 18, 1854, this took form in a resolution that there should be but one library for all the public schools and the families entitled to the use of the books. Fortunately, H. H. Barney, the State Commissioner of Common Schools, gave his prompt and cordial approval of this plan. By March, 1855, $5,000 of the tax levied during the preceding two years was available and an order for 1,500 volumes was placed. The earliest recorded gift was that of Winthrop P. Smith of $700, received in the year previous. The Young Men's Mercantile Library made liberal donations of books. The library was opened in a room on the first floor of the old Central High School on Longworth street; the session room of the School Board was upstairs in the same building. In May, 1856, John D. Caldwell was elected clerk of the board and librarian. Previously Dr. J. C. Christin had cared for the library at a salary of $3 per day.

The library had not been opened a year when it was proposed that it should be removed to

the building of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and the library of the Institute placed in charge of the School Board—the combined libraries to be free to the public. Meanwhile, the Legislature had suspended the tax for the purchase of books. In spite of this, it seemed best to carry through the consolidation and an agreement was entered into on the 31st of July, 1856, and signed by Miles Greenwood, Marston Allen, Daniel F. Meader, Charles F. Wilstach, Caleb C. Whitson, George D. Winchell and Isaac Bruce for the Institute; and C. G. Comegys, A. S. Sullivan, John W. Dudley and Lyman Harding for the School Board. During the first three years, 5,047 books had been purchased at an expense of $7,541.92, and at the time of the consolidation the Institute library contained 6,583 volumes, making the union library one of nearly 12,000 volumes.

The rooms were open from eight in the morning to eight in the evening and the number of persons recorded as entitled to the use of the library was more than 2,400. The number of books circulated during the year ending July 6, 1857, was 20,179. In November, 1857, N. P. Poor was elected librarian with a salary of $800 and there was an assistant with a salary of $300. From Mr. Poor's first report, it appears that the number of users had increased to 4,251 and that the circulation for the year had been 47,866.

In 1859 Rufus King, president of the School Board, was able to report the renewal of the library tax and the recovery of a portion of the tax for former years, which was supposed to have been lost in consequence of some mistake on the part of the State authorities at Columbus. A fund amounting to $6,285 was thus available for the increase of the library. Concerts were given by the public schools in April, 1859, and sufficient funds raised to furnish the library with alcoves and shelving. A gallery of paintings and statuary was deposited by the Ladies' Academy of Fine Arts, the precursor of the Art Department of the University. The following year (1860) the library tax was repealed and a famine began which lasted seven years. There were then 22,648 volumes besides the books of the Ohio Historical Society, which were on deposit, and the circulation had increased to over 90,000.

In 1861 Mr. King appealed to the citizens for contributions to the library then deprived of all resources from taxation. E. M. Shield was the first to respond, agreeing to give 100 volumes each year. In 1864 Sargent, Wilson & Hinkle gave $500 and Mr. Shield's gift of 500 volumes was completed, though there was delay in the delivery of the last 200 volumes on account of the lack of cases to receive them.

Mr. Poor died suddenly early in 1866 and Lewis Freeman was elected his successor. Mr. Freeman's first report, dated June 30, 1866, shows that the library exhibited signs of decay. This is hardly a matter for surprise, considering the short commons of the preceding years and the location of Cincinnati so near the seat of war. There was, however, a spirit of revival in the air, for which the public is indebted to the library committee of that day. Of this committee, Rev. J. M. Walden was chairman and the other members were J. F. Irwin, H. Eckel, Robert Brown, Jr., and T. L. Harper. Through the efforts of the librarian, donations amounting to $4,760.15 were procured, to be used for the purchase of books, the donors being Sargent, Wilson & Hinkle, $1,000; Lane & Bodley, $500; Larz Anderson, $500; and Robert Clarke & Company, who remitted a debt of $483.80 and donated $100. Mrs. Sarah Lewis bequeathed $5,000 and Mr. Shield prepared a second valuable collection. The entire donations to the library amounted to about $10,000.

It was evident that the library could not depend for sufficient income upon the liberality of a few individuals. The chief hope lay in such legislation as would restore the tax or its equivalent This legislation was secured largely through the influence of Rev. John M. Walden. In an act passed March 18, 1867, the city was empowered to assess one-tenth of a mill for the maintenance of the Public Library. This gave the library an independent income of over $13,000. A month later, April 3rd, a second act was passed authorizing the Board of Education to constitute a board of seven managers for the Public Library, the president of the Board of Education to be one of these. In July the first board of managers was appointed and the library received the name of "The Public Library of Cincinnati." Earlier it had been known as "The Ohio School Library" and "The Public and School Library of Cincinnati." That year more than 4,000 volumes were added to the collection by purchase, embracing the private library of W. T. Coggeshall and a good collection of German books.

On the 17th of August, 1868, a committee appointed by the Board of Education, to consider the location and erection of a building for the Public Library, held its first meeting and proceeded to examine the half-finished Handy Opera

House, which was about to be sold at public auction. This property was purchased by the city for the sum of $83,000, and plans for converting it into a library were prepared by James W. McLaughlin. Early in 1869 Mr. Freeman resigned and W. F. Poole, of the Boston Athenaeum, was elected librarian. Mr. Poole entered upon his duties November 5th. The front part of the new library building being ready for occupancy, the books were removed from the Mechanics' Institute rooms and the new apartments were opened to the public December 9, 1870. The total number of volumes was 30,799, exclusive of the books of the Theological and Religious Library 3,291, which had continued ever since on deposit. The Mechanics' Institute Library was left with the flourishing institution, which had created it. In March, 1871, the Public Library was opened for Sunday use and in the following year the art rooms were opened. During the year 1872-73 the trustees of the Cincinnati Hospital deposited their medical library but this was afterwards withdrawn. Late in 1873 Mr. Poole resigned to take charge of the Chicago Public Library and Rev. Thomas Vickers was elected in his stead December 1, 1873. The main hall of the new building was opened February 25, 1874. On March 17, 1874, Dr. W. H. Mussey placed in charge of the Public Library his private medical collection of 3,513 volumes.

As one of the components of the Public Library reference may here be made to the Theological and Religious Library, which took shape at a preliminary meeting held October 13, 1862. The organization was completed February 24, 1863, in the lecture room of the Second Presbyterian Church, then on Fourth street between Vine and Race, Hon. Bellamy Storer presiding, and Rev. (Bishop) John M. Walden acting as recording secretary. On March 10th the first board of directors was elected and on the 12th of November the reading room was formally opened in what was known as Mitchell's Building on Fourth street between Walnut and Vine. By 1870, after an expensive experience in keeping the library open for circulation, an offer made by the Public Library Board was accepted and the books were deposited in the then newly opened building of the Public Library on Vine street. The funds of the association have accumulated somewhat in the forty odd years of its existence. The annual meeting of the association takes place in March and its affairs are administered by a board of directors at present consisting of George K. Bartholomew, William J. Breed, D. L. Bishop, N. D. C. Hodges (recording secretary), William B. Melish (treasurer), Davis S. Schaff, Charles H. Snedeker, George A. Thayer (president) and Bishop John M. Walden. George E. Day, D. D., at one time president of Lane Seminary and later connected with Yale College, was a prime mover in forming this library.

The newspaper room of the Public Library was opened January 1, 1875, and the same year the library of the Cincinnati Hospital was withdrawn. On June 10, 1879, a branch was started in Cumminsville with some 5,000 volumes on the shelves. The expenses for rent, fuel and light were covered by subscription. Timothy Kirby, an old resident of Cumminsville, left a bequest of $15,000 to the library, but, owing to a contest, this was reduced to $12,000 when paid to the board. In September, 1878, Mr. Vickers had been appointed rector of the University of Cincinnati and for a time he attempted to perform supervisory duties as librarian also at a reduced salary. This plan did not commend itself to the board and Mr. Vickers resigned and was succeeded, January 1, 1880, as librarian by Chester W. Merrill. Mr. Merrill's first report is dated July 1, 1880, and refers to the opening of a second branch in Columbia, December, 30, 1879. In 1882 the branch library at Cumminsville was closed by order of the Board of Education and the books were returned to the main library. Dr. W. H. Mussey died August 2, 1882, bequeathing the Mussey Medical and Scientific Library to the Public Library —a collection of 9,422 volumes and pamphlets. The Columbia branch was closed May 1, 1884. On September 27, 1886, A. W. Whelpley was elected Mr. Merrill's successor.

The suggestion of Librarian Merrill in his last report and the suggestions of Presidents King and Ferry of earlier date finally bore fruit in the passage on April 30, 1891, of a revised act providing for the management of the library. Under the provisions of this act the directors of the University of Cincinnati elected two members of the board, the Union Board of High Schools two and the Board of Education two, the president of the Board of Education continuing *ex-officio* a member. Unfortunately this act did not go far enough in the changes of management in that it did not give the board any power over the funds: it simply prevented the Board of Education from electing its own members as members of the Library Board; the

Board of Education still controlled the disbursements.

The first board under the new act consisted of J. R. Sayler, W. T. Porter, R. H. West, W. A. Hopkins, A. Pluemmer, J. H. Charles Smith and William Rendigs, president of the Board of Education. In May, 1897, renewed efforts were made to secure legislation which would give to the Library Board full control. Hon. William J. O'Neil was a member of the Hamilton County delegation at that time and had been a member of the board of managers of the library. He was thoroughly familiar with the subject and consented to introduce a bill. There was at first opposition on the part of the Board of Education, but on its being shown that the Board of Education would be relieved of the expenses of the library, amounting to more than $40,000, this opposition was withdrawn and the act under which the library is now administered was passed. The privileges of the library were at once extended to all residents of Hamilton County, the tax levy being extended over the whole county. There was no change in the method of appointing the library trustees, except that the seventh member instead of being a member of the School Board was to be named by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. James A. Green was the nominee of the judges and took the place on the board formerly held by the president of the Board of Education. In June, 1898, the board reorganized under the new law, electing W. T. Porter, president; Thomas P. White, vice-president; L. L. Sadler, treasurer, and James A. Green, secretary.

At once the board began to consider questions looking to the improvement and extension of the library which had long been subjects of discussion but which now, for the first time, they were in a position to carry into effect, having not only the responsibility of the library management but also the power to act in accordance with their best judgment. The trustees were not content with the circumscribed view they had heretofore been compelled to take. If anything was to be found which was better than the method in vogue in the Cincinnati Public Library they were ready to adopt it. The president of the board and the librarian were directed to attend the annual conference of the American Library Association held at Lakewood, New Jersey, July 5-10. To that conference and the insight into library work and library methods which it gave, the Cincinnati Public Library of to-day owes much of the progress it has made in recent years.

Inspired by the reports brought to them by their president and librarian, the trustees determined upon an inspection trip to the principal libraries of the East and on August 23rd President Porter and Messrs. Sadler, West, Hopkins, Mithoefer and Librarian Whelpley started on a journey of investigation to the libraries of Cleveland, Buffalo, Boston, Lowell, Newark, New York, Washington and Pittsburg. The thanks of the board were later extended to Melville E. Ingalls, of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company, and W. W. Peabody, of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, for favors granted in the matter of transportation. As a result, changes were introduced in the charging system which facilitated the obtaining of books by readers. There was a reform in the methods of cataloguing and it was resolved to open a children's room.

The law of 1898 required the trustees to establish in the city and throughout the county delivery stations and they wished to learn of the practical workings of such stations wherever in use. In January, 1899, the board instructed the committee on branch libraries and delivery stations, consisting of Messrs. White and Hopkins and President Porter (who went in place of Mr. West of the committee) to visit St. Louis and Chicago. Later in the year Mr. Hopkins spent a week in Chicago thoroughly posting himself in the details of the delivery system and on his return he was appointed superintendent of the Delivery Stations Department. Mr. Hopkins was succeeded October 5, 1899, as trustee, by Henry Danziger. On June 10, 1899, the stations were put in operation. The same year the trustees determined to begin a dictionary card catalogue and Miss Laura Smith, of the New York State Library School, was placed in charge of the work with trained assistants from the library school.

On February 19, 1900, Mr. Whelpley, the librarian, died at his home in Clifton. On April 20th the board chose as Mr. Whelpley's successor N. D. C. Hodges, who at that time was in the library of Harvard University. Mr. Hodges entered on his duties on May 11, 1900. The children's room, to which Mr. Whelpley had given much thought, was opened a few days later.

The policy of removing the barriers between the readers and the books was promptly entered upon. On the 11th of May, 1900, there were

no books on open shelves. By the end of June an open reference collection of 1,500 volumes had been placed in the main reference room. In the summer about 1,800 volumes for circulation were placed on open shelves in the delivery room. At this time (March, 1903) there are on open shelves in the different departments more than 50,000 volumes.

In 1900 Cincinnati was doing nothing for the intellectual needs of the blind. Those who were indigent were given a home at the Infirmary and a pension was allowed those requiring it. During the summer of 1900 Miss Georgia Trader called upon the librarian to urge that the claims of the blind might be recognized. As work of this kind would appeal to the philanthropic citizens, it seemed best to delay the purchase of books in embossed characters until money for the purpose could be raised by subscription; but there was one thing that could be done at once, which was to start courses of readings by volunteers. No difficulty was encountered, the first course of readings beginning on October 12th. There are now six regular readings given each week; Miss Trader and her sister, Miss Florence Trader, give instructions to the blind in reading and writing; special entertainments are given once a month by volunteers and there are others who give their services as guides or visitors. Miss Trader has been so successful that William A. Procter has just purchased (March, 1903) the Cary homestead, College Hill, as a home for the poor blind. There are on the shelves of the library 650 books in raised characters.

There are in Hamilton County many women's clubs and for three years special reading lists have been prepared on the programs of these clubs to aid the members in the preparation of their papers. Last year these reading lists covered the programs of 44 clubs and the "Club Corner" was visited during the year by more than 2,000 club members.

There are now 41 delivery stations in different parts of the county, six of which are branch libraries, having previously been village libraries but absorbed by the Public Library of Cincinnati under the act of 1898. These branches are located at Harrison, Hartwell, Lockland, Madisonville, Pleasant Ridge and Wyoming. There are 20 traveling libraries of 60 to 70 volumes each in the more remote portions of the county, which could not be served properly by the delivery station method. There are 36 traveling libraries in the fire engine houses of the city and 15 home libraries in the poorer districts of the city.

An April 9, 1902, a letter was received from Andrew Carnegie stating that he would give $180,000 on his usual terms for the erection of six branch libraries in the city of Cincinnati. An act was promptly passed by the Legislature enabling the board of trustees to accept this gift and comply with its conditions but this act was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State.

The library now numbers more than 230,000 bound volumes and more than 44,000 pamphlets. There are 44,095 registered borrowers and the circulation for the year 1902 was 757,504. What is even more important, from 500 to 1,000 persons a day enter the main building to use the books in the various reference departments and to receive assistance from the many reference librarians. In addition to the art department, there is a general reference room and a special reference room devoted to science, especially applied sciences bearing on the various manufacturing industries. This last room is visited each day by several hundred people—manufacturers, artisans, chemists and other experts, and the patent attorneys and inventors. (April, 1903.)

THE CINCINNATI LAW LIBRARY.

In 1834 a special charter was obtained from the General Assembly for the incorporation of a Cincinnati Law Library. The incorporators were among the most prominent lawyers. They were John C. Wright, John M. Goodenow, Henry Starr, Edward King, Crafts J. Wright, Edward Woodruff, Jacob W. Piatt, E. D. Mansfield, O. M. Mitchel, John Frazer, Talbot Jones, S. Yorke At Lee, W. H. Harrison, Jr., M. McLean, W. H. Stickney, Charles D. Drake, James H. Perkins, M. T. Howe, John G. Worthington, James F. Conover and Daniel J. Casswell. Nothing was done at the time to bring about the purpose of this organization and the scheme slumbered until 1846.

W. S. Scarborough in an address delivered before the Cincinnati Law Library Association in 1875 gives a history of this institution. In 1846 when the city had a population of almost 100,000 the bar numbered not less than 125 members. The location of the Court House was then more inconvenient than at present. Some few law offices were in this neighborhood but most were on Third between Sycamore and Walnut, while several were south of Pearl on Main, Columbia and Front. The offices of Storer and

Gwynne for instance were on the west side of Main between Pearl and Second and those of Charles Fox on the northeast corner of Main and Columbia. T. D. Lincoln's office remained a little to the east on Columbia street until 1865. The lawyers of that time were not all great bookmen and there was no large library in the city. The bar was, however, conspicuous for its ability. Judges Burnet and Wright as well as Nathaniel Wright and Henry Starr had retired from active practice. Judge Este had left the bench of the Superior Court, where at that time presided Judge Coffin. Salmon P. Chase, Timothy Walker, O. M. Spencer, Gholson and Storer as well as T. J. Strait are mentioned by Mr. Scarborough as being at that time in active practice. Others mentioned were Benjamin B. Fessenden, Jordan A. Pugh, C. L. Telford, A. E. Gwynne, T. M. Key, William R. Morris and Daniel Van Matre. The bar meeting held in the old Superior Court room in 1840 resulted in the appointment of a committee consisting of William R. Morris, Daniel Van Matre, W. M. Corry, Alphonso Taft and George E. Pugh to raise money for a law library. A paper was drawn up by Mr. Morris which was circulated for signatures. It is said that Judge Caldwell at that time was considering an important case for which he was not able to obtain the authorities he desired. This stimulated him to associate himself with Mr. Pugh and the two made a tour of the bar and obtained a great many signatures. The list of signatures is as follows and constitutes a pretty fair directory of the bar at that time: W. R. Morris, N. B. Rairden, Andrew McMicken, Daniel Van Matre, G. E. Pugh, W. M. Corry, R. W. Russell, John A Collins, Pat. McGroarty, William Birney, R. B. Warden, R. H. Stone, Chas. S. Bryant (on condition that the library be at the Court House), E. C. Roll, L. M. Gwynne, W. B. Caldwell, M. N. McLean, E. Kenna, Henry H. Goodman, Wm. Rankin, Jr., Edward Woodruff, W. E. Bradbury W. Greene, J. H. Jones, Benj. B. Fessenden, Danl. Parkhurst, T. D. Lincoln, Peter Zinn, Sam. M. Hart, Adam Hodge, John L. Miner, Stanley Matthews, Chas. Fox, S Fales, E. P. Norton, A. N. Riddle, A. E. Gwynne, F. Ball, Th. J. Strait, John Kebler, J. L. Scott, Jas. P. Holcombe, C. P. James, William Johnston, T. Walker, E. Harrington, E. L. Rice, Jacob Burnet, $50 (by Daniel Van Matre, as a donation, and not subscribed as a member), Edward P. Cranch, T. C. H. Smith, H. P. Gaines, Oliver Brown, John M. Leavitt, Th. J. Gallagher, Jordan A. Pugh, Alphonso Taft, S. P. Chase, Wm. P. Mellen, O. M. Spencer, Chas. L. Telford, W. S. Groesbeck, R. King, Thomas M. Key, N. G. Pendleton, Geo. H. Pendleton, Charles Anderson, Larz Anderson, M. Comstock, James Riley, John Jolliffe, Henry Roedter, T. Bassford, Eben B. Reeder, J. Burnet, Jr., C. F. Dempsey, A. R. Dutton, Talbot Jones, E. S. Haines, Geo. H. Hilton, A. G. W. Carter, T. G. Mitchell, Wm. T. Forrest, C. W. Grames, W. Y. Gholson, Edmund Pendleton, John W. Applegate, Joshua H. Bates, B. Storer, David Quinn, John Brough, John B. Moorman, J. Frazer, Geo. W. Allen, E. J. Henry, J. B. Fenton, R. M. Corwine, J. T. Crapsey, John G. Douglass, J. H. Clemmer, E. P. Justice, Chas. D. Drake, Jas. F. Meline, Ira D. French, Edward Mills and M. H. Tilden.

In January, 1847, the committee had purchased books to the amount of $1,400 principally through the leading law booksellers of the time, Derby, Bradley & Company. Shortly afterwards they purchased a large bookcase which would hold several hundred volumes which was placed in the court room of the Common Pleas Court. Bernard Bradley was elected as librarian. The subscribers incorporated themselves in the spring of 1847 and in June the first meeting of the association was held. Twenty-four members were present. A. N. Riddle presided and R. B. Warden acted as secretary. The meeting elected as trustees of the library: W. R. Morris, Daniel Van Matre, O. M. Spencer, Alphonso Taft, Jordan A. Pugh and R. B. Warden. Morris became the first president of the association and remained so for some years. Judge Walker succeeded Jordan A. Pugh as trustee in 1848, as the latter had removed to New Orleans. Bradley was succeeded as librarian in November, 1848, by A. V. Pruden, who held the office until the burning of the Court House in the summer of 1849. In the fall Joseph McDougal became librarian and held the office until John Bradley was appointed to succeed him on December 1, 1850. In 1851 A. E. Gwynne, Jacob Burnet, Jr., Rufus King, Thomas G. Mitchell and George E. Pugh were elected trustees and Peter Zinn became clerk. Gwynne became the president, King, vice-president and Pugh, treasurer. The last named was, however, too much engaged with his duties as Attorney General and resigned to be succeeded by Jacob Burnet, Jr., afterwards Judge Burnet. In the burning of the Court House in 1849 most of the books of the library were saved and after the fire the library followed

the courts to the four-story brick building of James Wilson on the north side of Court street west of St. Clair alley. In this building the county offices were on the second floor and the various court rooms of the Supreme, Common Pleas, Superior and Commercial courts were on the third floor.

After the reorganization of the courts in 1852, rooms were engaged in the building east which was connected by a bridge over an alley. The library was in the third floor upon the alley. It contained at that time 1,080 volumes, of which 547 were State reports, mainly from the New England and other Eastern States, and 102 text-books. Mr. Bradley remained librarian until 1861 at which time M. W. Myers was appointed as his successor which position he held until the time of his death in 1899, when he was succeeded by Edwin Gholson. Rufus King who became vice-president in 1851 was made president in 1855, which position he retained until the time of his death in 1891. Judson Harmon has been president since that time. Thornton M. Hinkle has been an officer since 1872.

At the time of the fire of 1884, the library contained some 14,000 volumes, all of which with the exception of three charred remains of volumes were entirely consumed. After the fire the members responded liberally with subscriptions and a new library arose from the ruins, which to-day with almost 30,000 volumes is one of the very best law libraries in the country. It is particularly rich in early session laws. It contains practically complete reports from every English speaking country.

OTHER LIBRARIES.

The Law Library of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, located in the Government Building, is larger and more conveniently housed than that belonging to any other Federal court in the country. It contains about 15,000 volumes and is under the control of the clerk of the court, Frank O. Loveland, and a librarian, Miss Harriet Collins. There is also a law library of considerable pretensions in the Law School Building.

Another very important library is the Lloyd Library of Botany and Pharmacy. The libraries of the various departments of the University, Lane Theological Seminary, St. Xavier and St. Joseph's colleges, Ohio Mechanics' Institute, Cincinnati Hospital and of a number of churches are important.

A sketch of the Young Men's Mercantile Library has been given in an earlier chapter. This historic institution is about to enter its new rooms in the Young Men's Mercantile Library Building sky-scraper and is expected to be of greater value and interest than ever before. It is a distinctive institution of the city life, to which much of the development of the community is due.

CHAPTER XLVII.

MUSIC AND ART.

MUSIC IN CINCINNATI—THE CINCINNATI MUSIC HALL—THE COLLEGE OF MUSIC—THE CINCINNATI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA—THE APOLLO AND ORPHEUS CLUBS—MUSIC SCHOOLS—THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART—THE ART MUSEUM—THE ART ACADEMY—THE ROOKWOOD POTTERY—THE CINCINNATI ART CLUB.

MUSIC IN CINCINNATI.

By Edwin W. Glover.

In this day when even the most subtle of all arts, music, is affected by the prevailing craze for bigness, when institutions of learning calculate their students by the thousands, when choruses must count their numbers by hundreds, and an orchestra of a hundred men is necessary for an adequate performance of a symphonic poem, it is quieting to the nerves to look at the *Western Spy* of over a century back, December 17, 1800, and read this modest little paragraph:

"Those gentlemen and ladies who feel themselves disposed to organize a singing school will please to convene at the court-house to-morrow evening, at candle light, as it is proposed to have singing. Those who have books will please bring them."

This is the record of Cincinnati's first step in musical education. Whether the desire for knowledge came from the gentlemen and ladies themselves or from the solicitations of a newly arrived singing school teacher is not as important as the fact that the need for such study was then recognized.

Up to this time the music had, aside from that connected with the school for dancing started the year before, been purely from individual sources. There had been no concerted movement for either vocal or instrumental culture. The occasional settler brought with him to his new home a violin, a flute, accordion, or other instrument as his talents or ability dictated and privately gave to his little coterie of friends the benefit of his limited attainments.

One of the most noted of these early fiddlers was Thomas Kennedy, a Scotchman by birth, who immigrated to Cincinnati in the spring of 1789 and later settled permanently in the hamlet that afterwards became Covington. The ferry that plied between his home and the Cincinnati side was always known as "Kennedy's Ferry." A distinguished Scotch traveler, John Melish, visiting here in September, 1811, called upon Kennedy and in one of his volumes relates an incident that happened in the Kentucky home while he was a guest:

"Before we had finished our breakfast, Mr. Kennedy drew a fiddle from the box, and struck up the tune of 'Rothmurchie's Rout.' He played in the true Highland style, and I could not stop to finish my breakfast, but started up and danced the Shantrews. The old man was delighted and favored us with a great many Scotch airs. When he laid down the fiddle, I took it up and commenced in my turn, playing some new strathspeys that he had not heard before, but he knew the spirit of them full well, and he also gave us Shantrews, 'louping near bawk hight,' albeit he was well stricken in years. He next played a number of airs, all Scottish, on a whistle."

The *Spy* of September, 1801, contains two items of much more historical importance in that they first record the names of the indi-

viduals who were connected with the early musical undertakings of the city.

A Mr. McLean, butcher, public officer and singing master advertises that he will open a singing school for all persons who wish to become members, at the honorarium of one dollar each for 13 nights, or two dollars per quarter, "subscribers to find their own wood and candles."

The second notice is that of the first operatic performance. Who the participants were or by whom the opera or operetta, was evidently of no importance to the managers, as their whole energies seem to have been bent upon the success of the subscription list. So meagre is the detailed information that there is not even a record of the name of the hall wherein the performance was given. The announcement in the *Spy* refers only to the plan and arrangement of the subscription: "Subscribers will receive their tickets of admission by applying to Mr. Kilgore. Subscriptions not yet paid will be received by Mr. Seamans. Tickets cannot be granted to subscribers who have not paid. The managers regret that they have not had it in their power to present the subscription list as generally as they wished. Such ladies and gentlemen, therefore, as are desirous of subscribing are requested to send their names to Mr. Seamans."

Although it is barely possible that this operatic performance was given by the ladies and gentlemen who started the singing school the year before or those connected with Mr. McLean's school, there are no facts definite enough to establish more than the suggestions of such a promise. In November of this same year, at the dedication of the new Cincinnati Theatre, an original song composed for the occasion was sung during the interlude between the acts by a member of the company.

Aside from these few entertainments and the music furnished by the band at Fort Washington there is no record of anything else of importance occurring in the decade that followed, ending with the year 1810.

Klauprecht, in his history of the Ohio Valley, makes special comment upon the excellence of the fort band with its German and French musicians.

Life at the fort under the command of General Wilkinson was made as gay as possible, unless the early chroniclers possessed the modern day journalistic idea of gross exaggeration, for we read that his superb barge with his pleasure parties went up and down the river, "accompanied with the harmonies of Gluck and Haydn and the reports of the champagne bottles transported the guests from the wilds of the Northwest Territory into the Lucullian feasts of the European aristocracy."

The real beginning of Cincinnati's musical development, the foundations of which were builded with a security that later led to preeminence in every department of the art, started within some period of the decade that followed, —1810 to 1820. In the light of past and present great achievements, such as our Saengerfests, May Festivals, Symphony orchestras, and institutions of learning, these insignificant organizations of nearly a century back cast very small shadows, but small as they now seem their founders even then had the same conscientious zeal and high artistic ideals that have since been so marked a feature of the city's musical life. The departure of General Wilkinson and his soldiery to their new headquarters in New Orleans left the town in the helpless state of being without a brass band to enliven its occasions of festivity. Possibly from lack of competent performers, the army band was not replaced by a home organization until the year 1814. Then, under the guise of the Harmonical Society, the first brass band started upon its career of usefulness. The musical agonies of this youthful organization must have made a deep impression upon the community for on December 15, 1815, only a few months after its rehearsals began, a local journal contained the following glowing advertisement:

MUSICAL ACADEMY

at Mrs. Hopkins', opposite Columbian Inn, Main street, Cincinnati. For teaching in a scientific and comprehensive manner, a scholar thirteen tunes at least, in eighteen lessons, or no compensation will be required, on any of the following instruments, viz.:

Clarinet,	Flagotto or bassoon,
Trumpet,	Serpent,
French horn,	Flagolet,
Bugle horn,	Sackbut,
Oboe,	Hurdygurdy or beggar's lyre,
Grand oboe or voice umane,	Violin,
Trombone,	Violincello,
Fife,	Bass drum,
German flute,	Octave flute,
Cymbals, etc., etc., etc.	

Military bands taught accurately and expeditiously, on a correct scale, on any of the above instruments, with appropriate music by

JAMES H. HOFFMANN, P.

While we must honor Mr. Hoffman for starting the first musical academy in Cincinnati, we must look upon his flamboyantly announced curriculum with suspicion. The formidable array of instruments catalogued is quite beyond the teaching capabilities of one man and there is no reason for believing that this academy possessed a larger faculty than was represented by the personality of the astute Mr. Hoffman. But it is well to know even now that teaching the bass drum is an art. The lively interest shown in musical affairs reflected itself in the publication at this time of two books of tunes and anthems. Both were issued from the office of the *Liberty Hall* press. The first entitled "The Western Harmonist," by John McCormick, published in 1815, contains in the preface this statement: "The author, having been many years in the contemplation of this work, flatters himself that he will be able to furnish the different societies with the most useful tunes and anthems."

The second work, styled "The Columbian Harmonist," came from the versatile pen of the well known author, Timothy Flint, and appeared in 1816. The demand for such works is mute evidence that there existed before the organization of the Haydn Society singing bodies whose requirements made the publication of these song collections necessary.

So little is known, aside from the mere fact that it existed in 1816, of the musical society referred to by Herr Klauprecht in his "Chronik" as the St. Cecilia, that we will have to start the choral history of the city with the organization of the Haydn Society some three years later, in 1819. This body came into existence the year Cincinnati threw off its infant clothes and replaced them with the garb required by a full fledged city, and gave its first concert only four years after the organization of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston. This latter fact is of importance as showing how soon the young city manifested an interest in its artistic advancement as compared with older cities. The preliminary notice of this first concert, as gleaned from the pages of *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, is as follows:

"On Thursday evening, 25 of May, will be performed by the Haydn Society of this city, a choice selection of sacred music, taken from the Lock Hospital, Baltimore, and other celebrated collections. Parts I and II will commence with an appropriate instrumental overture. The proceeds of this concert are to be applied to the payment of an organ for the Episcopal Church, Cincinnati. The name of the piece and other particulars will be published previous to performance. By order of the Society.

"N. M. Whittemore, *Secretary*."

In a subsequent issue of *Liberty Hall* on the day of the concert the program appeared. It is of such vital importance to the student of Cincinnati musical history that we print it in full. Credit must be given for the finding of this valuable relic to Frank E. Tunison, who published in 1888 in "Presto" the only extended work on the city's musical history in existence.

PART FIRST.

Overture.
Chorus—"China" ..... T. Clarke
Grand Chorus—"The Marvelous Work" ..... Haydn
"Jehova Speaks" ..... Holden
Chorus—"Strike the Cymbals" ..... Puccitta
Anthem—"Our Lord Has Risen from the Dead," Arnold

PART SECOND.

Overture.
Chorus—"Jabez Prayer" ..... Jarman
Overture ..... T. Clarke
Anthem—"O Praise the Lord" ..... Meinecke
Poland ..... Husband
Chorus—"New Year's Ode" ..... T. Clarke
Chorus—"Hosanna" ..... Gregor
Duett & Chorus—"Hail Judea" ..... Handel

The *Spy*, before and after, in its comments on the concert says: "Public concerts of this description, although rather a novelty here, are quite common in Eastern cities and if well performed never fail to afford great pleasure to the audience. The concert of the Haydn Society on Tuesday evening in Christ Church, we have reason to believe, has given very general satisfaction. Indeed, yielding to the delightful emotions which sacred harmony must excite even in uncultivated minds, none other could be felt by an intelligent auditory when, in addition to the excellent selection, the execution would have reflected credit on our Eastern cities, and the melody in several instances was divine. This exhibition must have been highly gratifying to those who begin to feel proud of our city. It is the strongest evidence we can adduce of our advancement in those embellishments which refine and harmonize society and give a zest to life. We hope that another opportunity will occur for a further display of the talents of the Haydn Society. For their endeavors to create a correct musical tact among us they deserve our thanks; but when to their efforts is added the disposition to aid the views of public charities, or the services of the church,

their claims to the most respectful attention and applause rise to an obligation on the community." Of especial interest at this concert was the performance of the chorus, "The Marvelous Work," from Haydn's "The Creation." Only seven or eight years before this "The Creation" had had its first complete performance in the United States, in the little Moravian town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The copies used in Bethlehem were afterwards loaned to a church society in Philadelphia for use in 1821. So the Haydn Society, in its first concert, complimented its namesake and in so doing not only kept abreast of the times, but undoubtedly gave the first rendition of the chorus west of the Alleghany Mountains. Fortunate, indeed, was the Haydn Society in its director. Philibertus Ratel, a Frenchman, who had recently arrived from Philadelphia, united with his ability to teach more graceful accomplishments, such as "country dances, cotillions, hornpipes, the minuet de la coeur with the gavotte, the celebrated gavotte of Vestris, the much admired shawl dance, ballet and opera dancing, with a variety of garlands, dances, such as constitute exhibitions," that of rare musicianship. He seemed equally proficient as soloist and director. At a concert given in 1820 by Mr. Garner, the director of two previous operatic presentations, Mr. Ratel appeared in the dual capacity of orchestral director and soloist on the clarinet and French flageolet. His success in teaching orchestral instruments, drilling the orchestra and Haydn Society was proof positive that the city was fortunate in having such a learned, practical man in its formative period.

The second concert of the Haydn Society, given Thursday evening, December 19, 1822, was marked by vigorous readings of the great double chorus, "He Gave Them Hailstones for Rain" from Handel's "Israel in Egypt," and "The Saffron Tints of Morn Appear," Mozart, and "Hallelujah, Amen," Handel,—choruses that demonstrate the artistic activity of both singers and director.

But the choral field was not occupied by the Haydns alone. The spread of musical interest had in 1819, the year of the founding of the Haydn Society, caused the formation of the Episcopal Singing Society, with Luman Watson as president. In 1822 was formed the New Jerusalem Singing Society, which met Saturday evenings at the temple, and in 1823 the Euterpean Society, a concert by the latter organization being announced for July 18, 1823, in the Cincinnati Hotel, at early candle-light.

An essay on the city's early musical life, read before the Literary Club on November 9, 1879, by that indefatigable chronicler of Cincinnati's early history, H. A. Ratterman, throws much light upon the general musical happenings in the youthful city.

The purely professional musician in those days was a "rara avis," as there was comparatively so little for him to do that following his profession alone meant anything but a life of luxury. As a consequence most musicians and amateurs combined with their artistic life a trade whose following would guarantee enough sustenance to allow art a substantial foundation to stand upon. Naturally, this resulted in a spirit of Bohemianism prevailing in the profession. The Apollonian Society, a body brought together some time in the early "twenties," called by Mr. Ratterman "the first musical club," deserves the name only through courtesy, for it was more a band of musical Bohemians, who met principally for the social pleasures that such meetings bring. Their musical activity was not of enough importance to leave much record of interest upon the pages of history. The leading spirit and founder of the organization was Frederick Amelung, a musician who had some years before migrated from Pittsburg, establishing his home on Sycamore street, opposite what became later the site of the National Theatre. Among the interesting personalities who became identified with the club were Martin Baum, a prominent merchant; Mons. Menessier, a distinguished Parisian jurist, who had found it necessary to follow the life of a pastry cook; Albert von Stein, the builder of Cincinnati's first water works; Dr. Carl Ritter, a candy maker in Lower Market street; Philabert Ratel, dancing master and director of the Haydn Society; Augustus Zemmer, a Main street confectioner; Edward H. Stall, druggist, and George Charters, piano-maker. The Directory of 1825 says that "this body was organized about a year since, having for its object the cultivation of vocal and instrumental music. It is now in a flourishing state, and consists of forty active and honorary members and is supported by a monthly tax on its members. The officers are a moderator, a standing committee of three, a treasurer and a secretary." The Apollonians first met in the saloon of George Juppenlatz, a baker on Main street, but later rendezvoused at the Apollonian Garden, kept by Kothe & Ott, in the Deer creek valley.

George Charters was for years the only piano-maker the town could boast and he and Adam Hurdus, who had in 1810 built the first church organ, were the pioneers in the march of musical industry, if in truth their small efforts can be so termed. By 1825 Hurdus had a competitor in Israel Schooley, who had recently arrived from Virginia, while Charters had no less than three rivals in Francis B. Garrish, Aaron Golden and the firm of Steele & Clark. A year later the "Sign of the Violin" on Main street, below Fourth street, told those interested that John Imhoff had sheet music and musical instruments for sale.

But we must return to April, 1825, when the city was in its brightest raiment, ready to receive the great Lafayette. The best the community could present in every branch of art and industry was placed before the distinguished Frenchman. Music was made a special feature of the morning parade and the grand ball in the evening given in the large hall of Mack's Cincinnati Hotel. Many of the musicians in the bands and orchestra were brought from other places for this occasion, among them a young man, Joseph Tosso by name, who attracted universal attention for his magnetic conducting of the orchestra. Indeed, one chronicler goes so far as to say he attracted nearly as much attention as did the illustrious Lafayette. But be that as it may, the youthful Mexican not long over from the Paris Conservatory, had in him a gifted nature, and with it the dash and enthusiasm of true musical genius. Tosso is an interesting figure in local musical history. Soon after his arrival from Louisville, where he had spent a short time, he was given charge of the music of the Female Academy on Walnut street, between Third and Fourth, and in 1835 was appointed director of the Musical Fund Society Orchestra, an organization based on the philharmonic plan, similar to the orchestras of New York and Boston. The object of the society, as stated in the constitution, was "the cultivation of musical taste by the encouragement and improvement of professional and amateur talent, and the establishment of a musical academy, by means of which pupils may be instructed in the theory and practice of music." The officers of this institution in July, 1835, were: President, Morgan Neville; vice-presidents, John P. Foote and Peyton S. Symmes; treasurer, Samuel E. Foote; secretary, Linden Ryder; librarian, John Winter; managers, T. D. Carneal, Herman Cope, Nicholas Longworth, William Price, M. D., Robert Buchanan, David T. Disney, Alexander Flash, William Greene, T. Varian, S. Wiggins, W. G. W. Gano, S. S. Smith, William Yerke, J. S. Armstrong, David Benson, John W. Ryan, George Graham, Jr., James Hall, E. Haines, C. S. Ramsey, M. D., William R. Foster, I. F. B. Wood, Joseph R. Fry and J. F. Meline; physicians, Alban G. Smith, M. D., and V. C. Marshall, M. D.; counsellors, Robert T. Lytle and Bellamy Storer.

For the brief career of this society it is hardly probable that there was much enthusiasm displayed by the influential members of its board. Tosso gave his best efforts to the organization and struggled hard to make its career permanent, but insufficient support brought its flickering life to an end in 1840.

In 1839 Tosso formed a partnership with Mr. Douglass as "musical instrument makers and importers of musical instruments." Their shop stood for many years on the north side of Fourth street, between Main and Walnut streets.

From a present day consideration of Mrs. Trollope's much discussed impressions of the Cincinnati of 1830, it is best to be charitable and remember that managers of oriental bazaars base their views generally upon the amount of coin of the realm returned at the box office. That the business side of her venture was not a success is evidenced in the undercurrent of bitter sarcasm found in every line of the impressions. It is doubtless true that the Cincinnati of 1830 was not disturbed by many public amusements, but her statement to the effect that the city was a spot unknown to the followers of Pan and Orpheus does not accord with the known history of that period. Only a short time before, on the night of December 30, 1828, the city had gone wild over its first operatic star, Mrs. Knight, who made her debut in Bickerstaff's opera, "Love in a Village." From the writings of "Censor," a critic of the days, who seems to have taken himself very seriously, we gather an idea of the effect she produced even upon his hardened musical temperament:

"I did not think much of Mrs. Knight and therefore I went to the play on purpose to find fault with her performance, or with her looks, or manner, or voice, or something; in fact, I did not care what it was I found fault with, providing I could find fault with something concerning her. But I have not a word to say—that is, not a word of fault. I like her. I am delighted with her singing. She is the sweetest little 'warbler of sweet sounds' that I have ever heard."

Joseph Tosso, aside from his labors with the orchestra at the Cincinnati Theatre and his private teaching, was an indefatigable concert giver during this period. But the best proof of Mrs. Trollope's intentional misstatements is found in the program given on Thursday evening, the 23rd of February, 1832, for the relief of the sufferers from the terrible flood of that year. The choruses were "Lift up Your Heads" and "Hallelujah," from Handel's "Messiah;" "The Heavens are Telling" and "Achieved is the Glorious Work," from Haydn's "The Creation." In addition, one of the solos was the "Rolling in Foaming Billows;" the air, also, from "The Creation." Comment upon the elevated tone of these numbers would be as superfluous as to elaborate the fact that these choruses could not well be understood without some previous education along that line.

The year 1834 brought with it the establishment of the first music school that received a charter from the Ohio Legislature. Timothy B. Mason and William F. Colburn in that year formed what was called "The Eclectic Academy of Music," receiving their charter the year following. Louis Lemaire, a German pianist and oboe player of distinction, who had much success as a teacher, joined the institution a short while after its organization. In 1840 the retirement of Mr. Mason made it necessary to go East for some one to fill the vacancy. After much persuasion Victor Williams, a Swede, was induced to leave the position he occupied in an Eastern city and come West to look after the interests of the academy. Mr. Williams' coming to Cincinnati at the time he did seems now to have been predestined. The conditions were just ready for a musician of such sterling qualities and he, it seems, was fully prepared to face the conditions. If one were asked to name the man whose influence for good has made the most lasting impress upon the city's early musical life, he must name Victor Williams as the man. With his unquestioned musical ability, he had the enthusiasm, tact, aggressiveness, and tireless energy required to assume the multitude of details it was necessary then to burden oneself with in the *management* of musical organizations. Mr. Williams had not been long in the city before he was asked to accept the leadership of the choir of the Ninth Street Baptist Church. With this choir as a nucleus he formed a larger body under the title of "The Sacred Music Society," which soon contained in its ranks the best vocal talent the city could offer. Aside from Mr. Williams as director, the officers of 1843 were E. Henry Carter, president; A. S. Hanks, secretary and treasurer; S. T. Carter, L. L. Hanks, and W. Richards, committee on invitations. One of their first miscellaneous programs given on the evening of December 22, 1843, will indicate the high musical standard sought by their director:

"In the Beginning," a recitative by George Soho, and the chorus "And the Spirit of God."

A recitative, "And God Saw the Light" and the air, "Now Vanish Before Thy Holy Beams," both by Samuel Johnson.

Chorus.—"Despairing, Cursing, Rage."

A solo from Handel, "But Thou Didst Not Leave His Soul in Hell," by J. W. King.

Chorus from "The Creation."—"Achieved is the Glorious Work."

Solo from "The Creation,"—"Rolling in Foaming Billows," by Thomas Stafford.

Song.—"The Widow of Nain," by Miss Rebecca Cooper.

Recitative and chorus from "The Creation,"—"In Splendor Bright," by Samuel Johnson; chorus, "The Heavens are Telling."

Duet.—"Ave Sanctissima," by Miss Rebecca Cooper and Miss Emma Stokes.

Recitative.—"The Eyes of All Wait Upon Thee, O Lord," by Miss Emma Stokes.

Quartet,—"Thou Openest Thy Hand;" Miss Anna S. V. Jungmann, Miss Emma Stokes, J. W. King, and Charles G. Carter

Chorus.—"We Will Rejoice in the Lord."

Solo from "The Creation,"—"Now Heaven in Fullest Glory Shone," by Thomas Stafford.

Quartet and Chorus,—"Oh How Lovely is Zion;" Misses Jungmann and Stokes, Messrs. Johnson and Hanks. Chorus.

Song.—"Ruth and Naomi," by Miss Emma Stokes.

Chorus from "The Creation,"—"Achieved is the Glorious Work."

The performance of oratorio in its complete form is also due to Mr. Williams and this society. Within the Eclectic Academy, Mr. Williams organized the "Amateur Orchestra," the members of which with the exception of the first strings in each part were made up entirely as the name implies of his pupils. By combining his orchestra and choral forces, the energetic conductor was able to produce very satisfactory performances of "The Creation," Mozart's "Twelfth Mass," Haydn's "Third Mass," portions of "Judas Maccabaeus" and the "Messiah."

On April 8, 1858, Neukomm's "David" was given in Smith & Nixon's Hall, Fourth street near Vine, as a complimentary benefit to Mr. Williams with the following assisting artists: L. Corradi Colliere, a noted French baritone; Henry Appy, a German violinist, then a resident of the city; J. Q. Wetherbe, bass; Leopold Lowegren, pianist; and Henry J. Smith, a prominent local organist. Unfortunately at this, their final concert, the society reaped more glory than money for their unselfish leader.

The activities of these organizations continued until the late "fifties," when talk of war turned the attention of citizens from the pursuit of culture to more serious and distracting things. The members of the Sacred Music Society gradually withdrew until the organization again became only the choir of the Ninth Street Baptist Church, to always so remain. After the war Mr. Williams became identified with the promotion of music in the public schools, a vocation perfectly suited to his ardent temperament. This, with his choir, and some private instruction, occupied the closing quarter century of his useful life. For 50 years, a remarkable diplomatic record in itself, he led the volunteer choir of the Ninth Street Baptist Church, always keeping the musical standard of its services so high that its fame spread far beyond the confines of local environment. All honor to the memory of Victor Williams. As a musical pioneer he must be placed at the head of the honored list who so successfully shaped the artistic destinies of the Queen City of the West.

An organization, that, from its name, "Handel and Haydn Society," promised much in a choral way was founded by Timothy B. Mason in 1844. Its 75 members held their rehearsals first in the New Jerusalem Church on Longworth street and later in Lyman Beecher's Presbyterian Church on Seventh street. As it did not in any way live up to the standard of its Eastern namesake, it vanished in 1849, leaving little if any impression upon the recorded pages of local history. A Mr. Elisha Locke sought to revive the choral interest of the Handel and Haydn Society by consolidating the few remaining members with the organization known as the "Morris Chapel Singing Society." Their rehearsals were held in the chapel on Central avenue, a building some years ago used by the Havlins as a theatre but now known as the Lyceum Theatre. During the season of 1851-52, they brought forward in Melodeon Hall a very successful performance of "The Creation" with a chorus of 100 voices, orchestra of 34, and with Madame Rive and Mrs. Kitchell, sopranas, Albert Littlefield, tenor, Miss Mollie McIntyre, contralto, and Emanuel Warwood, bass, as soloists. Like other choral bodies, this society struggled along for a few years but eventually followed the rapidly vanishing footsteps of its predecessor.

Writing the chronology only from the English speaking side as the writer has done thus far, it is necessary to pass over the turbulent years from 1858 to 1861. When the possibility of war with its horrors was the absorbing topic that agitated the minds of all loyal citizens, there was little thought or inclination then for the uplifting influence of the classics of a Handel or a Haydn. Later in 1863, when the rhythmic tread of the going and returning soldiery had accustomed the community to look upon these scenes with less anxiety, the study of music again took on its onward march. In the interim between the passing of Mr. Locke, Morris Chapel Singing Society and the organization in 1863 of its legitimate successor, the "Musical Union," afterwards "The Harmonic Society of Cincinnati," the musical field was occupied almost entirely by the German American Cecilia Society. Its organization was influenced by an enthusiastic young musician, F. L. Ritter, who came to Cincinnati in the early "fifties" fresh from his studies in European schools. Under his direction the Cecilia made its initial appearance September 19, 1856, in Mendelssohn's setting of the Forty-Second Psalm, a cantata of Mozart, a chorus from Spontini's "Vestale," a chorus from Haydn's "Seasons" and selected choruses from Schneider's "Last Judgment." On Monday evening, November 28, 1870, after 15 years of brilliant work this excellent body was forced through lack of financial sustenance to make the first concert of its 15th season its own swan song. Its conductors after the resignation of Mr. Ritter, who went East to later assume charge of the music at Vassar College, were successively H. G. Andres, George Schneider and Andrew Nembach.

Again we turn back to our old road to Rome or to be more explicit to the road that leads to the giving of the first May Festival for all roads now lead to that musical Rome.

In its circular to the "Musical Public of Cincinnati" issued in January, 1894, the Harmonic Society extended a cordial invitation to singers, both ladies and gentlemen, "who will take an in-

terest in building up a large choral society, such as the old societies of Boston and New York, to join."

L. C. Hopkins was made its first president and Carl Barus, the director. Mr. Barus remained the leader until Otto Singer was brought to Cincinnati to take charge of the choruses connected with the May Festivals, when the conductorship of this organization was also given him. Its third and last president was Col. George Ward Nichols. With the purchase in 1880 by the May Musical Festival Association of its valuable library, there passed into history one of the best musical organizations the city ever had and the last lineal descendant of the pioneer singing school of December 7, 1800.

But we must now turn our attention to an element that had for many years been quietly but gradually exerting an immense influence over the musical destinies of the city. Klauprecht says: "To the Americans belongs the credit of being the first pioneers of music in Cincinnati; but the Germans may boast of having brought about its higher development."

Herr Klauprecht's statement impresses one, particularly when studying the musical history of the city during its intermediate period, from 1850 to the organization of the May Festival in 1873. In the latter part of that period the societies such as the Cecilia, whose programs were printed in both English and German, are often so closely allied that it is difficult to determine which element dominated the other. In male chorus singing the entire early history of the city belongs to the German for from 1838, when the first German Maennerchor was formed, to 1882 when the Apollo Club was organized, the city had never had an English speaking male chorus. This first male chorus of 1838 met "Over the Rhine" in the dancing hall of the Rising Sun Tavern. Its membership was small but contained such distinguished Germans as Gen. Augustus Mohr and Frederick Gerstaecker, the famous traveler and writer, with William Schragg as its director.

Following this came the German Liedertafel, a group of singers who began their rehearsals in 1841 without a definitely constituted organization, but who later in June, 1843, established a permanent body that kept its individuality until 1857 when it was merged into the greater Maennerchor. George Valentine Schneider, George Labarre, William Runge, Franz Schoenfeld, Carl Barus and Robert T. Holterhoff were its directors during this 14 years of activity.

The Gesang-und Bildungs-Verein Deutscher Arbeiter organized in 1846 enjoyed the distinction of being the first German singing society that allowed female voices in its membership. Its directors were first Henry Damm, then Xavier Vincent who brought out a complete performance of Haydn's "The Creation." This association disbanded in 1852. In 1857 through the consolidation of the Liedertafel, Saengerbund, and Germania, a magnificent body of singers was brought together under the name of the Maennerchor. Shortly after, Carl Barus was chosen director with the understanding that the organization should admit female members and allow the public presentation of opera. In accordance with this plan the "Czar and Zimmerman" was produced on April 30, 1860, at the hall of the German Institute. The policy of Mr. Barus carried until 1864, when bitter dissensions arose over the advisability of giving these operatic performances. Mr. Barus resigned and was succeeded by Andrew Nembach. The supporters of Mr. Barus immediately withdrew from the parent body, formed a new society agreeable to the performance of opera, called it the Orpheus and shortly thereafter began the historic career that continued until it disbanded in 1885. In 1882 Mr. Mees succeeded Mr. Barus who in that year removed to Indianapolis to associate himself with the musical activities of that city. Life with the Maennerchor in these passing years had not been as tranquil as that of the younger body. From 1864 when Mr. Barus resigned to 1873 when Otto Singer, who had but recently arrived, was elected director, no less than four directors officiated at its concerts,—Andrew Nembach, Henry G. Andres, Phillip Walter and W. Grosecurth of Chicago.

In 1883 the Cincinnati Musik-Verein was formed by the consolidation of the Maennerchor and the Germania with Otto Singer as director. Later Mr. Singer was succeeded by Louis Ehrgott who at that time was directing the chorus of the May Festival Association.

To the Germans of Cincinnati must be given the credit of originating the festival idea that is now prevalent in so many different parts of the country. Away back in 1849 a small number of singing societies met together in Cincinnati for the purpose of effecting an organization similar to those already established in Bavaria and other parts of Germany, that would foster through its good fellowship the folk song of the fatherland.

To Mr. Ratterman and Mr. Krehbiel we must turn for the history of the organization of this first Saengerbund.

"The first attempts to introduce festivals in America were, in comparison with those held in Germany, very diminutive in style. Already in 1846 endeavors were made in Philadelphia and Baltimore to organize friendly relations between the German singing societies of these cities. They, however, were restricted to mutual visits paid each other conducted with a social festivity, in which the public of these cities participated. No formal organization was attached to these visits, and therefore they cannot be classified as Saengerfests. Festivals of this character were likewise held in Cincinnati in the summers of 1846, 1847 and 1848.

"A formal organization was effected in 1849 by a union between the singing societies of Cincinnati, Louisville, and Madison, Indiana. These societies held the first German Saengerfest in America in the city of Cincinnati, June 1st-3d, inclusive, 1849, and at this festival, on June 2, the German Saengerbund of North America was founded. * * *

"With that indeed diminutive Saengerfest there was inaugurated a new era in the musical history, not only of Cincinnati, but of America, for then the foundation was laid to the great musical festivals which have given to our city the titles of 'The Paris of America' and 'The City of Festivals.'"

And in an historical number of the *Daily Gazette* we quote these interesting details on the same subject from an article of H. E. Krehbiel:

"Viewed in the light of the events of the last few years, the first German festival held here in 1849 looks very modest, and yet, at the time, it meant much to the Germans. Only one concert was given; it was on June 1st, and of all the city's populace only 400 bought tickets at 50 cents each and attended. The result was a deficit which, by a subsequent concert arranged to cover it, was swelled to $171, and the singers were assessed to pay this. The chorus numbered 118, there being 28 first tenors, 32 second tenors, 29 first basses, and 29 second basses. The societies participating were the Louisville Liederkranz (15 singers), Madison Gesang-Verein (nine singers), Cincinnati Liedertafel (32 singers), Cincinnati Gesang-und Bildungs-Verein (33 singers), Cincinnati Schweizer-Verein (14 singers), eight delegates from the Louisville Orpheus, and seven singers from Cincinnati who did not belong to any society. The concerts were given in Armory Hall, on Court street, at present used as Geyer's Assembly Rooms. The music consisted of part-songs by Zoellner, Mozart, Kreutzer, Frech, Broch, Reichardt, Abt, Silcher, and Baumann.

"The second festival was held in 1850 in Louisville. The Cincinnati societies participated and carried off both of the prizes offered.

"In 1851, when the third festival was given, in Cincinnati, the bund had grown to include 14 societies, by additions from Columbus, Hamilton, Cleveland, St. Louis, Newport (Kentucky), Lafayette (Indiana), and Detroit, and the chorus, which was conducted by William Klausmeyer, numbered 247 voices. Instrumental numbers by the military band from the United States garrison at Newport were given a place on the program.

"Sixteen years later, and in the same city that saw this small beginning, a festival was celebrated which had nearly 2,000 singers in its chorus, and the concerts were given in a building specially erected for the purpose. This was in 1867, and from this went out one of the impulses that called the May Festivals into life.

"While Cincinnati had received some national reputation through the success of these Saengerfests, its international fame as the leading musical center of the West came later with the organization of the May Festivals. The generous support given by the surrounding country to the German concerts and the industrial expositions led some leading citizens to speculate upon a plan that would draw the multitude but with it give the city a name that would redound to its credit in an artistic way. Hardly dreaming of the immense impetus to the study of music they were to give the whole Middle West or the beneficent effect this movement was to have upon the city itself, these gentlemen met on the 27th of September, 1872, in the office of Storer, Goodman & Storer for temporary organization."

From the exhaustive article in the historical number of the *Daily Gazette* on the organization of the May Festivals we append the following:

"At this meeting an executive committee was appointed, consisting of George Ward Nichols, president; Carl A. G. Adae, vice-president; John Shillito, treasurer; and Bellamy Storer, Jr., secretary; besides John Church, Jr., George W. Jones and Daniel B. Pierson. Plans were discussed, the question agitated, and three days later a large finance committee, with Hon. George

H. Pendleton as chairman and George W. Jones as secretary, was appointed and authorized to raise a guarantee fund of $50,000, the understanding being that no further steps should be taken until $30,000 had been subscribed.

"A little more than one month was required for this work, and on the 12th of November a circular was issued announcing that a musical festival would be held in Cincinnati in May, 1873, for the purpose of elevating the standard of choral and instrumental music, and to bring about harmony of action between the musical societies of the country and especially of the West. Telegrams and letters were also sent broadcast, an official agent was employed to visit the various singing societies of the West and Northwest to secure their cooperation and to arouse the public mind to an interest in the affair. The response was very general; and when the chorus was organized it was found to contain no less than 36 societies, aggregating 1,083 singers, of whom 640 were Cincinnatians. Twenty-nine societies participated in the first mass rehearsal, which was conducted by Prof. Carl Barus who had been appointed assistant director, but who had been superseded by Otto Singer (who has since held the position) in March, 1873. The instrumental forces were an orchestra numbering 108 pieces, and a chorus organ of one manual, 14 stops, and 665 pipes, built for the purpose by Messrs. Koehnken & Grimm of this city.

"The festival was held on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of May. The original plan, borrowing the idea from the Saengerfests, purposed to devote the last day to an open-air concert and picnic; but rain spoiled the scheme, and an afternoon concert in the hall was substituted. Thus Providence came in to take from the festival this vestige of the German custom which had done much to degenerate the Saengerfests from festivals of song to bacchanalian carouses. The soloists were Mrs. E. R. Dexter, of Cincinnati; Mrs. H. M. Smith, of Boston; Miss Annie Louise Cary; Nelson Varley, of London; M. W. Whitney and J. F. Rudolphsen; and Arthur Mees, organist. The principal compositions performed were Handel's 'Dettingen Te Deum,' Beethoven's 'C Minor Symphony,' scenes from Gluck's 'Orpheus,' Schumann's 'Symphony in C' and his chorus, 'Gypsy Life,' Beethoven's 'Choral Symphony,' Mendelssohn's 'The First Walpurgis Night' and Liszt's symphonic poem 'Tasso.'

"At the close of the last evening concert, Judge Stanley Matthews read a request, signed by a large number of prominent citizens, for another festival. The managers determined to act on the suggestion and a second festival was announced for May, 1875. Owing to the inexperience of the managers, the expenses were very large, but so generous was the patronage that the deficit amounted only to $350, which the executive committee paid from their privy purses."

The second festival was held in May, 1875, and regularly from that time to the present have these biennial festivals of music occurred.

To Theodore Thomas alone belongs the lasting success of these festivals. The first one had with its musical success the attraction of being a colossal novelty in a part of the country that was in a sense a musical wilderness. The second carried with it much of this semi-air of newness while the third had back of it the enthusiasm over the dedication of the new Music Hall, supplemented by the public curiosity to see the new structure and hear the great organ.

By the fourth festival the elements that appealed only to the public curiosity had disappeared, the chorus conditions were less cumbersome, the community had become accustomed to the festival idea, so that Mr. Thomas was less handicapped in his efforts to carry on his ideas of general education. A glance through the program books reveals the fact that every great choral orchestral work worthy the name has been heard one or more times at these concerts. Many have had their first performance in this country here.

Choral works like Bach's "Passion Music," "B Minor Mass," "Christmas Oratorio," "Magnificat;" Beethoven's "Missa Solemnis," "Ninth Symphony;" Berlioz' "Requiem," "Te Deum," "Damnation of Faust," "Fall of Troy;" Brahms' "Requiem," "Rhapsody;" Dvorak's "Spectre Bride," "Stabat Mater," "Requiem;" Franck's "Beatitudes;" Handel's "Messiah," "Israel in Egypt," "Judas Maccabaeus," "Dettingen Te Deum;" Haydn's "The Creation;" Liszt's "Missa Solemnis," "Prometheus;" Mendelssohn's "Elijah," "St. Paul," "Walpurgis Night;" Mozart's "Requiem," "Praise of Friendship;" Parker's "Hora Novissima;" Rubenstein's "Tower of Babel," "Paradise Lost," "Moses;" Saint Saens' "Deluge," "Samson and Delilah;" Schumann's "Scenes from Faust," "Paradise and Peri;" Verdi's "Requiem;" and Wagner's "Lohengrin," "Tannhauser," "Meistersinger," "Flying Dutchman," "Tristan and Isolde," "Walküre," "Sieg-

fried" and "Parsifal" are now familiar to every festival goer.

What far reaching influence upon the culture of the city the festivals have had cannot be definitely realized even by those most intimately connected with their management. Thousands of music loving citizens have received through membership in the chorus an insight into and appreciation of the whole range of classic choral literature. Through these thirty years of continuous endeavors Mr. Thomas has step by step built his programs on the highest educational lines, never yielding but nursing with the master hand of genius the sensitive musical public until to-day in his 16th festival he is enabled in the Bach "B Minor Mass," the Beethoven "Missa Solennis," the "Ninth Symphony," the Berlioz "Imperial Hymn" and the Elgar "Dream of Gerontius," to present a program unequaled for its classic symmetry and ideal beauty.

To Col. George Ward Nichols, Edmund H. Pendleton, William N. Hobart, and Robert B. Bowler as presidents and a long list of distinguished citizens as directors have the business affairs of the organization been intrusted. Colonel Nichols, from his conspicuous identity with the city's musical affairs after his removal to Cincinnati in 1868, was the logical choice for its first president. From the period of organization in 1872, until he withdrew as director and resigned as president in 1880, Colonel Nichols was the guiding spirit. Possessed of a marvelous faculty for testing the public courage, indomitable energy and remarkable foresight he was able to procure such financial success that the third festival settled the question of their permanency. After Colonel Nichols' resignation, Edmund H. Pendleton in March, 1880, was advanced from the position he held, a vice-presidency, to that of president. It was during Mr. Pendleton's regime that the celebrated performance of the "Messiah" occurred with Madame Patti as one of the soloists. The receipts of this concert which occurred in December, 1882, reached the enormous sum of $19,500, of which amount the Diva carried away $6,000.

At Mr. Pendleton's resignation in 1883, William N. Hobart who for some time had been a member of the board was elected to the vacancy. For nearly twenty years or until his resignation in 1901, Mr. Hobart watched over the destinies of the organization. While the artistic advancement of the festivals belongs entirely to Mr. Thomas, those high ideals could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of men who were willing to sustain him in all his artistic efforts. Mr. Thomas has often said, "Art never pays," and there were many times in the history of the organization when the directors possibly felt that the saying was true but such discouragements never disturbed the confidence of Mr. Hobart.

His artistic standard for the festivals had long been established on the highest plane and with untiring zeal he worked to satisfy that exalted purpose. It is to men like Mr. Hobart who have been willing to make their interest in art a labor of love that Cincinnati owes her fame as an artistic city.

Robert B. Bowler, a former treasurer of the association, succeeded Mr. Hobart. Since his untimely death in the fall of 1902, Lawrence Maxwell, the vice-president, has guided the affairs of the organization.

A move that, while it had its drawbacks, should have been continued for the good effect it had upon the American composer was inaugurated by the association in 1879. Following the precedent of European countries in fostering creative talent, Mr. Thomas advised the offering of costly prizes for the best composition of a native American, the selected work to be presented at the May Festival. In accordance with the plan a resolution was passed by the board of directors January 14, 1879, offering a prize of $1,000 for such a composition. The offer was received with marked favor by musicians and the public. Renewed interest in the festivals was awakened in sections of the country that theretofore had only looked upon them with quiet acquiescence. Twenty-five works, more or less elaborate, were offered for competition to the board of judges, with Theodore Thomas as chairman.

With unanimous consent the judges concurred in awarding the prize to Dudley Buck of New York for his composition entitled "Scenes From Longfellow's Golden Legend."

A similar prize was offered for the Festival of 1882 and was awarded to W. W. Gilchrist, of Philadelphia, for "A Setting of the Forty-Sixth Psalm." For reasons best known to themselves, the association discontinued this practice with the Festival of 1882. Like all such awards there are evils practiced that often more than offset the good accomplished but in this case it seems unfortunate that this impetus to the creative genius of the country should have been withdrawn by

the one organization that could do most for its permanent advancement.

After the experience in three festivals of combining the choral forces from separate choral organizations in and about the city, it was deemed advisable for the better progress of the chorus to make it a permanent institution under the direction of one person. As the chorus make the festival, much of the praise due for artistic successes should be given to the long list of loyal members of the chorus and the able men who have been its directors. Carl Barus, Otto Singer, Michael Brand, Arthur Mees, Louis Ehrgott, B. W. Foley, W. L. Blumenschein and Edwin W. Glover have successively piloted the chorus through its thirty years of epoch making history. It remains to supplement the foregoing admirable account of the musical development of Cincinnati written by Edwin W. Glover with brief references to some of the musical institutions which are prominent at the present time in the city. Mr. Glover himself has contributed as much as any other man to the success of the festivals in the latter years. He became the chorus conductor in the fall of 1896 and prepared the chorus for each festival which has been given since that date. Excellent as had been the work of the festivals prior to that time, it is undisputed that wonderful improvement has been effected in the quality of the choir since it has been in charge of Mr. Glover and to-day as the result of his training that body stands without a rival in this country.

THE CINCINNATI MUSIC HALL.

In May, 1875, Reuben R. Springer influenced by the success and beneficial results to the city of the industrial expositions and the musical festivals and it is said at the suggestion of Mrs. A. D. Bullock wrote a letter to John Shillito, offering to donate the sum of $125,000 for the erection of a Music Hall upon the lot on Elm street occupied at that time by the old Saengerfest building upon condition that the lot be secured in perpetuity for the uses of the society at a nominal rent and free from taxation and upon a further condition that the sum of $125,000 be subscribed by other citizens. Committees to collect subscriptions were appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and the Musical Festival Association. From the outset there seemed to be a little jealousy between the musical and industrial interests and the project languished and finally on June 7th Mr. Springer offered to obligate himself to subscribe $50,000 further upon condition that $100,000 more be donated by the citizens for the erection of suitable and permanent buildings around the hall for the purpose of holding industrial expositions. In November Mr. Springer added $20,000 more "to save the enterprise from discreditable failure." Accordingly on November 27th Mr. Springer was notified that the sum of $106,031 had been subscribed by others and on December 1st a meeting was held at College Hall to decide upon a plan of organization. T. D. Lincoln, Joseph Longworth, John Shillito, Julius Dexter and Rufus King reported at a later meeting a plan of organization and on the 20th day of December articles of incorporation of the Cincinnati Music Hall Association were filed in the office of the Secretary of the State. This association had a capital stock of $1,000 divided into 50 shares of $20 each, which bore no dividends. The final organization came on January 3, 1876, at which time Joseph Longworth was elected president, Mr. Springer treasurer and Mr. Dexter secretary. Mr. Springer however asked to be relieved and Mr. Shillito was chosen in his place. On April 3, 1876, the city conveyed the Elm street lot to the association. Designs for the buildings as prepared by Messrs. Hannaford and Proctor were accepted in September and immediately thereafter contracts for the building were let. The building was finally completed in time for the Musical Festival of 1878 and the Exposition buildings were completed in time for the Industrial Exposition of 1879.

The great organ was also built by private subscription to which Mr. Springer contributed liberally. This was under the charge of the Cincinnati Music Hall Organ Association organized in 1877. A year later this association turned over the organ to the Music Hall Association. The cost of the organ was $32,695. The cost of Music Hall as shown by the balance sheet of April 30, 1903, was $300,962.78; of the Exposition wings $146,331.51. The hall was subsequently remodeled for the purpose of adapting it for use for operatic and dramatic purposes at a cost of $118,330.41; in the opinion of many the change was not to the advantage of the edifice.

THE COLLEGE OF MUSIC.

The organization of the College of Music was directly due to Col. George Ward Nichols to whom the city is so much indebted. At his suggestion a corporation was formed on October

THE CINCINNATI HOSPITAL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI BUILDINGS.

THE SPRINGER MUSIC HALL AND EXPOSITION BUILDINGS.

14, 1878, for the purpose of making Cincinnati a center of musical education. Theodore Thomas was its first director and George Ward Nichols, its first president.

To these two men more than to any others Cincinnati owes its musical position during the last 35 years. Theodore Thomas is a native of Hanover, Germany, where he was born in 1835. He received his first musical education from his father, a violinist, and made a successful public appearance when he was but six years old. With his parents he removed to New York in 1845 where he played the violin in concerts and orchestras and six years later he made a concert tour as solo violinist. In 1855 he with others started a series of chamber concerts which continued until 1869. In 1864 he began his first series of symphony concerts with an orchestra of which he was the head until 1888. He has been the conductor of the Cincinnati May Festivals since their organization and from 1878 to 1881 he was director of the College of Music of Cincinnati and the conductor of the Cincinnati Orchestra. In 1877-78 and again from 1879 to 1890 he conducted the orchestra of the New York Philharmonic Society. He also conducted for years the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society, the Mendelssohn Union, the New York Chorus Society and the great New York Festival of 1882 as well as the American Opera Company from 1885 to 1887. He was the musical director of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. In 1891 he moved to Chicago where he became the head of the Chicago Orchestra, which position he has held continuously since that time. Mr. Thomas from the outset of his career has been a leader in the effort to elevate the standard of music in this country and to him more than to any other living man is the American public indebted for such musical ideals of the higher type as it possesses. In his first concerts he began the musical education of his auditors and in every concert that he has since given this work of education has continued. As a leader he is incomparable. His wonderful power of instilling confidence into his orchestra and singers and in drawing from them not only the best that is in them but even something better can be appreciated by one who has been privileged to sit in front of him.

George Ward Nichols was born in Maine in 1837. In early life he was a journalist, but he served throughout the war as a member of General Fremont's staff and afterwards upon the staff of Gen. William T. Sherman. He subsequently published an account of the "March to the Sea," of which 70,000 copies were sold in one year. After the war he moved to Cincinnati and immediately became interested in art and musical subjects. His wonderful executive capacity and his indomitable will soon gave him a position of prominence in almost every public enterprise and it can be safely said that no man within the same short period of time (he lived in Cincinnati about 16 years) made himself more felt than Colonel Nichols. He died September 15, 1885.

The College of Music has been the storm center of the musical controversies of the last quarter century into which it would be profitless to enter. After a few years, Mr. Thomas severed his connection with the organization and returned to New York. During the time that he was here he surrounded himself with a remarkable faculty which soon gave the institution a leading place in the musical circles of the country. The disagreement between him and Colonel Nichols, although most unfortunate for the musical circles of the city, creating an apparent difference between the festival interests and those of the College, cannot be said to have impaired permanently the efficiency of the latter. Colonel Nichols threw the whole energy of his life into the College and soon put it upon a solid financial footing. For a time Max Maretzek was at the head of the educational department, devoting special attention to opera. From this came three great opera festivals in Music Hall, in which such operas as the "Magic Flute," "Don Giovanni," "Le Prophete," "Huguenots," "Lohengrin" and "Tannhauser" were given on a scale of magnificence, such as had not been witnessed before, with such soloists as Patti, Nilsen, Albani, Sembrich, Scalchi, Campanini and Novara. At a later time Henry Schradieck, one of the world's great violinists, was at the head of the institution, and finally in 1895 Frank van der Stucken came to Cincinnati as the conductor of the Symphony concerts and became dean of the College of Music in 1897; the title of honorary dean he has held since 1901. The present dean of the faculty is Signor Albino Gorno. The "Silver Jubilee" of the College was celebrated in February, 1903, by a number of performances, dramatic, operatic and musical. A part of the College is the Schmidlapp Dormitory for young women, a most valuable memorial building.

THE CINCINNATI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.

The desire for a permanent orchestra led to the organization in 1893 of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, which has for its object the catering to the highest musical taste in concerts, given at stated intervals in Music Hall. This organization is entirely under the control of a number of ladies, who in this, as in art matters, have taken the lead in Cincinnati. The director is Frank van der Stucken. This orchestra ranks with the best organizations of its class in the country.

THE APOLLO AND ORPHEUS CLUBS.

Not the least important of the musical organizations in Cincinnati is the Apollo Club, which was organized under the inspiration of Elliott H. Pendleton, January 3, 1883. Mr. Pendleton became its first president and its director from that time until the present has been Bush W. Foley. The purpose of this club was to furnish a male glee club of a high class. Subsequently in 1886 Mr. Foley organized in the College of Music what was known as the College Choir, a chorus of female voices, and in April, 1886, a concert was given by the two organizations. Several concerts were so successful as eventually to lead to the consolidation of the two under the name of the Apollo Club. For a number of years this organization has given concerts to associate members and has more than sustained the high reputation which it gained early in its career. These concerts were given for some time in Music Hall, but it was found that the hall was too large for music of this quality, and subsequently the associate membership was restricted and the concerts were given in a smaller hall.

The Orpheus Club was formed in 1893 by a number of young men who had very much the same ideals as those of the founders of the Apollo Club. After the consolidation of the Apollo Club and the College Choir, the Orpheus Club, preserving its identity as a purely male chorus, has occupied this field alone. It is at present conducted by E. W. Glover.

MUSIC SCHOOLS.

The oldest and largest music school in the city is the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music of Miss Clara Baur, organized in 1867, now located in the magnificent Shillito place on Mount Auburn. There are also the schools of B. W. Foley, E. W. Glover, Louis Ehrgott, Mrs. William McAlpin, the Oscar Ehrgott Vocal School, the Metropolitan of Messrs. Sterling and Roberts, the Ohio Conservatory of Music and a very large number of other institutions and teachers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART.

The pioneer artist of Cincinnati, according to the account of Henry A. Ratterman, was a German, George Jacob Beck, who came here in 1792 with Waynes' army, in which he was a scout. In civil life he was a landscape painter and early formed a Franco-German marriage alliance with the daughter of the French refugee, Menessier. He removed to Lexington in 1800, but his wife, returning here after his death in 1812, had charge for many years of a drawing school for young ladies. He was the first of a long succession whose names, preserved for us by Mr. Cist, Mr. Foote and still later by Mr. Ratterman, whose papers on art and music in Cincinnati, read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, have almost exhausted the subject, have been referred to in the earlier chapters dealing with the period in which Cincinnati art had its feeble beginnings.

In 1826 we are told that F. Eckstein, "an intelligent and highly ingenious artist of this city," was about to commence the formation of an "Academy of Fine Arts." Mr. Eckstein, by this action as well as by his genius, earned for himself the title of "Father of Cincinnati Art."

The Academy of Fine Arts was the first definite expression of the artistic longings of the people of the young city. Those longings as yet had found but little expression in performance although the germ was here which developed into a mighty growth.

Cist mentions among the early artists Edwin B. Smith, who painted portraits and historical pieces.

A. H. Corwine, who became quite distinguished as a portrait painter, came to Cincinnati from Kentucky in 1817. His likenesses were said to be so accurate that a number of citizens engaged him to paint their portraits. To insure perfection in his work, at the suggestion of Dr. Drake, he was paid in advance to enable him to go to Philadelphia, there to study for a time under Sully. He improved his opportunities so well that the portraits which he painted on his return were said to be unexcelled in fidelity of likeness and expression of character. Some of the earlier works were painted in colors, which were not permanent, but this is not true of the later ones. He subsequently visited Europe, where his health failed so rapidly that he died

on his way home. Among his well known paintings were those of Peyton S. Symmes, Nathan Guilford, Timothy Walker and Capt. Joseph Pierce.

A preeminent figure in art circles at that time, however, was Frederick Eckstein, who has already been mentioned. Not only was he active in the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts, which unfortunately died a-borning, but he modeled the busts of many of the most prominent public men as well as citizens. His most famous pupil was the most famous of American sculptors, Hiram Powers. Powers came to this city from Vermont, and in his early days acted as an attendant in Langdon's Reading Room. Subsequently he was clerk and errand boy in a grocery store. While here his mechanical skill which was very remarkable attracted the attention of the clock maker, Luman Watson. Watson was a lover of music as well and invoked Powers' mechanical talents to assist him in building an organ, a department of mechanical work with which neither had any familiarity. They built the first organ erected in the Episcopal Church on Sixth street and one or two chamber organs which were said to be good instruments. While working with organs, Powers invented a musical instrument much on the plan of an accordion, which was worked by a bellows carried under the arm like that of a bagpipe. Another one of his inventions was a doll which could pronounce distinctly the words "papa" and "mamma," and he thought of constructing a speaking automaton which should utter all the sounds of the human voice. His greatest interest, however, was in the department of portraiture in clay and plaster. He neglected his work in watching the store and spent every moment he could snatch in Eckstein's studio. Here he developed his great talents which had already been manifested in the making of small medallion portraits. He finally succeeded in obtaining a place in the Western Museum, where for seven years he manufactured for Dorfeuille some exquisite specimens of waxwork. He also participated in the manufacture of the "Infernal Regions." He was ambitious, however, to turn his talents to better account, and he left Cincinnati in the year 1835 for Washington, where he sculptured a number of portrait busts of prominent men. These were so successful as to induce Nicholas Longworth, a patron of art, to furnish the means for him to go to Europe, there to prosecute his work among the masterpieces of his art. He settled in Florence and his subsequent life and work are a part of the history of the world of art. Busts from the hands of Powers made in the early days were in the homes of Nicholas Longworth, Judge Burnet, General Lytle and J. P. Foote. One of his best was that of Judge Burnet.

The first sculptor in the city was John Airy, an Englishman, who was employed by Daniel Gano to execute a monument to his father, General Gano, which was erected in the Baptist Cemetery.

From the same nursery of sculptors, a stone-cutter's yard, came the famous sculptor, Shubael V. Clevenger, whose original name was Jubal Klefinger. He was a native of Butler County, but came as a boy to Cincinnati, where he obtained employment in the stone-cutter's yard of David Guion, on Race between Third and Fourth streets. While employed at a stone-cutter's at Seventh and Race, chiseling ornaments on tombstones, he was noticed by E. S. Thomas, the editor of the *Evening Post*. Clevenger was so encouraged by the latter's favor as to suggest that Thomas sit to him for a bust. This was chiseled directly from the common gray freestone of the region without the intervention of a plaster model and was so striking a likeness as to bring him into immediate notice. The bust, according to Mr. Thomas, the first ever executed in the Mississippi Valley, is still to be seen over the grave of Mr. Thomas in Spring Grove Cemetery. Clevenger continued his vocation as a stone-cutter for several years, but at the same time devoted much attention to the study of portraiture under Eckstein. He subsequently took up art as his vocation and transferred his studio to New York, where he produced a number of portrait busts remarkable for their fidelity of likeness. Among the sitters at this time were Harrison, Clay, Van Buren, Webster, Everett and Washington Allston. His promise was so great that he finally was induced to go to Italy, where he was assisted by Powers and where in Rome he produced a number of fine works. His "North American Indian," sculptured in Rome, where he lived after 1840, has been called the first distinctive piece of American sculpture made in Rome, and attracted a large number of Italians to his studio. He contracted a disease of the lungs from inhaling stone dust and died while on his way home. Specimens of his work are in the art galleries of all the large cities of the United States and in the early days were to be found in the residences of Mr. Longworth, Judge Burnet, Micajah T. Williams, William Greene and others of this city.

Dr. Frederick Hall, who visited the city in 1837, speaks of being taken to a small shop where he saw three full-length statues nearly completed carved out of hard sandstone representing three individuals, with whom his conductor was well acquainted and which were pronounced to be perfect likenesses. Dr. Hall thought the workmanship of a high order,—not equal to that of the "Apollo Belvedere," or the "Venus dei Medici," but such as would render the name of its author immortal. The artist had no instruction in the use of the chisel, but had been led to employ it by his own native unborrowed talent and taste. Hall thought that a few years spent in Rome or Florence would make him one of the best sculptors of the age. This artist was Clevenger, and nothing but his early death prevented him from achieving a fame as one of the world's greatest sculptors.

Another painter of portraits in the early days was Joseph Mason, whose portraits were in the houses of George Selves, David Churchill and others. He subsequently moved to Michigan and died while young. Mason painted the only picture that is preserved of William Woodward.

An early landscape painter, possibly the earliest of any consequence, was Samuel M. Lee, who as a young lad was employed in a chair-maker's establishment, where he was doing the ornamental work, and attracted so much attention as to be induced to establish a studio and traverse the country for the purpose of seeking out and transferring to canvas the beautiful scenes of the neighborhood. He painted many landscapes which decorated the residences of such citizens as Peyton S. Symmes, Joseph Grim, Davis B. Lawler, J. G. Worthington, Thomas H. Yeatman and J. S. Armstrong. Afterwards he was employed at Louisville decorating private residences and at scene painting and some of his best works are in that city. He died while young in Louisiana. He never succeeded as a portrait painter and his name appears in the Directory of 1829 as a landscape painter, although strangely enough five years later he calls himself a portrait painter.

Hervieu, the Frenchman, came to Cincinnati with Mrs. Trollope and departed with her. While here he decorated the Bazaar and painted the large historical picture of the landing of Lafayette in Cincinnati, which contained portraits of a great number of eminent citizens, including those of General Harrison and Governor Morrow.

Other early names in the Cincinnati world of art were: Alonzo Douglass, a portrait painter, who came to Cincinnati in 1828; Christopher Harding, who came about the same time; Miner K. Kellogg; Thomas Tuttle, a pupil of West; Daniel Steele; J. H. Beard; the Frankensteins, John P. and Godfrey N.; at a little later time John J. Tucker, William H. Powell, T. Buchanan Read, William P. Brannon, A. Baldwin, T. W. Whittridge. Among the so-called miniature painters were Thomas Dawson, T. V. Peticolas, J. O. Gorman and Mrs. R. Hosea, Jr. Joseph Kyle was here as early as 1823. He painted genre pictures for a time but moved to New York City. In the very early days the City Hotel, kept by David Kautz at the corner of Sixth and Lower Market streets, was a gathering place for artists. Subsequently for about five years, from 1819 to 1824, we are told by Mr. Ratterman that there was a sort of club room in the second story of Mrs. Sophia Amelung's boarding house at No. 75 Sycamore street, where came Nathan W. Wheeler, a portrait painter; E. B. Smith, Corwine, Mason and Dorfeuille, whose name was properly Dorfel, changed, as was the fashion in those days, in honor of Lafayette, to a French spelling. After 1824 the artists gathered at the headquarters of the city dancing master, Philibertus Ratel, on Third street between Main and Walnut. (H. A. Ratterman.)

Franks' Museum of Fine Arts was also a gathering place. Franks himself painted a picture for his gallery depicting the infernal regions.

The head of a family of painters, James H. Beard, in the early days painted portraits, fancy heads and groups and in 1841 his works were to be seen in the residences of Charles Stetson, R. R. Springer, S. S. L'Hommedieu, J. P. and S. E. Foote, Griffin Taylor and G. K. Shoenberger. Both James H. Beard and his brother William H. obtained some of their training in Mr. Franks' gallery. Here also Miner K. Kellogg painted. He was one of those who subsequently achieved international distinction. In this country he painted portraits of Presidents Van Buren, Polk and Jackson and Chief Justice Taney and General Scott. He also painted a portrait in Constantinople of the Grand Vizier of Turkey, in full length.

W. H. Powell, a celebrated historical painter, began his work in Cincinnati in 1833, although he properly belongs to New York. His historical picture "De Soto Discovering the Mississippi," in the Capitol at Washington and "Perry's Victory at Lake Erie," in the Capitol at Columbus, are well known. He painted a portrait of John

Quincy Adams, which was presented to the Cincinnati Observatory.

The early life of Thomas Buchanan Read belongs to this period. Apprenticed as a boy to a tailor, he ran away and learned in Philadelphia the trade of cigar making. He finally made his way to Cincinnati, where he found a home with Clevenger. His first vocation was that of a sign painter. He subsequently tried acting and the theatre, but by the liberality of Nicholas Longworth he was enabled to open a studio as a portrait painter. His wandering disposition was such that he could not remain long in one locality and he roamed from place to place, painting portraits or signs if he could not obtain sitters, giving public entertainments and even making cigars as a means of support when other things failed. As is well known, he subsequently achieved his greatest fame as a poet.

The Frankensteins, John P. and Godfrey N., as well as two other brothers and a sister, have always held a high place in the annals of Cincinnati art. Godfrey N. Frankenstein painted both landscapes (in which he was very successful) and portraits. He was also a sculptor, and one of the best known pieces of his work is the portrait bust of Justice McLean, so familiar to all citizens.

Another artist who stayed for a time and afterwards returned to France, was August Rostaing, carver of cameo likenesses and fancy heads and shells.

Another branch of art that called for much industry as well as skill was the carving of figure heads and sculptured ornaments for steamboats, which cut so large a figure in the commercial life of the time. From this business grew the great wood-carving industry in Cincinnati. Engaged in it under the name of Shepherd was a Pennsylvania German, who came to the city as Schafer in 1814. He subsequently associated himself with Mr. Sims in the business of wood carving. Schafer made the wooden statue of Minerva that stood for so many years before the Western Museum at the southwest corner of Main and Pearl. A little later came William Jones, a carver and gilder. Still later came Hiram Frazer, with whom was a well known German, Nicholas Adam.

E. S. Thomas mentions with especial favor King, an excellent artist, who had had great success in the Southern States; Whetstone, scarcely out of his "teens," who wanted encouragement to compete with the others; H. K. Brown, a sculptor and painter; and particularly Christopher C. Brackett. Thomas said of the last-named, that he began where others often left off. "An artist, his first production could not be found fault with, and he was not then twenty" years of age. He had seen but two or three pieces of statuary, but had already traced a bust of a beautiful sister, which was regarded as a very true portraiture. He had also executed several busts, including one of Thomas, and a statue claimed to be the first ever modeled in the valley of the Mississippi. This was the statue of "Nydia, the Blind Girl."

Nathan F. Baker's "Egeria" and "Cincinnatus" are well known. The latter stands in City Hall, after many years' wandering. These two statues executed in the early "forties" were regarded as worthy specimens of the sculptor's art. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 203 and 204.)

Eastman Johnson, too, lived for a time in this city, with his studio in the Bacon Building at Sixth and Walnut. Mr. Ratterman regards the transition period from the earlier to the later time as that of the Frankensteins, two of whom, John P. and Godfrey N., achieved marked distinction. For a time William L. Sonntag was the rage and Sonntag's landscapes were in every household.

In October, 1838, came the establishment of the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts by a number of artists "in order that by their union they might obtain greater facilities for improvements in the various branches of the fine arts." Godfrey N. Frankenstein was the president and John L. Whetstone the secretary. An art exhibition was given by this society in the following year, which it was claimed was the first of the character held in the West. This was at the Mechanics' Institute and comprised 150 works of foreign and native artists. H. A. Ratterman fixes upon the decade of 1840 to 1850 as the golden age of art in the city, saying that "during this period art evinced more life, more vitality, more self-reliance in Cincinnati than at any other period. After 1850 it sank lower and lower. Not that the city then ceased to produce artists of genius. On the contrary, it raised in modern days more than ever and comparatively more and greater ones than any other American municipality, not excepting the 'Hub of the Universe.' It is no bombastic puffery if we make this assertion. Our city was generally the starting point of American artists. We gave them birth and nourishment in their infancy; and when our artists were grown to manhood then the East would come to woo and wed them and

boast of them as their own." Despite the fruitful soil that this quotation would indicate the Academy of Fine Arts which started with such encouragement lasted but a short time. There was also a Fine Arts Department of the Cincinnati Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge and lectures on various art topics were given by James H. Beard and E. P. and John Cranch. The fine arts department of this institution was under the charge of John Cranch, P. S. Symmes, William Piatt and A. Baldwin and for a time was inspected from this institution. About five hundred people were in the habit of attending the lectures. This institution died, as did others before and have many since, from the want of an endowment to supply the funds for defraying the necessary expenses. Mr. Foote tells us that after the extinction of two academies, that of 1827 and that of 1838 and one section of fine arts, "most of those who had been active in efforts for their encouragement and promotion have adopted the opinion that it would be best to let them take their course and be governed by the loss of trade—or of taste—and flourish or fade according to those losses." The organization of the American Art Union in New York City, however, which took place in 1840, awakened again the dormant energies of the lovers of art in Cincinnati and the Western Art Union was established on a similar plan. This was located at the northwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore streets and was conducted under the presidency of Charles Stetson. Others who assisted were E. S. Haines, Mr. Marchant and the artist, Baldwin. The hall, which occupied the fourth story of the building, was quite large, —71 by 33 feet and was 24 feet in height. It served to display 300 pictures of average size and on several occasions that many pictures were exhibited in it. Among its treasures for a time was one of Powers' statues of the "Greek Slave." This institution, however, did not have a long life, but while it lasted it undoubtedly did much to cultivate public taste both in this city and in the West and South. At a later time came the project for the establishment of a Gallery of National Portraits and the collection of portraits of the heroes and sages of the Rebellion (made by Peale and for a time in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia) was purchased and the gallery opened for their exhibition. "The existence of this institution, however, was more brief than that of its predecessor. The paintings for some mysterious cause were taken away and the institution, like an unsubstantial pageant, vanished." (J. P. Foote.) In 1851 we learn that William Wiswell had fitted up a picture gallery which contained a valuable collection of 300 portraits, fancy and historical pieces embracing the works of Kellogg, Beard, Rothermel, Read and other well known artists. The gem of the gallery was said to be Powers' recently executed bust of General Jackson. Visitors were admitted to this without charge and the opportunity seems to have attracted a number of people interested in such works. Mr. Cist, in his book published this year, urges the establishment of an "Academy of Design," which should contain collections of paintings and models, sculptures, carvings, engravings, engraved gems, original drawings, plaster casts and the like and instances the readiness with which $25,000 was raised for the benefit of the Western Art Union and the purchase of the Peale paintings. As has been so much the case with the development of Cincinnati art, it was left for a "Ladies' Gallery of Fine Arts," organized by Mrs. Sarah Peter, to show to the world "that woman is not only capable of display and greater degree of good taste than man, but that the virtues of patience and perseverance will be exhibited by her more decidedly." At the time Mr. Foote wrote these lines he had no idea of how subsequent events in this city were to justify them. The plan of this institution was to procure for exhibition copies of the celebrated works of the old masters by artists of such reputation and talents that their copies would be accepted as authentic and also copies in plaster of the finest statues in Europe. Mrs. Peters crossed the ocean twice in the interest of this establishment, but unfortunately this scheme was not of a permanent character.

In 1859, as in his earlier books, Mr. Cist enumerates the artists whose influence was of the greatest importance in the development of Cincinnati's art impulses. This list included Miner K. Kellogg, James H. Beard, John Frankenstein, William H. Powell, T. Buchanan Read, T. W. Whittridge, Charles Soule, William L. Sonntag, William Walcutt, J. O. Eaton, William Miller and John R. Tait among the painters, and Hiram Powers, Clevenger and Joel T. Hart among the sculptors.

Others of the times just preceding the war were Lily Martin Spencer, well known for her treatment of Shakesperian subjects; J. Insco Williams, B. M. McConkey, Herman M. Groenland, J. C. Wolf, A. H. Hammill, Gerhard Mueller, Henry Koempel and Michael Muckle (sculp-

tor) An extended list is given by Mr. Cist in his "Cincinnati in 1851." A well known colored artist was R. S. Duncanson, who was quite successful in portraiture, landscape, genre and historical pieces. In that remarkable satire entitled "American Art; Its Awful Altitude," published in 1864 by John Frankenstein, a prominent figure is that picturesque looking sculptor, T. D. Jones, "that man out West that makes mud heads," said to have produced more portrait busts than any other artist in the country. He is the sculptor of the "Soldier on Guard" in the soldiers' lot in Spring Grove. Another interesting character was the eccentric Theodore Jones. The artists of a later period are our own contemporaries. Of them it can be said that high as were the achievements of the earlier days, they have been more than surpassed by those of the present brotherhood of art.

Mr. Goshorn, in his address at the dedication exercises of the Art Academy Building on November 26, 1887, in tracing the development of art sentiment in the city, mentions especially the Academy of Fine Arts founded by Frederick Eckstein in 1826, and the Gallery of Fine Arts of Frederick Franks opened in 1828—in which were trained in part such painters as Miner K. Kellogg, the two Beards, W. H. Powell and T. Buchanan Read—the second Academy of Fine Arts, that of Godfrey N. Frankenstein and John L. Whetstone, in the late "thirties;" the Fine Arts department of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge and the organization of Mrs. Peter and others in 1855. The next significant date in the history of art culture of the city was the opening of the School of Design in 1869. These apparently feeble efforts were about to bear good fruit for in them can be detected the germ from which developed the present art institutions of the city, the Art Museum and the Art Academy.

THE ART MUSEUM.

At a meeting of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee of Cincinnati, held January 18, 1877, resolutions were adopted looking to the reorganization of the committee as an association to advance woman's work, particularly in the field of industrial art, and Mrs. Aaron F. Perry was requested to prepare and lay before the committee a definite plan of work. Mrs. Perry complied with this request and on January 27, 1877, presented a paper on the subject of the establishment of a ladies' association, which should look to the founding of an art museum. At a subsequent meeting of ladies and gentlemen held at the residence of Mrs. A. S. Winslow, on March 12th, a committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of organization. This committee recommended that A. T. Goshorn, Joseph Longworth, L. B. Harrison, A. D. Bullock, A. S. Winslow, Julius Dexter, George Ward Nichols, William Henry Davis and Obed J. Wilson be invited to act as a committee to assist in furthering the purposes of those interested. Finally on April 28, 1877, an organization was effected, of ladies only, whose objects were "the cultivation and application of the principles of art to industrial pursuits and the establishment of an art museum in the city of Cincinnati." Mrs. Perry was elected president; Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. A. D. Bullock, Mrs. John Shillito, Mrs. A. S. Winslow, Mrs. George Carlisle and Mrs. William Dodd, vice-presidents; Mrs. H. C. Whitman, treasurer; and Miss Elizabeth H. Appleton and Miss Laura Valette, secretaries. This organization made an almost immediate impression upon the community and by the holding of loan exhibitions, the exhibition of art work at the industrial expositions and the general exploitation of their purposes succeeded in stimulating an interest in the subject of fine arts. As a result on the eighth day of September, 1880, Melville E. Ingalls, at the conclusion of his introductory address on the occasion of the opening of the Eighth Industrial Exposition, was enabled to read a letter from him written two days before to Charles W. West, suggesting that he make a subscription for building an art museum and Mr. West's response of a day later to the effect that if Mr. Ingalls and his friends would procure an act of incorporation as "The Art Museum Association of Cincinnati" and secure suitable grounds at a nominal perpetual rent he would subscribe toward the buildings the sum of $150,000, on condition that the subscribers subscribe a like amount. The subscriptions began immediately and by December 4th of the same year the committee consisting of George Hoadly, John Carlisle, Julius Dexter, A. T. Goshorn, A. H. Hinkle, Melville E. Ingalls, David Sinton and Charles W. West was able to report a scheme of organization to the subscribers who, 455 in number, had agreed to contribute the sum of $316,501, including the contribution of Mr. West. The Cincinnati Museum Association was incorporated by Messrs. Longworth, Springer, West and Dexter on February 15, 1881, and on March 7th of the some year 10 trustees,—Charles W. West, A. T. Goshorn, John Carlisle, George

Hoadly, Melville E. Ingalls, Elliott H. Pendleton, R. H. Galbreath, Samuel C. Tatem, Joseph Longworth and Julius Dexter,—were elected as trustees, who, with the mayor *ex officio* and two trustees elected by the Common Council, were placed in charge of the investment of the funds and the securing of the site for the Art Museum Building in Eden Park. After some delay an ordinance was passed by the Council, February 3, 1882, permitting "the erection of a museum and such other buildings as may be incidentally connected therewith" in Eden Park. Temporary quarters were opened a week later in the Music Hall and the trustees accepted as gifts valuable art treasures from Mr. Longworth, the Women's Art Museum Association, George Hoadly, Mrs. Eliza Longworth Flagg, Mrs. S. N. Pike and the Ninth Cincinnati Industrial Exposition. On the occasion of the opening of this temporary museum on February 10, 1882, a communication was read from Mr. West, offering to give the association the sum of $150,000 further to provide a fund for the endowment of the Museum, which must be held perpetually without impairment. This offer was immediately accepted. On the 17th day of May, 1886, the Art Museum Building in Eden Park was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens and guests from other cities and the valuable collections partly the property of the association and partly loans from various quarters were properly installed in a building adapted for their preservation and display under conditions unusually felicitous. The Art Museum Building covers an area of 17,227 square feet of ground surface, with a floor space 36,266 square feet and a wall space of 26,820 square feet. It was erected at a cost of about $330,000 and includes the center and west wing of the building designed, of which the east wing remains to be constructed. The tract of land reserved by the city of Cincinnati for the uses of the Museum covers 19.71 acres. The catalogue of the permanent collections of paintings and sculpture shows that these collections are classified under the head of SCULPTURE, consisting of original marbles and bronzes and casts from Modern Renaissance, Roman and Greek originals, including parts of the Parthenon frieze; TEXTILES, including Japanese embroideries, brocades, cashmere shawls, lace tapestries, fans, etc.; the BOOKWALTER COLLECTION, consisting of a number of objects of art selected by John W. Bookwalter during travels in the East and loaned to the Art Museum; METAL WORK, including original Chinese and Japanese bronzes and 500 electroplated reproductions of originals in European museums; ARMOR; GRAPHIC ARTS, including paintings, engravings, photographs and plaster casts of ivory carvings; CERAMICS; ETHNOLOGY; AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY; and MISCELLANEOUS—musical instruments and the like.

It is proposed by J. G. Schmidlapp to erect a building for library and incidentally for exhibition purposes. This building will not attempt to follow the style of the existing buildings, but will be Doric Greek in treatment. It is to be 100 feet square and its main portion will center at the meeting point of the main north axis of the Museum and the east axis of the Academy which lies to the northwest. It will be on a level with the main floor of the Museum, with which it will be connected by a gallery 100 by 30 feet, extended north from the entrance hall of the Museum. The Museum contains a reference library of 2,655 bound volumes and 3,967 pamphlets and is also equipped with a printing office. According to the report for the year ending December 31, 1903, the endowments amount to $257,178.00 which, with the building and its contents, make the total Museum fund $584,629.91. The death of Alfred Traber Goshorn on February 19, 1902, deprived the Art Museum of the services of its most valued friend, who had been connected with it as director and trustee from its incorporation in 1881, a period of almost 22 years. He brought to the services of this enterprise the administrative talents which had made him distinguished throughout his life and had caused him to be selected above all other men as the director general of the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876. He was succeeded as director by J. H. Gest, who had been assistant director. The present officers of the association are: Melville E. Ingalls, president; Charles P. Taft, vice-president; W. W. Taylor, treasurer; who with William Worthington, R. H. Galbreath, Edmond P. Harrison, D. H. Holmes, J. G. Schmidlapp, Nathaniel Henchman Davis and L. A. Ault (trustees) and Julius Fleischmann (mayor) and Edward Goepper and William Von Steinwehr (the trustees on behalf of the city) constitute the board of trustees.

THE ART ACADEMY.

Adjoining the Art Museum and under the control of the same management is the Art Academy of Cincinnati. Work on this building was begun March 4, 1886, and completed in

September of the following year in time for the first session of the new Art Academy of Cincinnati, which succeeded the Art School of Cincinnati. This was the successor to the McMicken School of Design, which was established in accordance with the request of Charles McMicken, who died in 1858 and opened originally on January 4, 1869, in charge of Thomas S. Noble. The School of Design was a part of the McMicken University of Cincinnati. In 1876 Joseph Longworth presented the Art Department of the University with $59,500 upon condition that the University should add $10,000, which it promptly did, and the School of Design was thus placed upon a liberal and permanent pecuniary foundation. At the time of the incorporation of the Art Museum Association, Mr. Longworth, who had given the main support to the School of Design, became anxious to place that school in the hands of the trustees of the latter association and it was his expectation that if he was successful in the accomplishment of this desire to give to the association a larger fund for the endowment of a thoroughly equipped art school. Joseph Longworth died however before he was able to carry out his purpose but in 1884 his son, the late Judge Nicholas Longworth, upon the completion of an arrangement by which the city transferred the School of Design from the University to the Museum Association, placed in the hands of the trustees in pursuance of the unfulfilled intention of his father investments and ground rents of the value of $371,631. The name of the school was then changed to the Art School of Cincinnati. Reuben R. Springer and David Sinton were considering the erection of an adequate building for the school near the Museum in Eden Park just previous to Mr. Springer's death. Mr. Springer left by his will the sum of $20,000 to the school and thereupon Mr. Sinton gave $75,944 towards the construction of a building to which was added $14,081 from the Springer endowment. At the dedication of the building in November, 1887, the school was named the "Art Academy of Cincinnati" and since that time has continued as a department under the management of the Cincinnati Museum Association. The building is rectangular, 82 by 140 feet with over 38,000 square feet of floor space divided among three stories. It contains large and small class rooms and studios and lecture room, dining room and kitchen and its location in Eden Park 350 feet above the river level insures to it light and air and an opportunity for outdoor work. The school is well equipped with casts, still life and furniture and employs six to seven life models daily for students drawing and painting the head or figure. In addition to the building, which cost $97,175.58, the endowment includes the Longworth fund $371,631, Springer fund $11,371.40 and the Louise Ingalls memorial fund created in 1899 which gives financial aid to deserving students. The chairman of the faculty is Prof. Thomas S. Noble. Other members are Vincent Nowotny, L. H. Meakin, William H. Fry, Clement J. Barnhorn and Frank Duveneck. The director is J. H. Gest.

THE ROOKWOOD POTTERY.

Not far from the Art Museum upon the brink of Mount Adams is the Rookwood Pottery, one of the most prominent institutions of the city and the one probably that is best known throughout the world. In 1874 and 1875 a number of women in the city were led to experiment in the decoration of ceramics and some of their work in overglaze porcelain decoration was exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Afterwards they tried other processes of decoration under the glaze, tested all sorts of native clay and made experiments in the application of color to the wet clay body with the idea of producing a new pottery by applying colored decoration in the material itself before firing and then protecting and enriching this biscuit with the glaze. Prominent among these artists was Mrs. Maria Longworth Storer, who in 1880 opened a pottery on Eastern Avenue which she called "Rookwood" from the name of her father's place. Here the first kiln was drawn on Thanksgiving Day and here developed an art industry that has grown to marvelous proportions whose output vies with the most beautiful products of the potter. By 1889 the works had become self-supporting; Mrs. Storer withdrew and Rookwood passed to a company under the control of William Watts Taylor, who had cooperated in the institution since 1883. In 1892 the old building spreading out in all directions outgrew the possibilities of its site on Eastern avenue and a new piece of ground was purchased on the bluff of Mount Adams. Here was erected a picturesque building, which can be seen from all parts of the lower plain of the city, which in itself is one of the most striking architectural features in Cincinnati. An enlargement was made in 1899 and at present (1904) additional buildings are in process of erection. The decorators who have worked in the pottery have comprised both men

and women and have been drawn mainly from the Art Academy. There has been no imitation of other wares and the constant effort has been to produce individual pieces each an ideal in form and color. Mechanical repetition is avoided and each piece is a fresh and independent rendering of its motive. Experiments are constantly carried on in the effort to broaden the character of the work. At first the native clay inclined the color quality towards yellows, browns and reds and these types are regarded as the standard Rookwood. Other glaze effects are known as the "Tiger Eye," first made in 1884, the earliest "of the class of crystalline glazes since so extensively made at Sevres, Copenhagen and Berlin." "Gold Stone," another crystalline glaze, is more limpid in quality; "Sea Green," an exquisite variety in which a limpid, opalescent sea-green effect is obtained; "Iris" a lighter color scheme of more delicate body. In the so-called "flowing glaze" somewhat resembling the old Chinese ware, the decoration is painted upon the piece in slight relief. The development of the "mat glaze" began in 1896 as an outgrowth of efforts at a dull finish or smear glaze. A later feature of Rookwood is the application of metals which are used very successfully, in designs for lamps and electroliers. Faience panels, flat and in relief, are used for mantels, wall panels, fountains and architectural reliefs. The celebrated Indian heads of the design so frequent in Rookwood ware are absolutely correct portraits of Indian chiefs. A fine exhibition of Rookwood is to be given at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

In the second volume of this work a sketch of the Rookwood Pottery Company is given that supplements the foregoing article.

THE CINCINNATI ART CLUB,

With its rooms on Fourth street and its membership comprising the principal artists of the city, as well as a number of enthusiasts on art matters, is no small influence in art circles. It is a social organization which also gives a number of exhibitions each year of the work of its members. These are very popular and are largely attended by those fortunate enough to be invited to them.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE JEWS OF CINCINNATI.

BY MAX B. MAY.

CHARACTER OF THE SETTLEMENT — THE FIRST CONGREGATION, BENE ISRAEL — THE PLUM STREET TEMPLE — ORTHODOX SYNAGOGUES — SABBATH SCHOOLS — THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE — JOURNALISM — THE CHARITIES — HOSPITALS AND HOMES FOR THE AGED — THE JEWISH SOCIAL SETTLEMENT — PUBLIC SERVICE — COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE — SECRET SOCIETIES — THE SOCIAL LIFE.

[Although as is apparent from an examination of this work, the topical treatment of special subjects has not been generally adopted, it was thought by the author that several subjects could receive more adequate treatment in this way, especially in view of the kindly interest of writers especially qualified for the work. The subject discussed in this chapter has never so far as the author has been able to discover been adequately handled in any accessible publication. It seems a piece of good fortune that a writer so admirably adapted by temperament, heredity and training to do this work as is Mr. May has consented to prepare the following chapter on a people who have always been so intimately and honorably connected with the history of the city.—C. T. G.]

The author of this history of Cincinnati for some reason or other has thought that his work would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to the Jews of Cincinnati. When the writer of this chapter endeavored to point out to him that the Jews as such were no more entitled to a separate chapter than the Catholics, Protestants, Episcopalians, Methodists and other sects, he answered that in a work of this character the Jewish population like the German and Irish was entitled to have its story told. And this is the only reason for this chapter, and it shall be my endeavor to tell the story of the Cincinnati Jews from the earliest day to the present, and it is a most creditable story. For view the Jew as you will, whether as pioneer, citizen, merchant or professional man, whether from his religious, political, economic or social side, he presents but one picture—that of an honest, upright, fearless, zealous, patriotic, charitable, religious and public spirited citizen. If the Cincinnati Jew can point with pride to any one virtue, it is that in all his history from 1817 to 1903, he has never allowed his brother to become a public charge, he has never asked his sectarian fellow citizens to contribute to his charities and organizations, nor refused to contribute to theirs, and in all positions of public trust, whether he served for honor only or for pay, his record has been without a blemish. In all his history he has had but one object,—to show himself not only a true son of Israel, but a loyal and patriotic citizen, a true lover of his adopted home, a faithful servant of the public.

CHARACTER OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The first Jew to arrive in Cincinnati was Joseph Jonas, a native of Plymouth, England, who, having heard in some way or other of the fertility and possibilities of the Ohio region, left his

home to settle in Cincinnati, the very heart of the Ohio settlement. He landed in New York in 1816, set out from Philadelphia in the early part of 1817, and after a long journey arrived in Cincinnati at the close of the first week of March, 1817. Being a watchmaker by trade, he soon established himself and within a short time sent home word about the advantages of Cincinnati. Simultaneously with the arrival of Jonas in Cincinnati, one Phineas Johnson of Portsmouth, England, had settled near what is now Connersville, Indiana. The glowing reports that Johnson sent home to his folks soon induced his brother, David Israel Johnson, to emigrate to Western America. This new immigrant, while passing through Cincinnati, met Jonas, who unsuccessfully endeavored to have him remain here. Johnson, however, joined his brother in Indiana, but returned to Cincinnati early in 1820, where he remained until his death in 1842, at the early age of 47 years. This David Israel Johnson was the father of the first Jewish child born in Cincinnati, the late Hon. Frederick A. Johnson, who was born June 2, 1821, and who for many years was a justice of the peace of this township. His son, Simeon M. Johnson, is an honored member of the Cincinnati bar. D. I. Johnson was also the father of Edgar M. Johnson, for many years the law partner of the late Governor George Hoadly. Other English Jews soon found their way to Cincinnati; these were undoubtedly attracted on purely personal grounds; among them may be mentioned,—Lewis Cohen of London, Barnet Levi of Liverpool, Jonas Levy of Exeter, Abraham Jonas, Morris Moses and wife, Morris Symonds and wife, who came from Plymouth, and Solomon and Phineas Moses from Portsmouth. In 1820, some Germans arrived,—Solomon Buckingham, Moses Nathan and Solomon Menkin. Between 1820 and 1830 many English friends and coreligionists of the pioneers came to Cincinnati. During the same period some Dutch Jews, among whom were the Workums, some French,—the Mayers,—arrived. About 1830, the Polish and German Jewish immigration began, and soon we find such family names as Moehring, Alexander, Malzer, Heidelbach, Seasongood, Milius, Sessel, Assur, Wolf, Bloom, Simon, Levy, Friedman, Barbe, Fechheimer, Frenkel, Goodhart and the like. After 1840, the German immigration soon outnumbered the English, and thenceforth, until 1882, the main immigration was German. In 1882 occurred the first great Russian exodus, caused by the inhuman persecution of the Jews by the relentless policy of the Czar. Since 1882, there has been a steady stream of Russian Jews pouring into Cincinnati. In 1900 the Roumanian persecution caused thousands of Roumanian Jews to leave their native land, and within the past few years a mere handful of these have settled in Cincinnati; this number is likely to increase if the Roumanian persecution continues.

The ancestors of the present Jewish population of Cincinnati were therefore English, Polish, German, Dutch, French and Russian. There have been some intermarriages between the English, Polish, German, Dutch, French and German Jews, between the Polish and Russian, but very few between the English and Russian or German and Russian. However, within the last few years the number of these is increasing.

THE FIRST CONGREGATION,—BENE ISRAEL.

The Jews all the world over have been noted for their devotion to Israel's God. They have an abiding faith in the Thorah, Israel's sacred book of law, and wherever a few are gathered together, they assemble at least on the holy days of the year, the Rosh Hashonah (New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), which come in the early fall, and worship God as their ancestors did of old. The new immigrants brought with them this abiding religious faith that has ever, and it is hoped will ever characterize the Jews. In the fall of 1819, Lewis Cohen, Barnet Levi, Jonas Levy, Joseph Jonas and David Israel Johnson, who came over from Brookville, held the first Jewish services in the West. On the 4th day of January, 1824, at a meeting of Jews held at the house of Morris Moses, the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, It is the duty of every member of the Jewish persuasion, when separated from a congregation, to conform as near as possible to the worship and ceremonies of our holy religion, and as soon as a sufficient number can be assembled to form ourselves into a congregation for the purpose of glorifying our God and observing the fundamental principles of our faith as developed in the Laws of Moses; with these impressions the undernamed persons convened at the residence of Morris Moses in the City of Cincinnati on the fourth day of January, 1824, corresponding to the fourth day of Shebat, 5584." And on the 18th day of January, 1824, at another meeting at the same place, the Congregation Bene Israel (Children of Israel) was organized with Joseph Jonas, president, and Phineas Moses and Jonas Levy, vestrymen. In

1826, the congregation used a frame building on the west side of Main street, between Third and Fourth. On January 30, 1830, the General Assembly of the State of Ohio constituted Morris Symonds, Joseph Jonas, D. I. Johnson, Phineas Moses, and others, and their successors a body corporate and politic under the name "K'hilah Kodesh Bene h Israel" (Holy Congregation of Children of Israel), "according to the form and mode of worship of the Polish and German Jews of Cincinnati." In 1830, the congregation worshiped on Fourth street between Sycamore and Broadway. In 1835, the corner-stone of a new synagogue on Broadway between Fifth and Sixth was laid, and in 1836 the structure was dedicated. At this time Rev. Henry Harris was the reader. In 1851, the congregation having purchased adjoining property moved temporarily to Vine street, and on September 14, 1852, the new synagogue, thenceforth known as the "Broadway Synagogue," was dedicated. In 1855, the congregation elected Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal of New York, "the first preacher to officiate regularly for the Bene Israel Congregation." The congregation grew in numbers and influence under the wise leadership of Dr. Lilienthal. He was a most lovable man, handsome, tall, and of great intellect, a peace loving person —"the Prince of Peace" was the sobriquet given him. He soon renewed his friendship with his colleague, Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of the younger sister congregation, and from 1855 to 1882, the year of his death, he was a faithful collaborator of Dr. Wise in all reform and educational matters; he zealously introduced into his congregation every reform inaugurated by Dr. Wise in the latter's congregation.

In 1863, the board of trustees of the Broadway Synagogue resolved to build a new house of worship, and in 1865 the present site of the new temple at Eighth and Mound streets was purchased. Slow progress was made in building and in 1868 Dr. Lilienthal resigned to accept a call to Temple Emanu-El, New York. Through the efforts of influential citizens among whom was the late Judge Bellamy Storer, Dr. Lilienthal withdrew his resignation. Soon thereafter work on the new temple was pushed and on April 27, 1869, the new structure was dedicated. Dr. Max Lilienthal, with whose coming began a new era in the history of the Mound Street Temple, continued to be the spiritual head until April 5, 1882, when he died mourned by the whole community. In October, 1882, Rev. Raphael Benjamin, M. A., was elected Dr. Lilienthal's successor. He in turn was succeeded in 1888 by the present able Rabbi David Philipson, D. D. Dr. Philipson is a graduate of the first class of the Hebrew Union College, and of the class of 1883 of the University of Cincinnati. He was the 1879 gold medal pupil of Hughes High School. After his graduation in 1883, he was elected rabbi of a large Baltimore congregation. Since taking up his work here, he has continued the good labors of Dr. Lilienthal. He is a member of the Cincinnati Literary Club, the Folk Lore Society, and the Phi Beta Kappa of the University of Cincinnati. In addition to his rabbinical duties, he is a member of the faculty of the Hebrew Union College, president of the Sabbath School Union, and a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. His voice and his pen are ever ready in behalf of Israel's cause.

During his service, the Mound Street Temple has increased in numbers. The board of trustees, which is at present composed of Solomon Fox, president, Lewis Seasongood, vice-president, Alfred M. Cohen, secretary, Abraham Freiberg, treasurer, Jacob Schottenfels, warden, and Victor Abraham, J. Walter Freiberg, Joseph Joseph, David M. Levy, A. G. Schwab, Julius Freiberg, Simon Greenebaum, James Lowman, Jacob Kronacher, Samuel W. Trost and Isaac Winkler, trustees, is contemplating the building of a new and more beautiful temple in Avondale. Dr. Philipson is assisted in the service by the cantor, Rev. M. Goldstein. The choir under the leadership of Sidney C. Durst furnishes excellent music. The last annual report shows a membership of 370; receipts of $16,867.43, and expenditures of $16,160.34.

THE PLUM STREET TEMPLE.

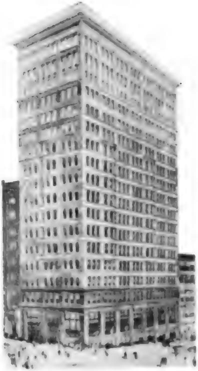
Towards the end of the "thirties," there were in and about Cincinnati a number of young, energetic German Jews, who although religiously inclined were not in sympathy with the English congregation, Bene Israel. Some time in 1840, they met and organized an independent congregation, which they named Bene Yeshurun (Children of Yeshurun). The first place of worship was on Third street between Sycamore and Broadway. The first general meeting of the congregation was held September 19, 1841, at which Alexander Cohn was elected president. Previous to this meeting, the ritual used by German Jews had been adopted. The earnestness, sincerity and energy of the young congregation is easily discovered in the first constitution; the young and enthusiastic German Jews were al-

ready imbued with our glorious American institutions. On February 28, 1842, the congregation was incorporated under the name "The Holy Congregation of Children of Yeshurun." Of the original charter members, three are still living, J. H. Goodhart, Daniel Wolf and Levi Friedman. In 1844, the congregation resolved to build a synagogue and in 1845 a lot on Lodge street (now the site of the Columbia Theatre) was purchased, and on September 22, 1848, the new synagogue was dedicated. In 1847, Rev. James K. Gutheim was the minister of the congregation and under his regime some religious reforms were attempted, but the ultra-orthodox members were too strong for him and he soon resigned. He was succeeded by an Englishman, Rev. H. A. Henry, who in turn was succeeded by Rev. A. Rosenfeld. Gradually the anti-ultra-orthodox party of the congregation gained in strength and in 1853, after accepting Rev. Mr. Rosenfeld's resignation, the congregation invited Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise of Beth-El Congregation, of Albany, New York, to name the conditions upon which he would accept an election. Dr. Wise named what he thought impossible conditions, viz: that he be elected unanimously and for life; that he receive a salary which would make him independent and that he be permitted to enter upon his duties six months after his election. The congregation on October 27, 1853, accepted all the conditions. This action of the congregation was a bold one for at this time Dr. Wise, who was personally known to few Cincinnatians, was being attacked fiercely and abusively in the denominational press; he was denounced as a heretic and accused of being a disturbing element in Judaism. This action on the part of the congregation certainly showed whither its tendencies were directed.

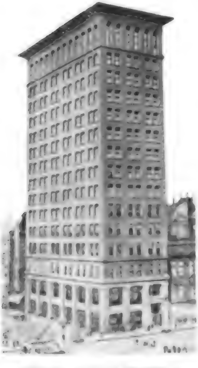
Dr. Wise arrived in Cincinnati, April 26, 1854; he had led a strenuous life at Albany since 1846, and by his reform movement had brought down upon him the abuse of strict orthodox Judaism. In his "Reminiscences," he gives the following reasons for coming to Cincinnati: "The people there are young and aspiring and not yet cast in a fixed mold. Now, I understand that I have to do. I shall go to Cincinnati, start a new weekly journal, give Judaism a new and powerful impetus and avenge myself for the good of humanity on the narrow religious bigots so that they will think of me for a century."

With the advent of Dr. Isaac M. Wise, the Bene Yeshurun Congregation entered upon a new career: it now became the banner bearer of Reform Judaism. Shortly after his arrival, he abolished certain useless customs and prayers and introduced a choir and an organ into the synagogue. His success was immediate, and in 1855 the older congregation, Bene Israel, elected Dr. Wise as its rabbi with the understanding that he should divide his time between the two synagogues, but Bene Yeshurun would not consent and upon Dr. Wise's recommendation Bene Israel elected Dr. Lilienthal. In 1863, the congregation purchased a lot 132 by 100 on the southeast corner of Eighth and Plum streets, and erected a magnificent structure, now known as the Plum Street Temple, at the cost of $263,525. This temple was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on August 24, 1866. This Alhambra temple with its slender pillars and 13 domes is one of the most handsome in the country. With the dedication of the new temple, the second period of the congregation's history ends. The actors in the great drama of quiet development were perhaps unaware of the grandeur of their work. The congregation had now abolished the strict orthodox practices, and was moving rapidly along the path of reform, with its light, its humanity, its enlightenment, and sympathy. Henceforth the congregation played the most prominent part in the affairs of that American Judaism that it had labored so sedulously to establish. The influence of the congregation now became national and was felt in all questions of congregational reform. Its fame was spread abroad by the fearless, earnest, enthusiastic work of its indefatigable and conscientious rabbi. During the years 1866-1900, he traveled in all parts of the country, dedicating new temples, delivering popular lectures, attending conventions and conferences. In these assemblies, Dr. Wise was always the moving spirit and his personality and that of the congregation became inseparable. Aided and encouraged by the congregation, Dr. Wise established the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College. In 1873, Dr. Wise received a call from the Congregation Ansche Chesed of New York, which elected him for life at $8,000 and house rent. But the Cincinnati congregation would not permit him to leave. His salary was increased to $6,000 and he continued to serve at that salary until his death, March 26, 1900. In 1889, the congregation dispensed with the services of the cantor and elected, as assistant rabbi, Rev. Charles S. Levi, who served until 1898, when he was called to Peoria. In November, 1898, Dr. Wise selected one of his most favored and promising

THE UNION SAVINGS BANK
& TRUST COMPANY
BUILDING.



THE FIRST NATIONAL
BANK BUILDING.



THE INGALLS BUILDING.

THE TRACTION BUILDING.

pupils, Rev. Dr. Louis Grossmann, who had been at Detroit, Michigan, for 14 years. After Dr. Wise's death, the congregation unanimously elected Dr. Grossmann as the successor of Dr. Wise, which position he has been filling with the utmost satisfaction.

Dr. Grossmann is a graduate of the 1884 class of the Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati, a member of the Hebrew Union College faculty, and active in the Central Conference of America Rabbis and the Sabbath School Union. He is prominent in all public charities and educational matters, and is a writer of note. In 1901, the congregation reestablished the office of cantor and elected I. H. Weinstock. The choir which is under the direction of Hans Seitz is one of the best in the city. The present officers are: Fred Rauh, president; Jonas B. Frenkel, vice-president; B. Bettmann, treasurer; Max B. May, secretary; B. Kahn, warden; trustees,—A. S. Brown, N. Drucker, L. J. Goldman, Joseph A. Friedlander Albert Moch, Elias Moch, Emil Pollak, Charles Shohl, Samuel Straus, Myer Oettinger, Joseph May and Jacob Ottenheimer. The present membership is 370; the receipts during 1901-02 were $19,793.18; the expenditures, $18,817.58. The congregation is now building a handsome Sabbath-school building on Reading road and Whittier street with an auditorium seating 600.

ORTHODOX SYNAGOGUES.

While the reform element of the Cincinnati Jews is most prominent in the public and religious life of the community, there are still many orthodox congregations, the most prominent of which are Sherith Israel (Remnant of Israel) on Richmond and Mound streets, which was formed in 1855 by those orthodox Jews who objecting to the reform tendencies of the Bene Israel Congregation withdrew therefrom (Emanuel Auer is president and Moses Bing, secretary); and Ahavath Achim (Brotherly Love) on John street and Bauer avenue, which was organized in 1847 (Julius Frank is president and Nathan Wolfstein, secretary). In 1853, the Congregation Adas Israel on Ninth street near John was organized; Jacob Davis is president and M. H. Franklin, secretary. In addition to these there are many Russion congregations scattered throughout the city.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.

In 1849, Henry Mack advocated the establishing of a school for the purpose of educating the young children in English as well as in Hebrew and religious subjects. The result was the organization of a school under the name "Talmud Yelodim Institute." This school was conducted by the Plum Street Temple, and remained a day school with five or six classes until 1868, when it became a Sabbath-school only. Talmud Yelodim Institute is still in existence as a Sabbath-school, and as stated above a new building is being erected on Reading road and Whittier street, Avondale.

The Bene Israel Congregation also established a school called Novoth, which offered instruction in secular studies. To-day all the congregations conduct Sabbath-schools for the benefit of the children of members and non-members.

THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE.

Cincinnati enjoys the distinction of being the home of the only institution in America for the education of rabbis for Reform Judaism. The founder of this institution was the late Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Dr. Wise was the first Jew in the United States to see the necessity of an institution where young Americans could be educated for the rabbinate. While in Albany in 1848, he sought to bring about a union of congregations to establish such a theological seminary. When he received the call from Cincinnati in 1853, he wrote: "I entertain the hope that Talmud Yelodim Institute will in a few years realize my fervent wishes of a Hebrew College, in which our national literature may flourish alongside of a classical and commercial education." But the "fervent wishes" were not to be realized until 1873 and 1875. After one of the most remarkable campaigns in the history of religious reforms, Dr. Isaac M. Wise succeeded with the aid of able and enthusiastic Cincinnatians in establishing, in 1873, the Union of American Congregations, and that body in 1875 established the Hebrew Union College. The institution was located in Cincinnati, because this city was Dr. Wise's home. He was elected the first president and continued to serve as president and professor of theology without pay until March 24, 1900, when he was suddenly stricken. From this College have been graduated 95 rabbis, the first class in 1883; these graduates are occupying pulpits in all the large cities of the Union, and in many of the smaller cities; they are to be found in New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Louisville, Kansas City, Mobile, Atlanta, Denver, Richmond, Peoria, Al-

bany, Montgomery and others too numerous to mention. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Jew in America owes his present position to Reform Judaism, and that without the Hebrew Union College, Reform Judaism would not have flourished.

The College is governed by a board of governors, composed of resident and non-resident members. The present efficient chairman is B. Bettmann, who has held that position since the opening of the institution. His resident colleagues are Abe Bloom, Jacob Kronacher, Louis S. Levi, Nathan Stix, Dr. David Philipson, Samuel W. Trost, Julius Freiberg, Nathan Drucker, Edward L. Heinsheimer, Alfred M. Cohen and Max B. May. The faculty is composed of capable men, many of whom have international reputations. Rev. Dr. M. Mielziner is the acting president and professor of the Talmud; his colleagues are Professors G. Deutsch, E. Feldman, D. Philipson, L. Grossmann, M. Buttenweiser, C. Levias, S. Mannheimer and M. Malter.

The College is supported by a one dollar per capita tax on all members of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and annual subscriptions and donations. At present an endowment fund of $500,000 to be known as "The Isaac M. Wise Memorial Fund" is being raised. All graduates of the Hebrew Union College must be graduates of the University of Cincinnati, or hold a degree of an institution of the same standing as the University.

The office of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, consisting of 112 congregations, is in Cincinnati. Julius Freiberg is the president and Lipman Levy has been the efficient secretary since its organization in 1873.

JOURNALISM.

Although the first Jewish journal in America was not established in Cincinnati, nevertheless the oldest, ablest and most authoritative Jewish journal in America is published here.—*The American Israelite* established by Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. In July, 1854, the first number of *The Israelite*, now *The American Israelite*, was issued by Dr. Wise. He continued to be its editor until his death in 1900; in fact the issue of March 29, 1900, which appeared on the day of his funeral, contained editorial matter written by him the week previous. This journal which is still published by Leo Wise & Company, and of which Leo Wise is the managing editor, has been the leading organ of American Reform Judaism, the stanch defender of the Jew's civil and religious rights and his zealous advocate in all important matters.

Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal established a Sabbath-school paper, *The Sabbath School Visitor*, but the paper did not survive him many years.

THE CHARITIES.

The Jew is preeminently charitable; from the earliest times his intense sufferings and terrible persecutions have compelled him to assist his distressed and unfortunate brethren, and all give him credit for the excellent and unselfish manner in which he has done so. Charity work was contemporaneous with congregational work; in fact, in the early days both Bene Israel and Bene Yeshurun congregations carried on a system of relief work. An independent relief society, known as the Hebrew General Relief Association, was organized in 1856; then in due course of time there were organized the Jewish Ladies' Sewing Society (1875), where comforts, clothes and shrouds were made for the poor; the Plum Street Temple Industrial School (1882), where young girls are taught during the vacations to sew, crochet, embroider, etc.; the Jewish Kitchen Garden (1890), where all phases of housekeeping are taught; the Jewish Foster Home (1892), an institution where mothers, who must work away from home, may leave their children during the day; the Industrial School for Boys (1895), a technical school on a small scale; and Jewish kindergartens, whose names indicate their purpose. Early in 1896, a number of ladies and gentlemen, prominent among whom were Messrs. B. Bettmann, Max Senior, James Lowman, Louis S. Levi, Victor Abraham, A. G. Schwab, Julius Freiberg, Albert Moch, Henry Jonap, J. Walter Freiberg, Drs. Wise and Philipson and Mesdames Duffy, Freiberg, Rosa F. Sachs, Lizette Friedlander, Carrie Friedlander, L. P. Ezekiel and M. Isaacs, saw the necessity for a union of all the various charitable organizations, so that time, money and energy should be united and waste and duplication of relief prevented. To this end a federation of the following associations was effected under the corporate name, "The United Jewish Charities of Cincinnati," viz.: The Hebrew General Relief Association, the Society for the Relief of the Jewish Sick Poor; the Jewish Ladies' Sewing Society; the Jewish Foster Home; the Kitchen Garden Association; the Kindergarten Association; the Plum Street Temple Industrial School, and the Industrial School for Boys. The object of the union is "to relieve the deserv-

ing poor, to prevent want and distress and discourage pauperism." The management and control of the union is vested in a board of governors, composed of 29 members elected by the federated societies. The board is divided into many committees, such as building, finance, education and entertainment, visiting, tenements, law, labor and employment, tabulation and statistics, foreign relations and executive. The main work is done by the superintendent and executive committee. The United Jewish Charities have about 1,000 subscribing members, whose aggregate subscriptions amount to about $35,000 annually. During the year ending February 28, 1902, 1,820 applications were considered; the society furnished work to 177; transportation to 155; distributed 358 tons of coal; treated 2,013 patients; furnished 27 nurses; distributed 300 grocery orders. The annual expenses, including annual contribution to the National Hospital for Consumptives in Denver, nearly equal the annual receipts. The Jews of Cincinnati take especial pride in the fact that while they contribute both to non-sectarian and other sectarian charities, no Jews are allowed to apply to such organizations for relief.

The first superintendent was M. Goldstein; the present able superintendent is Rabbi Sol C. Lowenstein, a graduate of the University of Cincinnati (1898), and Hebrew Union College (1900). The following are the officers and members of the board of governors: President, B. Bettmann; vice-president, Louis S. Levi; treasurer General Fund, Albert Moch; treasurer Sinking Fund, Louis S. Levi; financial secretary, Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg; secretary, Miss Hannah Marks; assistant superintendent, Mrs. C. Guenzbarger; agent Employment Bureau, H. Hutner; members of board,—Messrs. Victor Abraham, J. Walter Freiberg, I. J. Friedlander, Dr. Alfred Friedlander, Dr. Louis Grossmann, William J. Levy, James Lowman, L. D. Marks, Jacob Ottenheimer, Dr. David Philipson, Emil Pollak, A. G. Schwab and Max Senior, and Mesdames L. P. Ezekiel, Walter Ezekiel, Samuel Fletcher, Julius Freiberg, M. Guiterman, Ross Holzman, M. Isaacs, Mathilda Kahn, Louise Mannheimer, Pauline Mayer, S. B. Sachs and Louis Stern.

The United Jewish Charities occupy a large building at No. 731 West Sixth street with office hours, except Saturday, from eight A. M. to six P. M., and eight to twelve M. on Saturdays.

The wisdom of federated charities led in 1899 to the formation of the National Jewish Charities, of which Max Senior was president from 1899 to 1902. The cities of Chicago, Rochester, Philadelphia and St. Louis have followed Cincinnati's example and have formed confederations of various charitable organizations.

HOSPITALS AND HOMES FOR THE AGED.

In addition to the charitable work carried on by the United Jewish Charities just described, the Jews of Cincinnati in addition support a hospital conducted by the Jewish Hospital Association, composed of the following: Henry S. Fechheimer, president; James Lowman, vice-president; A. J. Seasongood, treasurer; Samuel Mayer, secretary; L. J. Mack, finance secretary; Julius Freiberg, D. J. Workum, S. W. Trost, Louis Kramer, Jacob Ottenheimer, Julius Reis, Moses Marks, I. J. Friedlander, M. E. Moch and Samuel Straus, trustees; and a Home for Jewish Aged and Infirm which is managed by the following board, to-wit: James Lowman, president; Julius Freiberg, vice-president; Frank Seinsheimer, recording secretary; David Spritz, financial secretary; Louis Kuhn, treasurer; and A. J. Seasongood, Moses Moch, Alexander Straus, James Levy, Emil Pollak, Louis Kramer, M. H. Marks, and Henry Fechheimer, directors. Both these institutions are supported by annual contributions and donations; they are located on Burnet avenue and Union street. The Hospital, which is non-sectarian, is equipped with the best operating room in the city and its Training School for Nurses has an excellent reputation. The staff is composed of the following well known physicians: Joseph Ransohoff (dean), Louis J. Krouse, Albert H. Freiberg, J. E. Marcus, Alfred Friedlander, L. J. Fogel, Samuel Rothenberg, Sigmar Stark, Philip Zenner, D. I. Wolfstein, Oscar W. Stark, S. C. Ayres, S. E. Allen, Samuel Iglauer, Jos. C. Marcus, William A. Bettman, Carl Hiller, M. L. Heidingsfeld and Edwin H. Shields.

THE JEWISH SOCIAL SETTLEMENT.

In 1899 a number of young ladies and gentlemen organized a "Society for Neighborhood Work," which is now known as the "Jewish Settlement," where work along the lines of Hull House is carried on. There is a resident head worker, Miss Clara Block, who has many assistants. Here cooking, sewing, bookkeeping, reading, gymnasium and other classes are conducted. The house has a large library of well selected books. Entertainments,—literary, musical and social,—are given regularly. The board of offi-

cers are: Alfred Bettmann, president; Mrs. Ben Loewenstein, vice-president; A. Julius Freiberg, secretary; Max B. May, treasurer; executive committee,—Sol C. Lowenstein, Sidney J. Rauh, Mrs. Ross Holzman and Miss Essie Fleischmann. The house is crowded every night and the work of the Settlement has been very successful.

The Jews of Cincinnati, however, do not confine their charitable aid, pecuniary and personal, to local institutions. They are among the most liberal contributors to the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, the National Hospital for Consumptives in Denver, the Hebrew Union College and the National Farm School. They are also active on the various boards of these outside institutions. The amount of money contributed annually by the Jews of Cincinnati for all Jewish charitable purposes, local as well as national, is about $77,000.

PUBLIC SERVICE.

The American Jew has ever been loyal to his country. His services during the various wars has been told by Hon. Simon Wolf in his book, "The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot, Citizen."

In Cincinnati at all times the Jew has been called upon to serve his city, county, State and nation; in every instance he has discharged his duties faithfully and well. It is impossible within the limits of this article to give a separate account of each gentleman so honored; the list of names and the various officers will show the confidence placed in the Jew by his fellow citizens.

Mayor,—Julius Fleischmann, who strange to say defeated a coreligionist, Alfred M. Cohen; judges of the Common Pleas Court,—Jacob Shroder and Frederick S. Spiegel; county solicitor, Frederick S. Spiegel; prosecuting attorney,—Harry M. Hoffheimer; county clerk,—Lewis G. Bernard; State Senate,—Henry Mack, Charles Fleischmann, James Brown and Alfred M. Cohen; House of Representatives,—Joseph Jonas, Daniel Wolf, Frederick S. Spiegel, Harry M. Hoffheimer and Max Silberberg; county boards,—Morris Bauer and Louis Krohn; Board of Visitors,—Mrs. Jacob Shroder; U. S. collector of revenue,—B. Bettmann; U. S. appraiser of customs,—Nathaniel Newburgh; members of Council,—Morris Bauer, Daniel Bauer, Alfred M. Cohen, Gus Loewenstein, J. M. Ray, Julius Reis, Daniel Wolf, Charles Kuhn and Enoch L. Stricker; members of School Board,—Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, Henry Mack, Frederick S. Spiegel, Isaac Simon, Edgar M. Johnson, James Brown, Dr. L. J. Fogel, B. Bettmann, W. J. Klein and Dr. J. C. Marcus; Union Board of Cincinnati High Schools,—Jacob Shroder and Isaac Simon; directors of the University of Cincinnati,—Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, James Brown, Lewis Seasongood, Edward Senior and Max B. May; Public Library Board,—Dr. Henry W. Bettmann and James Brown; Park Board,—Jacob Elsas and Adam A. Kramer; police commissioner,—Julius Reis; Board of Public Service,—May Fechheimer and Samuel Weil; Board of Fire Trustees,—Abe Furst, Joseph M. Rice; State Board of Pardons,—Nathan Drucker; U. S. commissioner,—Joseph L. Adler; assistant corporation counsel,—Joseph L. Adler and Harry M. Hoffheimer; trustees of the Southern Railway,—Philip Heidelbach and Henry Mack; trustees of the Sinking Fund,—Lewis Seasongood and Julius Freiberg; city prosecuting attorney,—Edgar M. Johnson; Water Works commissioner,—Maurice J. Freiberg; justices of the peace,—Leopold Block, Samuel L. Bloom, Fred A. Johnson, William Renau and Samuel Bloom.

COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

In Cincinnati the Jews play a prominent part in the commercial and professional life of the community. The clothing, whiskey, boot and shoe, dry goods, and trunk trade are largely in the hands of the Jews, and the prominent Jews are large stockholders and officers and members of the boards of directors of the large national banks and trust companies. The Jews have been active in the management of the Chamber of Commerce, of which body Maurice J. Freiberg was president from 1895 to 1896. The only organization of a strictly commercial nature with which the Jews have not been identified is the Commercial Club. It has been a matter of comment that such an organization should have no Jews among its members. It has been asserted that race prejudice is the cause here. If so, the Jew does not care, for his commercial prestige has never been affected.

Among the prominent physicians of the city, professors of medical colleges and members of hospital staffs are many Jewish physicians; in fact, the list is too large to name. Among the leading members of the bar are many Jewish citizens. One of the most distinguished members was the late Gustavus H. Wald, who at the time of his death was dean of the Law Department of the University of Cincinnati.

SECRET SOCIETIES.

There are many national secret orders among the Jews, notably the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; the Free Sons of Israel, and the Kesher Order. The oldest is the I. O. B. B. These lodges in the early days paid sick and death benefits. To-day the death benefit feature has been dropped by nearly all of them. To-day their work is charitable in the main, helping distressed members and assisting in the support of orphan asylums and homes for the aged.

The women of Israel have of late years been very active and the National Council of Jewish Women has just completed its third triennial meeting. The Cincinnati Section of the National Council of Jewish Women, with a membership of 700, devotes itself to "the work of social betterment through religion, philanthropy and education."

The Jews of Cincinnati are also members of the Masonic order, Knights of Pythias, and the Odd Fellows, and many of them have filled the highest offices in these orders.

THE SOCIAL LIFE.

The Jews everywhere have understood the art of living. Forced by circumstances to live together, they have evolved a family and social life, which has been the admiration of all mankind. The family is the pivot about which Jewish life revolves. As communities grew in numbers, congregations were formed, and as social life became more complex, clubs were organized for purely social purposes. Among the earliest clubs was the Allemania, now no longer in existence. In 1856 the Phoenix Club was formed. It is composed of 300 members and has a magnificent club house at Ninth and Race streets. The Cincinnati Club, which has a beautiful home on Melrose avenue, between Oak and Lincoln avenues, Walnut Hills, was established in 1889. The one feature which distinguishes these clubs from those of non-Jews is the frequent and general use made of them by the families of the members. Here on Thanksgiving, New Year's Eve, Washington's Birthday, early in the fall and spring, grand balls and entertainments are given in which the young ladies and gentlemen take part in operettas and dramatic performances. During the year there are lectures and entertainments of an informal nature.

In the foregoing pages, I have tried to sketch the history of the Cincinnati Jew, setting forth the character of the settlement and his many activities, religious, educational, charitable, political and social. No history of the Cincinnati Jews or Cincinnati Judaism, however, would be complete without some account of Isaac M. Wise, who during nearly a half century's active life in the community excited not only a most powerful influence on Cincinnati Jews, but on the Jews of America.

A sketch of the life of the foremost American Jew of the 19th century appears in the second volume of this work.

CHAPTER XLIX.

EARLY MEDICAL CINCINNATI.

BY ARCH. I. CARSON, M. D.

THE FIRST PHYSICIANS OF THE SETTLEMENT AND THE ARMY SURGEONS—LATER ARRIVALS—MEDICAL SOCIETIES — MEDICAL SCHOOLS — HOSPITALS — MEDICAL JOURNALS — MEDICAL LIBRARIES.

The first purchaser of the land on which Cincinnati stands was John Cleves Symmes, a Member of Congress from New Jersey, who secured about 600,000 acres between the Little and Great Miamis. He sold part of his grant to Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, Col. Robert Patterson, and John Filson, of Kentucky. The last named was killed by Indians while exploring this region and Israel Ludlow succeeded him as one of the proprietors.

A party of 26, including Ludlow and Patterson, left Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky, on the 24th of December, 1788, and landed on the 28th of December at a small inlet, which was later called Yeatman's Cove, situated near what is now the foot of Sycamore street. They proceeded first to the clearing of the land and the erection of houses, the first house being built on Front street just east of Main.

Israel Ludlow was the surveyor and proprietor in charge of the affairs of the company and at once commenced a survey of the ground, and the town was finally located on the 7th of January, 1789. The original town site extended from Eastern row (now Broadway) to Western row (now Central avenue), and from the river to Northern row (now Seventh street). The land owned by the company extended, however, to what is now Liberty street.

The proprietors had agreed to donate a lot to each of the first 30 settlers who would clear the ground and build a house 20 feet square. The lots were drawn on the 7th of January, 1789.

THE FIRST PHYSICIANS OF THE SETTLEMENT AND THE ARMY SURGEONS.

In the following May, 49 more lots were donated and this time we find a physician, Dr. John Hole, among those receiving a lot,—No. 227. During 1789-90 many lots were sold, the following physicians appearing as purchasers: John Hole,—Nos. 93, 216, 62, 63, 66, 67 and 12; John Adams,—Nos. 145 and 146; and Calvin Morrel,—No. 7.

When the site of the town was first selected, John Filson, who was a schoolmaster, devised the name L-os-anti-ville (the town opposite the mouth of the Licking), and it was so called when first laid out. About June 1, 1789, Major Doughty arrived from Fort Harmar with 140 soldiers and commenced the erection of a fort which he completed in November. It consisted of four blockhouses, one at each corner, joined by a row of houses of hewn logs, the structure being 180 feet square with a triangular space, on its north side, enclosed by palisades.

The fort was situated on Third street, between Broadway and Ludlow, on a government reservation of 15 acres, up on the second terrace, on a level with Fourth street now, and extended about 60 feet on either side of Third street. It fronted on the river and before it was a smooth space of about 80 feet.

On the 29th of December, 1789, General Harmar arrived and was so pleased with the structure that he named it Fort Washington.

General St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, arrived January 1, 1790, and the next day changed the name of the town to Cincinnati, in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati. It was also at this time that the county was named Hamilton, in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the courts established.

The fort was abandoned in 1803 and was razed March 17, 1808.

The fort and its history should be of interest to us, as it was there that some of the first physicians lived and it was to them the people of the town often went for medical aid, which was rendered without remuneration. The first army surgeons were Drs. Richard Allison, John Elliot and John F. Carmichael.

It is also interesting to note that at times, when no surgeon was at the fort, William Henry Harrison, who came in November, 1791, as an ensign, 18 years of age, gave such medical advice as he could; although not a doctor, he had taken some courses in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania before he decided to enter the army. He later became a lieutenant (1792), then captain (1794), was in command of the fort from 1797 to 1798, and later, in 1840, was elected President of the United States.

The other army surgeons here before 1800 were Phillips, Selman, and Strong. Drs. Allison and Selman resigned from the army, the former in 1798, the latter in 1797, and became citizens of Cincinnati.

The town continued to grow slowly, the inhabitants at times suffering from want of proper food and sickness, including one epidemic of smallpox which carried off nearly one-third of the population, and from the harassment of the Indians.

Cincinnati was incorporated as a village in 1802 by act of the Territorial Legislature and as a city in 1819, Isaac G. Burnet being its first mayor.

It may surprise many to know that the citizens in those days were very ambitious and nothing seemed to deter them from undertaking large enterprises, as evidenced by an act of the Legislature authorizing the raising of $6,000 for a Cincinnati University.

The medical history of Cincinnati may be said to date from the time of Dr. John Hole, as he seems to have been the earliest physician of whom we can find any reference, for it is recorded that in May, 1789, he received donation lot 227, corner of Front and Race streets.

It is probable that no other physician, unless it be William Burnet, Jr., came here until Dr. Richard Allison, who most likely arrived with General Harmar on December 29, 1789; or perhaps not until January 1, 1790, with Governor St. Clair. The army surgeons here up to 1800 were: Richard Allison, John Elliot, John F. Carmichael, Joseph Phillips, John Selman and Joseph Strong.

Richard Allison, born near Goshen, New York, in 1757, had been a surgeon in the Revolution and on the reorganization of the army was appointed surgeon of the regiment of infantry and as such became the ranking medical officer up to the time of his resignation. He was stationed for a while in 1792 at Fort Finney, opposite Louisville, Kentucky. He probably settled in Cincinnati in 1794, although he was not retired until 1798. He served in the army as surgeon of infantry regiment, September 29, 1789; as surgeon of 1st infantry regiment, 1791; as surgeon on the general staff, April, 1792; and retired from the service, 1798.

Dr. Allison built and lived in a house at the corner of what are now Fourth and Lawrence streets, his place being known as "Peach Grove." Later he removed to his farm "on the East Fork of the Little Miami River," leaving Cincinnati before 1800; returning in 1805, he continued to practice here until his death, March 22, 1816. Dr. Drake speaks of him as the "father of our local profession" and though "not profound in science, he was sagacious, unassuming, amiable, and kind." Dr. Allison owned three lots, probably on Pearl street, east of Ludlow, as given on an old map now in the possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

John Elliot, of New York, served as surgeon's mate of infantry regiment, September 29, 1789; as surgeon of 1st infantry regiment, March, 1791; disbanded, June 1, 1802. He came to Cincinnati with St. Clair in 1791, and later resided in Dayton, Ohio, dying there in 1809.

John F. Carmichael, of New Jersey, served as surgeon's mate of infantry regiment, September 29, 1789; discharged June 2, 1790, on account of the reduction in the number of medical officers; served as surgeon's mate of 2nd infantry regiment, March, 1791; as surgeon of 3rd sub-legion, March, 1792; as surgeon of 4th infantry regiment, November, 1796; as post surgeon, March, 1799; retained in 3rd infantry regiment, February, 1801; as garrison surgeon,

March, 1802; resigned, June 27 1804. The time of his residence here is not known.

Joseph Phillips, of New Jersey, came with Wayne's army in 1793 and returned in 1795; he died about 1846, aged 80 years. He served as surgeon's mate, Patterson's battalion of levies, 1791; as surgeon's mate, 1st sub-legion, April 2, 1792; as surgeon of 3rd sub-legion, June, 1796; as surgeon of 3rd infantry regiment, November, 1796; disbanded June 1, 1802.

John Selman, of Annapolis, Maryland, was born in 1764, and died in 1827. He served as garrison surgeon's mate April 11, 1792, arriving here in 1793 with Wayne and resigning July, 1797, to become a citizen of Cincinnati, where he practiced for about 20 years, living on Front street between Broadway and Sycamore.

Joseph Strong, of Connecticut, came with General Wayne in the spring of 1793, and returned East about 1795, settling in Philadelphia, where he died in April, 1812, aged 43 years. He served as surgeon's mate of the 2nd sub-legion, May 4, 1792, and resigned in 1796. Mrs. Colonel Bond, of Cincinnati, his daughter, gave Dr. Drake two of his manuscripts, one dated "Fort St. Clair, 22 Aug. 1793," on the professional and moral duties of the physician, the first medical literature of this section.

The physicians not in the army who were here before 1800 were:

John Hole (1789), William Burnet, Jr. (1789), John Adams (1790), Calvin Morrel (1790), Robert McClure, John Cranmer (1798).

It seems to be the general impression that the army surgeons were the first physicians in Cincinnati but from what sources we have been able to consult Dr. John Hole, a civilian, was the first, as he was one of those who received a lot at the second donation of lots in May, 1789. However, Drs. William Burnet, Jr., and John Adams must have been here almost as soon. It is uncertain whether they were here before Dr. Allison or not.

But little is known of Dr. Hole; Dr. Drake tells us that he lived here for five years, practicing inoculation for smallpox in the winter of 1792-93 here and at Columbia, and left about 1794. He must, however, have returned later, as his name is included in a list of physicians paying a special tax in 1827.

Dr. William Burnet, Jr., of New Jersey, son of Dr. William Burnet, a surgeon in the Revolution, Dr. Drake says, arrived in 1789, "bringing with him books and medicines." In the spring of 1791 he returned to New Jersey, but the death of his father prevented his return here.

Drs. Adams and Morrel are recorded as having bought lots some time during 1789-90. They were not here in 1800, neither was McClure. Dr. Drake says Dr. Adams was among the first of the army surgeons; but he is not registered as such in "The Medical Department of the U. S. Army from 1775 to 1873" published by the government.

Dr. Robert McClure came from Pennsylvania about 1792. While here he resided on Sycamore street between Third and Fourth streets.

Dr. John Cranmer, of Pittsburg, arrived in 1798, lived on the north side of Second street, between Main and Walnut, and was a man of some reputation. He died of cholera in 1832.

Dr. Drake in telling of the early physicians says: "But truth and gallantry alike demand, that in this enumeration, I should not omit the first *sage femme* of the infant village, which in its first year began to be a village of infants."—Mrs. McKnight. (See statement of Dr. Drake quoted in a previous chapter.)

LATER ARRIVALS.

William Goforth, John Selman and John Cranmer "constituted the whole Faculty of Cincinnati in the first year of this century."

We thus find a new arrival,—Dr. William Goforth, born in 1766, a native of New York City. He practiced for 11 years at Maysville, Kentucky, from June 10, 1788; went to Columbia in 1799, and arrived in Cincinnati in 1800, living here until 1807, when he removed to Louisiana; but remained there only nine years, returning here and resuming the practice of his profession. It was only shortly after his return that he died, in the spring of 1817. He was the first in the West to introduce the use of the "Jennerian lymph," on February 20, 1801. He at one time with Dr. Drake lived in Fort Washington after its abandonment by the army and for a time at Dr. Allison's former home, "Peach Grove." Dr. Goforth is known principally from the fact that he was the preceptor of Daniel Drake, the first medical student in the West. He was the successor of Dr. Allison and immediately acquired an extensive practice. Dr. Drake says he had "the most winning manners of any physician he ever knew."

The next arrival was Dr. John Stites, of New York, in 1802; but he removed in less than a year to Kentucky, where he died in 1827, aged 27. He was a partner of Dr. Goforth and preceptor of Drake.

The most important and also the most interesting figure in the early medical history of Cincinnati was Daniel Drake, "the first student in the West to receive the degree of Doctor of Medicine; the earliest of our medical writers and teachers; and professionally and socially the most influential physician who has ever lived in our city." For a period of 52 years after his arrival in Cincinnati, on December 18, 1800, he was certainly a leader in nearly every enterprise of whatever nature,—medical, scientific, educational or literary. Any one who familiarizes himself with the history of Cincinnati during the first half of this century cannot but be impressed with the breadth of Dr. Drake's character and his wonderful energy. He was but 15 years of age when he began the study of medicine with Dr. Goforth, and after three years was taken into partnership and one year later received from his preceptor an autograph diploma, "the first medical diploma ever granted in the interior valley of North America."

In the winter of 1805-06 he attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, returning to Cincinnati in April. For a short time he practiced at Mayslick, Kentucky, but on April 10, 1807, he settled here permanently, succeeding Dr. Goforth. He was married this same year. Again in 1815-16 he attended the University of Pennsylvania and received his degree, the first ever conferred on a citizen of Cincinnati. The following fall he became a member of the faculty of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, but remained only one session; and the next fall, in association with Dr. Coleman Rogers, made arrangements for the accommodation and instruction of medical students. On May 27, 1818, he issued a notice of a course of lectures on various branches of medicine (from November 10, 1818, to March 10, 1819). There were associated with him Dr. Coleman Rogers and Dr. Elijah Slack. This was the first medical course given in this city. After much opposition he secured from the Legislature, on January 19, 1819, the charter of the Medical College of Ohio. He was four times professor in the Medical College of Ohio, twice in Transylvania University, once in Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, once in the Medical Department of the Cincinnati College, which he organized, and once in the Louisville School. He was editor of the *Western Medical and Physical Journal* and was a ready writer. His great work is a "Treatise on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America." "His life was in many respects a stormy one; his antagonisms and his antagonists were many. But with it all, his genius, his industry, his high moral principles, and his devotion to duty earned him, what he will always have, the respect, esteem, and kind remembrance of those familiar with our medical history during the first half of the century." He died in 1852. He lived in 1805 in a single frame tenement on Broadway between Second and Third streets.

Another of Dr. Goforth's students was Edward Y. Kemper, the son of the Presbyterian minister. He lived here until his death on June 10, 1863.

After him arrived in 1805, Dr. John Blackburn, of Pennsylvania, born in 1778. He removed to Kentucky in 1809, thence to Indiana, where he died in 1835. Dr. Samuel Ramsay, of Pennsylvania, came in 1808, and was a partner of Dr. Allison, to whose practice he succeeded after his death. He died here in 1831, aged 50.

The number of physicians here increased but slowly. In 1810 there were 26; in 1819 there were 22, as follows: John Selman, Daniel Drake, John Cranmer, Coleman Rogers, Daniel Dyer, William Barnes, Oliver B. Baldwin, Thomas Morehead, Daniel Slayback, John A. Hallam, Josiah Whitman, Isaac Hough, Edward Y. Kemper, John Douglass, Ithiel Smead, John Woolley, Trueman Bishop, Ebenezer H. Pierson, Samuel Ramsay, Jonathan Easton, Charles V. Barbour, Vincent C. Marshall. (Directory of 1819.)

In 1825 there were 26, only 10 of whom (the first 10 named below) were here in 1819:

"John Selman, Lic., John Cranmer, Wm. Barnes, Josiah Whitman, Saml. Ramsay, Lic., Isaac Hough, John Woolley, Trueman Bishop, Ebenezer H. Pierson, Lic., Vincent C. Marshall, John E. Bush, Lic., Jedediah Cobb, Addison Dashiell, Geo. W. Dashiell, Oliver Fairchild, Lic., Lorenzo Lawrence, Jas. M. Ludlum, John Moorhead, Saml. Nixon, Geo. T. Ratrie, Abel Slayback, Lic., Jesse Smith, Ed. H. Stall, Michael Wolf, Guy W. Wright, Danl. P. Robbins." (Directory of 1825.)

In 1827 there were 26, five of whom were here in 1810; in 1831 there were 58 (47 in the medical society).

The first physician to die in Cincinnati was Dr. Allison, in 1816; the next, Dr. Goforth, in 1817.

None of the earliest physicians had graduated and some had not even attended a course of lectures.

During the early times a trip to Columbia consumed half a day; and when Newport asked for aid, the physician was ferried over the river in a canoe or skiff, to clamber up steep, icy, or deep mud banks. "Every physician was then a country practitioner, and often rode twelve or fifteen miles." The ordinary charge was 25 cents a mile, one-half being deducted, and the other paid in provender for his horse, or produce for his family. For the first 15 years every physician was his own apothecary, about five months being required to bring drugs from the East. The fees were: "for bleeding, 25 cts.; for sitting up all night, $1; and for a visit, from 25 cts. to 50 cts."

Very few of the practitioners, prior to 1840, were of foreign birth and education. Dr. John Moorhead was born in Ireland and was a graduate of Edinburgh, as was his brother Robert, who settled here in 1830 and died February 9, 1845. A third brother, Thomas, was for a time a practicing physician, but later became an attorney-at-law. Drs. Bonner (Hugh and Stephen) were also natives of Ireland, but came to America as boys, and received their medical degrees at Transylvania, the one in 1825, the other in 1834. The earliest physician here of German birth and education was Dr. Mundhenk, who came in 1815 and left a few years later. Following him was Dr. F. J. C. Oberdorf, who settled here in 1819, at the age of 43. After 37 years' residence in Cincinnati, he removed to Kentucky, where he died November 21, 1860, in the 84th year of his age. In 1827 Dr. Frederick Bunte, who had been educated at Marburg and Würzburg, came to Cincinnati. In a few years he began teaching. From 1830 to 1840 there settled here Drs. Schneider, T. A. Tellkampf, Huber, Paul, Topp, Wilhelm, Emmert and Homberg. (Dr. Conner.)

Sanitary regulations were instituted in 1802 and in 1813 it was required that each death should be properly certified and such record filed. The position of health officer was created May 10, 1821, and a Board of Health, April 26, 1826. It was in 1816 that it was made the duty of the mayor to prepare a "pest house."

MEDICAL SOCIETIES.

The first medical society, authorized by the Legislature on February 8, 1812, was called the First District Medical Society, and included the counties of Hamilton, Clermont, Butler, Warren and Clinton. It met first in June, 1813.

The next established was the Cincinnati Medical Society in 1819: President, Elijah Slack; vice-president, O. B. Baldwin; secretary, John Woolley; and treasurer, William Barnes. This did not last a year, and on January 3, 1820, a new Cincinnati Medical Society was formed.

In 1824 the First District Medical Society, including Hamilton and Clermont counties, was revived: President, John Selman; vice-president, Samuel Ramsay; secretary, Jesse Smith, and treasurer, Ebenezer H. Pierson. The Directory of 1825 says: "This Society has already made arrangements for commencing a medical library, and it is hoped it may do much for the improvement of the profession and discouragement of quackery. Every individual not a member of this society who shall attempt to practice medicine or surgery is subject to a pecuniary penalty besides being disabled from collecting by law, either directly or indirectly, any thing for his pretended services." This society lasted for about 10 years. Another was organized in 1831, the Cincinnati Medical Society, the third of this name, which was incorporated in the winter of 1832-33 and lasted until 1858, when most of the members joined the recently established Academy of Medicine of Cincinnati. The officers of the Cincinnati Medical Society in 1832 were: President, Landon C. Rives; 1st vice-president, John F. Henry; 2nd vice-president, Charles Woodward; secretary, C. Hatch; treasurer, John T. Shotwell; and librarian, J. S. Dodge.

In 1832 the Ohio Medical Lyceum was founded; in 1834 its officers were: President, John Eberle; vice-presidents, S. D. Gross and Isaac Colby. It met in the Medical College of Ohio building.

In 1837 the Hamilton County Medical Association was organized and in 1850 the Hamilton County Branch of the Ohio State Medical Society, neither of which continued long in active existence.

The Miami Medical Society, including the counties of Hamilton, Clermont and Warren, was established in 1853 and on March 3, 1857, the Academy of Medicine of Cincinnati.

In 1874 the Cincinnati Medical Society was founded, the fourth of this name.

MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

The first attempt at medical instruction in Cincinnati was in the fall of 1817, when Dr. Daniel Drake and Dr. Coleman Rogers undertook to instruct students and the following year conducted a course of lectures. The year following the Medical College of Ohio was founded by Dr. Drake, the Legislature passing the bill January 19, 1819. This was the 10th medical

college established in this country and the second west of the Alleghanies, the first being Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1816. The faculty as originally projected consisted of Samuel Brown, Elijah Slack, Coleman Rogers, and Daniel Drake. Dr. Brown never accepted and late in 1819 Dr. Rogers was expelled. The faculty at the first session in 1820-21 was constituted as follows: Daniel Drake, professor of the institutes and practice of medicine, including obstetrics and the diseases of women and children; Jesse Smith, professor of anatomy and surgery; Elijah Slack, professor of chemistry. The class numbered 25 and the graduates in 1821, seven. After the close of the second session, Dr. Drake was expelled; and from this time for many years there was so much dissension that the school failed to grow.

The first building occupied by the College was erected by State aid in 1826 on Sixth street between Vine and Race. In 1851 a new building on the same site was erected and occupied until the fall of 1896, when the College became a department of the University of Cincinnati, and moved to the former University building on McMicken avenue. There have been in its faculties men of "great ability and repute," among them being R. D. Mussey, John Moorhead, John Locke, M. B. Wright, Kirtland, Harrison, Oliver, and J. T. Shotwell. In 1857 the Miami Medical College was united with the Ohio, but in 1860 this consolidation ceased.

Miami University, of Oxford, Ohio, in 1831 established a medical department here, but no lectures were ever delivered, although the school was advertised in the Directory of 1831 to open in the fall, the faculty being: Daniel Drake, dean of the faculty and professor of the institutes and practice of medicine; George McClellan, professor of anatomy and physiology; John Eberle, professor of materia medica and botany; James M. Staughton, professor of surgery; John F. Henry, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; Thomas D. Mitchell, professor of chemistry and pharmacy; and Joseph N. McDowell, adjunct professor of anatomy and physiology.

In this same year there was a summer school of lectures and recitations called the Academy of Medicine, in which the instructors were: James M. Staughton, institutes of surgery; Isaac Hough, operative surgery; Joseph N. McDowell, anatomy; Wolcott Richards, physiology; Landon C. Rives, institutes of medicine and medical jurisprudence; Daniel Drake, practice of physic and materia medica; John F. Henry, obstetrics; and Thomas D. Mitchell, chemistry and pharmacy.

The next school, also organized by Dr. Drake, in 1835, was the Medical Department of the Cincinnati College, the only department of which still in existence is the Cincinnati Law School. Those associated with Dr. Drake were S. D. Gross, Joseph N. McDowell, Horatio G. Jameson, Landon C. Rives, John P. Harrison, and James B. Rogers. After the first year Dr. Willard Parker succeeded Dr. Jameson, and in 1839 the school was abandoned for want of funds and because Dr. Parker returned to New York and Dr. Drake went to Louisville.

The Eclectic Medical Institute was the next school in Cincinnati. The Worthington Medical College, established at Worthington, Ohio, in 1832, was removed here and in 1845 it was given its present name. Some of the most eminent Eclectic physicians in the West have been connected with it: Drs. Morrow, King, Newton, Cleveland, Cox, Hill, Buchanan, and Howe.

We now come to the Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery, organized in 1851 by Dr. A. H. Baker. Its sessions were held for many years at the corner of Longworth street and Central avenue, and then for many years on George street near John, and then at the present location on Vine street near Liberty.

The Miami Medical College was the next organized. Its first session opened November 1, 1852, and five were graduated in 1853. The first session was held in the building, still standing, on the northwest corner of Fifth street and Central avenue. The faculty consisted of: R. D. Mussey, professor of descriptive and operative surgery; Jesse P. Judkins, dean and professor of surgical anatomy and surgical pathology; Charles L. Avery, professor of anatomy; John Davis, adjunct professor of anatomy; John F. White, professor of the theory and practice of medicine; George Mendenhall, professor of obstetrics and the diseases of women and children; John Alexander Murphy, professor of materia medica, therapeutics and medical jurisprudence; C. G. Comegys, professor of the institutes of medicine; and John Locke, Jr., professor of chemistry.

After five sessions the school was united with the Medical College of Ohio, but in 1865 was reorganized with Profs. Mendenhall, Judkins and Murphy of the original faculty again among its corps, the faculty being: George Mendenhall, dean and professor of obstetrics; B. F. Richardson, professor of the diseases of women and

children; John Alexander Murphy, professor of the theory and practice of medicine; Henry E. Foote, professor of anatomy; William H. Mussey, professor of operative surgery and surgical pathology; Jesse P. Judkins, professor of special pathology; William Clendenin, professor of military surgery, surgical anatomy, and principles of surgery; E. Williams, professor of ophthalmology and aural surgery; Chandler B. Chapman, professor of chemistry, toxicology and medical jurisprudence; Edward B. Stevens, professor of materia medica and therapeutics; and William H. Taylor, professor of physiology, pathology and morbid anatomy. This session was held in the Dental College building on College street and the following year (1866) the school occupied a new building of its own on 12th street, between Elm and Plum, where it still is. In 1855 Dr. E. Williams opened an eye clinic, the first of the kind west of New York. Among its teachers of note have been R. D. Mussey, William H. Mussey, William Clendenin, C. G. Comegys, E. Williams, and George Mendenhall. The College museum contains the very fine collection of pathological bone specimens of Drs. Mussey and Shotwell.

HOSPITALS.

Cincinnati's first hospital, established by act of Legislature dated January 22, 1821, was due to the efforts of Dr. Drake, as was also its first medical school. It was called the "Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum for the State of Ohio," and was erected in 1823. The following description is taken from the *Western Medical Gazette* of 1832: "The site is a four-acre outlot (No. 59) of the original plat of Cincinnati, bounded on the east by the Miami Canal, and is within one mile of the Ohio River, and cost the township $4,000. The principal building is of brick, 53 feet front, facing southwardly, and 42 feet deep, four stories high, including the basement, which is eight feet high, and the others nine and one-half feet clear, and over these is a convenient operating theatre, with seats for about one hundred spectators. This building is divided into 18 apartments, with a hall and staircase in the centre, and neatly furnished throughout. It was built in 1823, and cost $10,000 in depreciated bank paper estimated to be worth, at that time, about $3,500. The inclosures, additions and furniture have cost $7,877. The principal addition is a wing of brick, 44 feet long and 28 feet wide, two stories high, with a cellar under the whole; it is divided into 22 apartments, 11 on each floor, adapted to the safekeeping of lunatics, etc.; those on the first floor for males and those on the second for females; and was built in 1827. The whole lot is inclosed with a close board fence; about two and a half acres of the west part of the lot is in grass, where the male inmates are permitted to walk; about one acre is cultivated as a vegetable garden, where the females are permitted to resort for airing and recreation; the residue of the lot is divided into convenient yards." An additional wing, 24 by 53 feet, was built in 1833. The basement of the new wing was divided into three rooms, one of which was for the apothecary shop, one for the lodging room of the resident physician and apothecary, and the third for the heating apparatus. Above the basement were three stories, each containing a ward 24 by 53 feet. The capacity after the addition of the second wing was 150, exclusive of paupers and lunatics. Up to 1861 the staff was composed exclusively of professors in the Medical College of Ohio. The name was changed in 1861 to the "Commercial Hospital of Cincinnati," and in April, 1868, to the "Cincinnati Hospital." The old building was razed in December, 1866, and the present edifice was occupied on January 7, 1869, having a capacity of 500 beds.

The "Pest House," as it was called, for contagious diseases was first located on the present Music Hall lot, then where Lincoln Park is now, then on Rohs Hill, near McMillan street and Clifton avenue, and later on the present site as the "Branch Hospital." The following are some of the internes who served in the "old" hospital, who later attained prominence in their profession:

J. P. Judkins	1838-39
J. H. Tate	1840-41
F. C. Roelker	1841-42
C. S. Muscroft	1842-43
John Davis	1843-44
J. A. Murphy	1846-47
H. E. Foote	1847-48
W. W. Dawson	1850-51
W. H. Taylor	1858-59
J. S. Billings	1860-61

It is generally supposed that special hospitals are of recent date, but it seems that Cincinnati had as early as 1827 an institution called the "Cincinnati Eye Infirmary," of which Dr. Drake was physician and surgeon and Dr. Jedediah Cobb, consulting surgeon. It was located on Third street between Main and Walnut. Again in 1828 we find the "Western Eye and Ear In-

firmary," of which Elijah Slack was president, Daniel Gano and T. S. Goodman, vice-presidents, and J. H. Groesbeck, treasurer.

The private hospital also seems to be of early origin, as in 1829 there was the "Cincinnati Infirmary," belonging to Dr. L. M. Johnson, on Front street near the Cincinnati Hotel, northeast corner of Front and Broadway.

The Good Samaritan Hospital, with 20 beds, was opened on November 15, 1852, by the Sisters of Charity in a building at the corner of Broadway and Franklin streets, with the faculty of the newly organized Miami Medical College as its medical staff. Three years later they removed to the corner of Plum and Third streets, where for more than 11 years "St. John's Hospital" was maintained, with accommodations for 75 patients. During the war its capacity was taxed to the utmost, and, as the scene of much of Dr. Blackman's work, its reputation was widespread. In 1866 its name was again changed to "The Hospital of the Good Samaritan" and it was removed in 1867 to its present location at Sixth and Lock streets, when its medical staff was chosen exclusively from the Medical College of Ohio. In connection with this hospital should be mentioned Sister Anthony, who for many years while it was at Third and Plum streets and later was the sister superior and the most noted "nurse" Cincinnati had; and it was largely due to her that the hospital so flourished.

St. Mary's Hospital was opened in 1858 by the Sisters of St. Clara of the order of St. Francis in a building on Fourth street between Central avenue and John street, and one year later removed to the present location on Betts street.

MEDICAL JOURNALS.

The first medical journal published here was the *Western Quarterly Reporter of Medicine and Surgery and Natural Science* in 1822 and edited by Dr. John D. Godman. But six numbers appeared. This was also the first medical journal in the West.

The next to appear was the *Ohio Medical Repository*, a semi-monthly, in April, 1826, edited by Drs. Guy W. Wright and James M. Mason. After an existence of one year, Dr. Drake succeeded Dr. Mason, and its name was changed to the *Western Medical and Physical Journal*. One year later Dr. Drake became the sole owner and again the name was changed to the *Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*.

There were associated with Dr. Drake,—James C. Finley, William Wood, S. D. Gross and Harrison. When Dr. Drake removed to Louisvillle, this journal was consolidated with the *Louisville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. In 1832 the faculty of the Medical College of Ohio started the *Western Medical Gazette*, but it only appeared for nine months.

Quite a number of journals appeared from time to time for a few numbers only, and it was not until 1842, when the *Western Lancet* appeared, edited by L. M. Lawson, that a journal of any permanency was founded. This, published under various names, *Lancet and Observer*, *Lancet and Clinic*, and *Lancet-Clinic*, is still in existence. The *Clinic* which appeared in August, 1871, and afterwards united with the *Lancet*, was the first medical weekly in the West. Some of those connected with these publications as editors are: John Eberle, J. Moorhead, John Locke, Jedediah Cobb, J. T. Shotwell, T. D. Mitchell, J. M. Staughton, Bailey, J. L. Vattier, Warder, George Mendenhall, John Alexander Murphy, E. B. Stevens, William H. Mussey, E. Williams, and A. H. Baker.

The *Eclectic Medical Journal* was one of the earlier publications, appearing in 1849. Altogether Cincinnati had 31 journals before 1860.

MEDICAL LIBRARIES.

Many medical libraries have been projected in Cincinnati, that of the Cincinnati Medical Society in 1819 probably being the first. The Medical College of Ohio in 1820 had a library of 500 volumes and in 1847 it had increased to 2,000 volumes, costing $6,500. In 1851 was founded the Cincinnati Medical Library Association, which only lasted two years and secured but few books.

Cincinnati has thus had the first medical student in the West to receive the degree of Doctor of Medicine, the first hospital in Ohio, the first medical journal, and the first weekly journal, and the first eye clinic in the West.

CHAPTER L.

THE CITY AND ITS GOVERNMENT SINCE 1861

ANNEXATIONS AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES — THE CHARTER — THE MAYORS — THE LEGISLATIVE BOARDS — THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS — THE COURTS OF THE COUNTY AND CITY — THE COURT HOUSE — THE FEDERAL COURTS — THE POLICE DEPARTMENT — THE FIRE DEPARTMENT — THE WATER WORKS — THE NEW WATER WORKS — THE PARKS — TRUSTEES OF THE SINKING FUND — SOME FIGURES ABOUT THE CITY'S FINANCES — THE SEWERS — THE STREETS — THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AND ITS OCCUPANTS.

ANNEXATIONS AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES.

The total area of the city of Cincinnati, which at the time of its incorporation in 1819 was approximately three square miles, had increased by annexations prior to the war to seven square miles. Since that time the sentiment in favor of including under one government the entire population of Hamilton County, of which the city is the real business, social and intellectual center, has resulted in the annexation of a large number of the outlying villages and suburbs to such an extent that the area of the city in the spring of 1904 has increased to 42.50 square miles.

The year 1869 was the first of several years of annexations.

By ordinance of September 10, 1869, there was annexed to the city of Cincinnati all of Storrs township not included within the corporate limits of the village of Riverside (three and one-eighth square miles). This lay west of the city between Mill creek and the meridian west of Price Hill and was erected about 1835. Within this township was the first house built by General Harrison in the Western country before his removal to North Bend; it was a little west of Mill creek near Gest. This became the 21st Ward.

On September 10, 1869, the Walnut Hills, Mount Auburn and Clintonville special road districts were annexed to the city as a result of the vote of the electors both of the city and of the property to be annexed (Ordinance of March 5, 1870). This territory (one and three-fourths square miles in area) included the so-called village of Vernonville which was that territory lying between Burnet avenue and the Lebanon road and the south line of the village of Avondale. By the agreement of annexation made by the commissioners on behalf of the city, —Charles F. Hassaurek and H. H. Tatem,—and those on behalf of the village,—A. D. Bullock, Charles Reakirt and W. S. Scarborough,—the annexed property was to be divided into two wards with Burnet avenue as a dividing line. This resulted in the 22nd Ward to the east and the 23rd Ward to the west of Burnet avenue.

By ordinance of November 12, 1869, Camp Washington and Lick Run were annexed to the city. This territory is described as follows: "Beginning at the southwest corner of section 31, Mill Creek township; thence east with the south line of sections 31 and 25 to the west line of the city of Cincinnati; thence north with said last named line to the southwest corner of section 20; thence east with the south line of sec-

tion 20 to the west line of Corryville voting precinct; thence north with said last named line to the south line of the incorporated village of Clifton; thence west and north with said last named line, to the boundary of the incorporated village of Cumminsville; thence west with said boundary of Cumminsville to Mill creek; thence southwardly, with Mill creek and the boundary of said Cumminsville, to the north line of section 26; thence west along the north line of sections 26 and 32 to the east line of Green township; thence south along said east line of Green township, to the place of beginning." By a subsequent ordinance of September 21, 1870, the territory known as the election precinct of Camp Washington was added to the 18th Ward and the election precinct of Lick Run was added to the 21st Ward and the newly added territory in Spencer township (see below) was added to the 24th Ward. Camp Washington was the locality in the Mill creek valley upon both sides of the Colerain pike between the old Brighton House site and Cumminsville where the First and Second Ohio regiments camped at the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846. Lick Run lay a little west of Fairmount. In the territory annexed at this time were also included Fairmount, Mount Harrison, Barrsville, Forbesville, Spring Garden, St. Peter's and Clifton Heights. It included an area of five and one-eighth square miles.

Another ordinance of November 12, 1869, provided for the annexation of all that portion of Spencer township lying within the following described boundaries: "Beginning at the northeast corner of the corporation of Cincinnati as at present constituted; thence west with the north line of Cincinnati as at present constituted to the southeast corner of the incorporated village of Woodburn, the said southeast corner being also a point in the west line of section 32; thence north with the east line of Woodburn and said west line of section 32 to the northwest corner of section 32; thence east on the section line between sections 32 and 33 and 26 and 27, to the northeast corner of section 26; thence south on the section line between sections 20 and 26, to the north line of the present territory of the incorporated village of Columbia; thence west with said north line of Columbia as at present constituted to the northwest corner of the incorporated village of Columbia; thence west along a straight line from the northwest corner of the present territory of the incorporated village of Columbia to the northeast corner of the city of Cincinnati, as at present constituted, and the place of beginning" (being two and a half square miles). Proceedings were had before the county commissioners on May 9, 1870, which completed the annexation of this territory, which was added to the 24th Ward.

On April 16, 1870, an act of the Legislature was passed authorizing an election on May 16th on the question of the annexation of Clifton, Avondale, Woodburn, Columbia, Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Winton Place, St. Bernard, Riverside and other suburbs. The annexation carried but the courts held the act unconstitutional as being a special act conferring corporate powers.

The incorporate village of Columbia (in area one and one-eighth square miles) by virtue of ordinances of September 10, 1871, and December 13, 1872, and the election held on April 3, 1871, became a part of the city and was added to the First Ward, under the new ward subdivision.

The incorporate village of Cumminsville (two and three-eighths square miles) also became a part of the city under the name of the 25th Ward by virtue of ordinances of September 6, 1872, and March 12, 1873, while the so-called village of Woodburn (a square mile) passed into the territory of the city and the First Ward as a result of ordinances of September 6, 1872, and March 29, 1873. The question of the annexation of both Cumminsville and Woodburn was passed upon by the voters of the respective territories.

The Zoological Garden and contiguous territory (one-fourth of a square mile in area) were added December 7, 1888.

By virtue of an act of April 13, 1893, the matter of annexation of the villages of Avondale, Riverside, Clifton, Linwood and Westwood and their school districts was submitted to the voters of the city and villages and Judge C. D. Robertson, W. B. Melish, and L. C. Robinson were appointed annexation commissioners by the Court of Common Pleas. The annexation was carried by a large majority and as a result the report of the commissioners went into effect about midnight of December 30, 1895. This (adding 11 square miles) made the area of the city 35¼ square miles.

On January 18, 1898, 96 acres of land, lying just east and north of the northeast corner of Avondale and known as Bragg's Subdivision and Rose Hill, were added to the city. On December 17, 1902, all of section 6 and the east half of section 12 in Delhi township were also taken into the city limits, adding one and one-half square

A movement for a new charter resulted in an act of March 26, 1891, which although entitled a supplementary and emendatory act was in effect in many particulars an entirely new code and has been so generally regarded. By this code, which took the place of the code of 1869 already practically legislated and amended out of existence, the legislative power in cities of the first grade and first class was vested in a Board of Legislation which took the place of the Board of Council. The Board of Legislation was to consist of two members from each ward. It was also provided by this act that there should be a mayor, auditor, treasurer, clerk of the Police Court and corporation counsel who should be chosen by the electors, a prosecuting attorney of the Police Court appointed by the mayor and a city clerk elected by the Board of Legislation. The elective officers were given a term of three years and the mayor was made ineligible to election for two successive terms. There was also provided by the act a Board of Administration, whose members were required to devote their entire time and attention to the duties of the office and in person to supervise generally the cleaning, repairing and improvement of the streets and public places of the city. At the same time a Board of Fire Trustees was elected to take charge of the fire department. This as well as the Board of Administration was to be appointed by the mayor, who was the real head of the city government. A new board and the most important feature of the act was known as the Board of Review, which consisted of six members to be appointed by the Superior Court and was to be non-partisan. The non-partisan feature applied in fact to all the boards. The Board of Review was to exercise the duties of the Board of Tax Commissioners, Board of Revision, Annual Board of Equalization and the Decennial Board of Equalization. It was in fact a supervisory board and had the power of removing any of the officers of the city except the prosecuting attorney of the Police Court upon charges preferred and after a summary hearing. This act also prohibited any officer or employee of the city from taking part in any political convention at which municipal officers were to be nominated upon pain of removal by the mayor.

Every subsequent session of the Legislature has brought new changes in the code governing the city. These changes particularly have affected the various boards and more sepecially the executive board in charge of the streets and public places of the city. Each change has resulted in what was called a new charter, although the amendments have been usually mere matters of detail without really altering the general conduct of affairs.

Certain decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio, delivered in the early part of the year 1902, seemed to make necessary a revision of the municipal code of the State and thereupon Governor Nash summoned the Legislature in an extraordinary session which began at Columbus, August 25, 1902. As a result a new municipal code was passed October 22, 1902, under which officers were elected at the spring election of 1903. This code divided the municipal corporations into cities and villages and gave a general system of government for all cities throughout the State. The legislative power of cities was vested in a Council board, all of whose members are elected, in part by wards and in part at large. For the purposes of this act the city was resubdivided into 24 wards. The Council's powers are merely legislative. It has no administration duties and no power of appointment except in certain limited cases. The power of veto is given to the mayor. The executive power is vested in a mayor, president of Council, auditor, treasurer, solicitor, Department of Public Service and Department of Public Safety. The mayor is elected for a term of two years as is the president of the Council. In the absence of the mayor from the city, the president of the Council is acting mayor and in case of death, resignation or removal of the mayor the president of the Council becomes mayor. The term of the auditor is three years, that of treasurer and solicitor two years,—the latter is also prosecuting attorney of the Police Court. The Department of Public Service is under the control of a board of five members known as the Board of Public Service, whose directors are chosen for a term of two years by the electors of the city. This board also constitutes the Platting Commission. It has charge of all municipal water, lighting and heating plants, parks, baths, market houses, cemeteries, crematories, sewage-disposal plants and farms, as well as all public buildings and the property of the corporation generally. It manages the houses of refuge and correction, work house, city farm schools, infirmaries, hospitals, pest houses and all other charitable and reformatory institutions of the city. The Department of Public Safety is composed of four directors appointed by the mayor with the advice and consent of the Council for terms of four years. The Board of Public Safety is a

non-partisan board. It has control of the police and fire departments of the city, which are placed under the merit system. The act also provides for a Police Court, which is simply a continuation of the Police courts already existing.

By the Chapman act passed in the spring of 1904 the time of municipal elections is changed until the fall and the terms of city officers are extended in accordance with this change so that the next municipal election for city officers in general will be held in November, 1905.

THE MAYORS.

The mayor of the city elected at the beginning of the war was George Hatch, a Democrat.

In October, 1862, the Democrats carried the city over the Union party by a majority of 155. but in the spring of 1863 Col. Leonard A. Harris, who had been in the field, defeated John F. Torrence, Democratic candidate, by a vote of 1,136. The Union party elected 14 out of 20 councilmen and there were nine Union hold-overs and five Democrats; this gave the Union party the majority in the Council. Colonel Harris made a most efficient mayor and at the end of his term was renominated and elected by about 8,000 majority, the largest majority ever given to a candidate up to that time. The salary was doubled and the office in every way was made attractive. After the election a committee of citizens, of which John W. Hartwell was chairman and Richard Smith secretary, raised the sum of $8,000 which was presented to the mayor as a testimonial of the regard of the citizens for a faithful and efficient officer. Resolutions were adopted which particularly commended his conduct during the exciting election contest between Brough and Vallandigham in the fall of 1863.

In 1867 Charles F. Wilstach was elected mayor and served for one term, at the end of which time John F. Torrence succeeded him. He in turn was succeeded two years later by S. S. Davis and in 1873 the well known George W. C. Johnston was elected and held office for two terms, being succeeded in 1877 by Robert M. Moore; Moore gave way to Charles Jacob, Jr. In 1881 the Democratic party regained control of the city by the election of William Means, succeeded two years later by Thomas J. Stephens. The Republicans returned to power in 1885 by the election of Amor Smith, Jr., who received a majority of more than 4,000 over his opponent, George Gerke. He was again elected in 1887. In 1889 ex-Mayor Stephens was once more a candidate but was defeated by John B. Mosby by a plurality of a little over 500. Over 7,000 votes were cast for Daniel Stone an Independent Democrat. Mr. Mosby was reelected at the expiration of this term by a still narrower plurality defeating Gustav Tafel by 148 votes. The election of 1891 was under the new charter, which gave the mayor a three-year term. At the expiration of this term there were three candidates for the mayoralty: John A. Caldwell, Republican; Theodore F. Horstman, Citizen, and Isaac J. Miller, Democrat. Mr. Caldwell had a plurality over Horstman of almost 7,000 votes; Mr. Miller received over 11,000 votes. In 1897 Gustav Tafel, the Democratic nominee, supported by a so-called Fusion movement including Independent Republicans, defeated Levi C. Goodale, the Republican nominee, by a plurality of over 7,000 votes. In 1900 another Fusion movement of Democrats and Independents was organized but Alfred M. Cohen, the candidate of this party, was defeated by Julius Fleischmann by a vote of 34,447 to 28,843. The election for mayor under the new charter of 1902 was a very exciting one and for the first time in many years a campaign was carried on with enthusiasm that had hitherto marked elections only in the fall. Mr. Fleischmann was renominated by the Republicans and Melville E. Ingalls by a Citizens' organization; there was no candidate offered by the Democratic party as such. In this election Mr. Fleischmann was successful receiving an overwhelming majority by a vote of 42,871 to 27,275 out of a total vote of 74,840.

THE LEGISLATIVE BOARDS.

John F. Torrence was president of the City Council in 1860 and in 1861 Samuel B. Hirst presided for a short time. As a result of the election of 1861, Christopher Von Seggern became the presiding officer of this body. A year later Theodore Marsh presided. Thomas H. Weasner was president of the Council from 1863 to 1865 and Samuel L. Hayden from 1866 to 1868. In 1869 came the last president of the City Council,—James W. Fitzgerald. The last meeting of this board, previous to the organization of the City Council under the new charter of 1870, was held April 2, 1870. The first president of the new Board of Councilmen was A. T. Goshorn. Mr. Fitzgerald succeeded him in 1872 and served also in 1875 and 1876. Isaac J. Miller presided in 1873 and 1874. Benjamin Eggleston was president from 1877 to 1879, inclusive, and again for a time in 1884. L. L.

Sadler served from 1880 to 1883, inclusive. In 1884 Daniel J. Dalton presided, following Mr. Eggleston. In the five succeeding years the presiding officers of this body were W. N. Forbis (1885 and 1889), Gustav Loewenstein, Morris Bauer and George W. Draper. The Board of Aldermen in the 20 years of its existence from 1870 to 1890 was presided over by George F. Davis, Samuel F. Covington, Josiah L. Keck, William T. Bishop (two years), Julius Reis (1875-78 and 1879-81), W. W. Sutton, Charles Winkler, Gabriel Doerr, Michael Ryan, Samuel R. Smith, Casimir Baumann, George N. Stone, Charles H. Stephens (1886 and 1887), Charles T. McLean and Charles Wuest. The bi-cameral system was succeeded by the Board of Legislation in 1891, which continued to be the legislative body until the adoption of the municipal code in 1902 when a sigle body known as the Council was substituted. The presiding officers of the Board of Legislation beginning in 1891 were Frank H. Kemper, George W. Draper (two terms), Robert R. McRoberts, Frank L. Love (two terms), Scott Bonham (two terms) and Edwin O. Bathgate (four terms). The first president of the new legislative body is Harry L. Gordon.

The present Council (1904) is composed of one member from each of the 24 wards and five councilmen at large, viz: Edwin E. Kellogg, Charles H. Urban, William W. Granger, James C. Iliff, Henry Wuebben, Robert J. O'Brien, Jacob Schaefer, Michael Mullen, Frederick Wiebking, Joseph Schweninger, William Fahrenbruck, Christian Felsberg, C. H. Renbold, John Straehley, Daniel Bauer, William E. Keehan, John Doherty, Edwin O. Bathgate, John S. Sheehan, Thomas McDonough, James Keenan, Henry W. Hamann, Louis Schueler, Fred. Sperber, John Breen, William J. Byrth, Harry F. Finke, Jacob Kaufmann, Joseph S. Trevor.

The offices of the city were held in the old City Hall, to which they had been moved in 1852, until 1888, at which time this building was dismantled to provide for the erection of the new City Hall. In June of 1888 temporary quarters were occupied at Nos. 237 and 239 West Fourth street east of Central avenue, with a front also on Central avenue. At the completion of the present City Hall, occupying the entire square bounded by Eighth and Ninth streets, Central avenue and Plum street, the various departmental offices were removed to that building. The first office moved from Fourth street to the new City Hall was that of the city clerk and the first session of the Board of Legislation in the new chamber was held Friday evening, April 7, 1893. The new City Hall was erected by virtue of an act of March 21, 1887, which imposed upon the Trustees of the Sinking Fund the duty of appointing the Board of City Hall Trustees. This board appointed April 13th of the same year consisted of Robert Allison, Thomas B. Paxton, James M. Glenn and Charles A. Miller, who served throughout the period of construction without change and without compensation. The original scheme contemplated a building on the property owned by the city, but as a result of a public agitation the property fronting on Central avenue was appropriated at an expense of $195,000 and the whole square was used for the building. The architects were Samuel Hannaford & Sons. Ground was broken on February 27, 1888, the first stone of the foundation laid on May 23rd and the corner-stone on August 16th of the same year. On May 13, 1893, the City Hall was dedicated with impressive exercises and the day made a gala day by the populace. The total cost of the work including furnishing and the appropriation of property was $1,638,440.53. The old City Hall Park, valued upon the basis of the selling value of the adjacent property, was estimated at $225,000, making the total value of the property upon completion,—$1,863,440.53. The funds for the work were provided by the sale of bonds authorized by five acts of the Legislature. The face value of the bond issue was $1,600,000, and the premiums received were $32,445.25. (Henderson's Council.)

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS.

Prior to the year 1876 the administration of the city's affairs was either in the hands of the mayor or his appointees or in those of one or the other of a number of boards or commissions, none of which was long lived. The act of March 17, 1876, created, however, an elective Board of Public Works which, being given the powers theretofore vested in the trustees of the water works, the board of improvements, the commissioners of sewers, the platting commission and the park commissioners, became the executive and administrative authority of the city. This board included David Baker, John E. Bell, John D. Caldwell, Charles B. Foote and Jacob Gessert, and organized April 14, 1876, with Lewis G.

Bernard as clerk. John D. Banks subsequently became clerk of the board, which remained practically unchanged until succeeded by the Board of City Commissioners, appointed in accordance with the act of May 14, 1879, by the Police judge, Moses F. Wilson. This board consisted originally of Nat. Caldwell, George K. Duckworth, Charles W. Rowland, Simon Wolfstein and Robert H. Weatherhead (succeeded after his resignation by Lewis Weitzel). The Board of Public Works was restored by act of March 3, 1880, and the Mayor reappointed the old board. Thereafter as the terms of Gessert, Bell, Caldwell, Baker, and Boyce (who had succeeded Foote) expired, their places were taken by Frank A. Tucker, Charles Doll, Ferd. Springmeier, Charles Herron and James Morgan, elected by the people.

This board was succeeded by the Board of Public Affairs appointed under the act of May 17, 1886, by the Governor. This board at its creation included Thomas G. Smith, Charles Jacob, Jr., James Morgan, Henry Lewis and Thomas L. Young. Jacob was succeeded by Dr. Thomas W. Graydon and Young by George R. Topp, who in turn was succeeded by John Carlisle. Morgan was succeeded by Smith A. Whitfield, who in turn was succeeded by William Miller. The clerk of this board was Dan. W. Brown.

On March 13, 1890, an act was passed creating a new board to take the place of the Board of Public Affairs. This, entitled the Board of Public Improvements, was appointed by Governor Campbell as follows: Lewis Reemelin, William Montgomery, J. D. Ellison, E. W. Donham, and George B. Kerper. The Governor subsequently became dissatisfied with some of the proceedings of the board and demanded the resignations of some of the members, which were refused. Thereupon he convened the Legislature in extra session and an act was passed October 24, 1890, substituting for the Board of Public Improvements, a Board of City Affairs, which non-partisan again was to be appointed by the mayor. Messrs. Smith and Graydon, the Republicans, were members of the old Board of Public Affairs. The Democrats were Gustav Tafel and May Fechheimer. This board was ousted as the result of a decision of the Supreme Court of the State, of March 12, 1891, to the effect that the act creating it was special legislation, conferring corporate power and therefore unconstitutional. As a result the Board of Public Improvements returned to power for a few weeks to be succeeded by another board upon the adoption of the new charter.

A part of the new scheme of government provided by the so-called "new charter of 1891" was the non-partisan Board of Administration, which was appointed by the mayor. This board organized May 4, 1891, with Dr. Thomas W. Graydon its president and August Hermann, Republicans, and John B. Washburn and John Frey, Democrats. Dr. Graydon subsequently resigned and was succeeded by George T. Sterritt, who died December 21, 1896. George A. Vandegrift was appointed to succeed him. A. P. Butterfield was the clerk of this board. Another change came April 6, 1898, when the Board of Administration was succeeded by another non-partisan board, the Board of City Affairs, at first appointed by the mayor with new members to be elected by the people. The first board consisted of A. B. Ratterman, Amor Smith, Jr., I. J. Miller, Samuel Nieman, James J. Grogan and James M. Glenn, the first, third, and fifth being appointed as Democrats and the others as Republicans. Upon the expiration of the terms of Messrs. Ratterman and Smith in 1899, Albert Fisher and William McAllister, both Republicans, were elected to succeed them. The clerk of the board was George H. Spellmire.

A new (elective) board, the Board of Public Service, succeeded the Board of City Affairs. This was the Board of Public Service which came into existence April 6, 1900, with Robert Allison, William C. Johnson, M. A. McGuire, William Magly and Samuel Weil, Jr., as members. This board was continued by the new charter of 1902. Its membership has been unaltered except in one particular. Its president, Robert Allison, for many years one of Cincinnati's most prominent and useful citizens, died March 23, 1904, and William E. Hutton was appointed by the mayor to fill his unexpired term.

This board is the chief administrative authority of the city and manages and supervises all public works and all public institutions of the municipality.

THE COURTS OF THE COUNTY AND CITY.

The judges of the Common Pleas Court at the outset of the war were Isaac C. Collins,

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING.

THE ODD FELLOWS' TEMPLE.

THE TYLER DAVIDSON FOUNTAIN.

THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

THE COURT HOUSE.

Patrick Mallon and A. G. W. Carter. Nicholas Headington, Charles C. Murdoch and Melancthon W. Oliver were elected in the fall of 1861, succeeding Judges Carter, Mallon and Collins. At the expiration of their term, Judge Murdoch was reelected and with him Joseph Cox and Manning F. Force. These three judges were reelected in 1871 for the term ending February 12, 1877. In 1871 the number of the judges was increased by two and Jacob Burnet, Jr., and William L. Avery were elected to the newly created judgeships, beginning their term in November, 1871, and ending it in November, 1876. At the expiration of the term of these two judges, Judge Burnet was reelected and Judge Robert A. Johnston succeeded Judge Avery. In the fall of 1876 Judge Cox was reelected and William L. Avery and Nicholas Longworth succeeded Judges Force and Murdoch. This made the bench after February 12, 1877, consist of Judges Avery, Cox, Longworth, Johnston and Burnet. On May 10, 1878, two more judgeships were provided by the Legislature for Hamilton County and in the fall of this year Fayette Smith and Fred W. Moore were elected for a term extending five years from December, 1878. From the term beginning in February, 1882, William L. Avery, M. L. Buchwalter, John S. Conner, Robert A. Johnston and S. N. Maxwell were elected. Judge Avery subsequently resigned and he was succeeded, by the appointment of Governor Hoadly in October, 1884, by Alexander B. Huston, who, nominated by his party in the fall of the following year, was elected to fill the unexpired term of Judge Avery. Upon the expiration of the term of Judges Smith and Moore, Samuel R. Matthews and Charles D. Robertson were elected to succeed them, taking office December 3, 1883. In the election of 1886, Judges Maxwell and Buchwalter were once more returned to the bench and with them Philip H. Kumler, Jacob Shroder and Charles Evans. Judges Matthews and Robertson were succeeded in December, 1888, by Miller Outcalt and Clement Bates. In February, 1892, Moses F. Wilson and John R. Sayler were elected to succeed Judges Shroder and Maxwell and Judges Kumler, Buchwalter and Evans were reelected. Judges Outcalt and Bates were succeeded by Howard C. Hollister and Dan Thew Wright in December, 1893. In 1897 five new judges were elected: David Davis, Ferdinand Jelke, Jr., John P. Murphy, Samuel W. Smith, Jr., and Frederick S. Spiegel; the last three being reelected in 1901 for terms expiring in February, 1907. Judge Jelke was appointed to succeed Judge J. M. Smith, a judge of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit, and his place upon the Common Pleas bench was filled by the appointment of William Littleford, who was elected for the full term in the fall of 1901. At the expiration of the term of Judge David Davis, John A. Caldwell was elected to succeed him. Judge Howard C. Hollister was reelected for a term of five years in 1898 and with him Otto Pfleger, who succeeded Judge Wright since appointed a judge of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. In the fall of 1903 Judge Pfleger was reelected and Judge James B. Swing succeeded Judge Hollister. The Common Pleas bench of April, 1904, consists of Judges John A. Caldwell, William Littleford, John P. Murphy, Samuel W. Smith, Jr., and Frederick S. Spiegel, with terms expiring in February, 1907, and Otto Pfleger and James B. Swing, with terms expiring in December, 1908.

Under the constitution of 1851 the District Court was composed of three judges selected from the Common Pleas bench, assisted by a judge of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court for a time attended the sessions of the District Court but finally this practice was abandoned and the District Court consisted simply of three judges selected from the seven Common Pleas judges. This court, however, did not give satisfaction because it was regarded as improper in theory that judges should sit to review decisions by themselves or their associates and in 1885 it was succeeded by the newly created Circuit Court. The last case tried by the District Court was the disbarment case of Thomas C. Campbell, in which the court consisted of S. N. Maxwell, C. D. Robertson and John S. Conner. This was a proceeding upon charges filed by the Bar Association of the city and was prosecuted by a number of the most prominent attorneys of the city, including E. W. Kittredge, W. M. Ramsey and William H. Taft. Mr. Campbell was defended by Henry A. Morrill, Judge Alfred Yaple, Telford Groesbeck and others. Although Mr. Campbell was temporarily disbarred, the proceeding practically failed in its object.

D. Ernston, 1890-92; Ellis B. Gregg, 1892-97; Edward Schwab, 1897-1900; W. H. Lueders, 1900—.

THE COURT HOUSE.

As described elsewhere the Hamilton County Court House was destroyed by fire at the time of the Cincinnati riots on the night of March 29, 1884. On December 6, 1886, the courts first occupied the new Court House erected, to replace the old structure, by a commission consisting of Henry C. Urner, Wesley M. Cameron, John L. Stettinius and William Worthington. In the interim courts had been held, first in the offices of Forrest & Mayer at the northeast corner of Court and Main streets, next in the Public Library, then in the Armory and last in the Albany Building on the east side of Vine street below Fourth now known as the Telephone Building. For a time the Criminal courts were held in temporary structures erected on the south side of Court street just east of the Court House building.

THE FEDERAL COURTS.

As already stated the United States Court for the Southern District of Ohio has sat, since the division of the State into two districts on February 10, 1855, in Cincinnati. The first judge of the District Court of the United States who held court in this city was Humphrey Howe Leavitt, who had been the judge of the District Court of Ohio since 1834. Judge Leavitt retired March 13, 1871, at which time Philip B. Swing of Clermont County was appointed to succeed him. He served until his death, October 30, 1882. After the death of Judge Swing, William White of Clark County, for many years a distinguished judge of the Supreme Court of the State, was appointed to the Federal judgeship and was confirmed by the Senate. Owing to his illness, however, he did not qualify and the vacancy was not filled until his death in 1883 and thereupon President Arthur appointed to this position George R. Sage, who took his seat upon the bench April 7, 1883, the anniversary of the battle of Shiloh. Judge Sage served for 16 years, retiring September 22, 1898. He died shortly after his retirement, November 19, 1898. Albert C. Thompson of Scioto County, who had seen service upon the bench of the State courts and also as a Member of Congress for several terms, was appointed to succeed him, which he did on November 22, 1898.

The Circuit Court under the laws of the United States is held frequently by the District judge and at times by the Circuit judge. The best known Circuit judges who sat in Cincinnati prior to the organization of the Circuit Court of Appeals were John Baxter of Tennessee and Howell E. Jackson of the same State. As a part of the machinery of the United States Court are the United States commissioners who at Cincinnati are Joseph L. Adler and Henry Hooper and the referees in bankruptcy who are Charles Theodore Greve, Alfred Mack, Morison R. Waite and William H. Whittaker. The clerk of the United States Court is Gen. Benjamin R. Cowen and the marshal, Vivian J. Fagin. The United States attorney for the Southern District of Ohio whose office is in Cincinnati is Sherman T. McPherson. His assistants are Edward P. Moulinier and Thomas C. Darby.

The Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States was created by the act of March 3, 1891, and upon the organization of this court Cincinnati became the seat of this court for the Sixth Judicial Circuit. The court was organized in this city on July 1, 1891, at which time there were in attendance: Justice Henry B. Brown of the Supreme Court, Circuit Judge Howell E. Jackson of Tennessee and District Judge George R. Sage. In March, 1892, William H. Taft, who had resigned his office as solicitor general of the United States, was confirmed as the additional junior Circuit judge and in June, 1892, the court met with Justice Brown presiding and with him Judges Jackson and Taft. In March, 1893, Judge Jackson was appointed by President Harrison as a justice of the Supreme Court and thereupon Horace H. Lurton, at that time chief justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, was appointed by President Cleveland to succeed him. In 1898 a new Circuit judgeship had been created and William R. Day, Secretary of the State, was appointed to this position. Judge Taft resigned in March, 1900, to become the head of the Philippine commission. He was succeeded by Henry F. Severens of Michigan at that time a District judge. In 1903 Judge Day was appointed to the Supreme bench of the United States and on March 16, 1903, this vacancy was filled by John K. Richards, who had been solicitor general in the cabinets of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt and formerly attorney general of the State of Ohio. The clerk of the Circuit Court of Appeals is Frank O. Loveland, the author of standard works on "Bankruptcy" and "Federal Practice."

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

In 1861 just before the outbreak of the war George Hatch was elected mayor and his chief of police was Col. John W. Dudley, who served

during part of Hatch's administration. The rest of the time Col. Lawrence Hazen was at the head of the department. During this time the alarm resulting from a sudden attack of Morgan's men brought about the organization of the police as a battalion of infantry. This battalion under Chief Dudley marched to Lexington and after 10 days' absence marched back again. The story of that campaign has ever since remained a sealed book in the annals of the police department. Mayor Hatch was succeeded in 1863 by one of the greatest of Cincinnati's mayors, Col. Leonard A. Harris, elected as a Republican. His chief of police was James L. Ruffin and it was under his authority that the police force attained the discipline which it has maintained ever since. Colonel Harris believed in military drill and that the policemen should be as efficient in this particular as any body of soldiers. He completely eradicated politics from the police department and as a result to carry out his reforms found it necessary to remodel the force. Many ex-soldiers were appointed as patrolmen and the efficiency of the department was raised to a point far higher than it had ever attained before. During his term the Council raised the salary of mayor to $4,000 for the purpose of making it possible for him to accept the second term without too great a sacrifice. He also was presented with a house and lot by the business men of the city. One of the reforms instituted by him was the closing of all saloons on election day, which resulted in eliminating much of the disorder usually characteristic of the day. In 1863 the mayor was authorized to add four policemen for each ward of the city but this number was afterwards reduced to two. At the end of Mayor Harris' second term, Charles F. Wilstach was elected as mayor and Robert Megrue as his first chief of police. He does not seem to have given satisfaction and in a year or so Colonel Ruffin was once more at the head of the force, where he was continued by Mr. Wilstach's successor, John F. Torrence. When S. S. Davis became mayor in 1871, Colonel Ruffin gave way to David M. Bleaks who had been for years a private watchman in Mr. Davis' banking house.

In 1873 the Legislature once more reorganized the police department, providing for the selection of a commission of four men at the spring election. The men elected were Wesley M. Cameron, Gustav Hof, Henry Kessler and Hugh Campbell, four of the most prominent of Cincinnati's citizens. Mr. Campbell who was selected for the one-year term was succeeded in the following year by Gus Neather, and afterwards became a work house director by appointment of Mayor Johnston. He subsequently moved to Harrison, Ohio. Henry Kessler, then a prominent insurance man as well as a manufacturer of gloves, was for many years one of the most prominent men in political affairs. He had been sheriff and was afterwards a member of both branches of the Legislature. He served but a short time on the police board, resigning on account of disputes as to appointments, and was succeeded by James L. Ruffin. Gustav Hof was a man of wealth. He was largely interested in the *Volksblatt*. His taste of political office seems to have been unfortunate, for after the expiration of his term he lost his fortune in the saloon business. Wesley Cameron who had the four-year term was for years one of the most prominent of Cincinnati's citizens.

At the expiration of Mayor Davis' term, G. W. C. Johnston was elected mayor and served four years from 1873 to 1877. During the existence of the board he was *ex officio* a member. At this time the title of chief of police was abolished and that of superintendent of police adopted. The first superintendent was Jeremiah Kiersted. He was removed after a short time and Eugene Dayler served in his place but Kiersted was reinstated and held office until February, 1875. In 1874 the Board of Police Commissioners was abolished and the mayor once more took charge of the force and in February, 1875, appointed Thomas E. Snelbaker, who had been secretary of the water works. In 1877 Snelbaker was succeeded by Capt. Jacob Johnson appointed by Mayor R. M. Moore upon his succeeding Johnston as mayor in that year. The same year the Legislature reestablished the Board of Police Commissioners and Governor Hayes appointed as its members: Enoch T. Carson, Charles Jacob, Jr., Charles Brown, George Ziegler and S. F. Covington, of whom Ziegler was the only Democrat. Ira Wood who had been superintendent of the Work House was appointed chief, much against his desire. He died in 1878 shortly after his appointment and was succeeded by George Ziegler, a member of the board. In 1879 Charles Jacob, Jr., who had been also a member of the board, became mayor and Enoch T. Carson was appointed from the board as superintendent of police. This position he held for two years. Mayor William Means, elected to office in 1881, appointed as his first superintendent Jacob Gessert who resigned after service of

but a few weeks and shortly afterwards committed suicide. This appointment was made possible by the abolition of the board. The next appointee was Col. M. F. Reilly who had been on the force since 1873 and afterwards was made lieutenant and finally captain. Mayor Means, a Democrat, was succeeded by another Democrat, Thomas J. Stephens, and Reilly remained chief until the end of the term. It was during his term that the riots of 1884, described elsewhere, occurred. In 1885 a new Board of Police Commissioners was established, to be appointed by the Board of Public Works and to receive a salary of $1,500 a year. This was the first board to receive compensation. Col. Morton L. Hawkins and Julius Reis, Democrats, and William A. Stephens, Republican, were appointed. This board appointed Col. Edwin Hudson, former inspector of police, to succeed Reilly and Charles Wappenstein, who had been Hudson's principal rival for the appointment, was made chief of detectives. James Dunn who had been connected with a patrol and detective force was made inspector. Shortly afterwards, Wappenstein and Dunn were relieved from duty and Lieut. Thomas Weaver was made inspector *pro tem* and Captain Grannon was made chief of detectives. Afterwards Michael Mullen became inspector. Dissatisfaction with the board soon culminated in charges filed with Governor Foraker, as a result of which he dismissed all three of the members from office. Colonel Hudson the chief refused to report to the mayor, claiming that he had been regularly appointed by legal authority and that he intended to remain in control of the police until a new board should be appointed. He was sustained in this position by the Supreme Court. On the eve of the spring election of 1886, the Legislature passed a bill providing for a non-partisan police force. This act of March 30, 1886, was the first that took the police entirely out of politics and in a measure it may be regarded as the basis of the present system. By it all police powers were vested in the mayor and four police commissioners, not more than two of whom should be of the same party. These commissioners were appointed by the Governor who had also the power of removal. The mayor had the power of appointment of policemen and officers of the force subject to approval by the board. All appointments were required to be made without regard to political influence or affiliations. Further to protect the force from any political influence, commissioners were forbidden to accept nominations for elective offices nor could any member of the force take part in any way in a political convention or primary. The mayor was in control of the organization subject to the rules compiled by the commissioners. The board appointed by the Governor was made up of Robert J. Morgan, George R. Topp (Republicans) and Milo G. Dodds and Dr. Thomas C. Minor (Democrats). Mr. Morgan was its first president and James S. Gordon was clerk for a short time. He was succeeded by Samuel B. Warren. The following year Mr. Morgan retired from the board and was succeeded by James Boyle and in 1888 Mr. Topp retired and was succeeded by Louis Werner. During 1887 Dr. Minor acted as president; George R. Topp held the office as president until August 1, 1888, when he became a member of the Board of Public Affairs. He was succeeded as president by Mr. Dodds. The first superintendent under the new board was Arthur G. Moore, who had been a superintendent of the water works. His nomination by the mayor was not entirely satisfactory to the board and his confirmation was delayed. He served but a little over two months when he returned to his old position in the water works and Philip H. Deitsch was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Deitsch remained superintendent of the police until the time of his death, almost 17 years later, when he was succeeded by Paul M. Millikin, the present incumbent.

The detective branch of the police force has been in existence in one shape or another since 1854, but was not organized as a distinct department until 1886. Its first head was Philip Rittweger who was succeeded after six months by Ralph A. Crawford. At the end of six months more the bureau was in charge of Col. "Larry" Hazen. Mr. Crawford has remained a member of the force since that time and at present occupies the position of inspector of detectives. His service on the Cincinnati police force began in 1879, when he was appointed patrolman by Mayor Jacob. Detailed for detective work about a year later, he was associated for a few months with Charles Wappenstein after which his associate became John Schmucks. This association continued during all the years that have elapsed except during the periods when Crawford was chief of detectives and it is said to be the longest association of two detectives in the history of the forces of the country.

The police force under Chief Deitsch and the detective branch under "Larry" Hazen gained a national reputation for efficiency and probity.

In 1890 Charles Edgar Brown and Matthias S. Forbus were appointed to succeed Messrs. Boyle and Dodds on the board. Two years later George Henshaw and Samuel Nieman succeeded Messrs. Minor and Werner on the board. The new members two years later were I. J. Miller and Robert J. Morgan, who succeeded Messrs. Brown and Forbus, and Frank Kirchner who succeeded Mr. Nieman resigned. The board was again changed in 1898 when C. B. Wing and James W. Faulkner were appointed to succeed Messrs. Miller and Morgan and Max Burgheim to succeed Frank Kirchner, deceased. In 1902 Dr. Thomas C. Minor was once more appointed to the board, succeeding Mr. Faulkner, and Wade Cushing succeeded Mr. Wing. Mr. Henshaw who had been from time to time reappointed and Mr. Burgheim were the other two members of the board which was the last Board of Police Commissioners. As a result of the code of 1903 the police department was placed in charge of the Board of Public Safety, which was appointed by the mayor. Its members, appointed in 1903, are: Wade Cushing, Max Burgheim, James J. Faran and Abe Furst. The clerk of this board is C. F. Lakeman and the chief clerk of the police department is J. C. Callahan, who is also instructor of the force and civil service examiner of both the police and the fire departments.

An important feature of the non-partisan police force is the gymnasium which is fitted up with the latest apparatus and conducted according to the most approved methods. It has been of the greatest benefit to the force and although the attendance upon it is compulsory its popularity with the members has been such that such a rule is entirely unnecessary.

A school of instruction which owes so much to Clerk Samuel Warren has also been a valuable adjunct. Instructions given cover the Federal and State laws and city ordinances as far as they pertain to police duties, the powers, privileges and duties of patrolmen, the topography of the city and the location of prominent places of interest, such as parks, places of amusement, public buildings and prominent building places, as well as the residences of prominent citizens.

The police manual, which has been revised from time to time by several of the ablest attorneys familiar with the subject, is a valuable work containing the rules governing the force, the laws of offenses against the ordinances, a synopsis of crimes, a manual of military tactics, advice as to first aid to the injured and a discussion of the rights and obligations of police as to arrest and the use of firearms.

The Morgan medal, a gold medal of the value of $50, was offered annually by Robert J. Morgan and bestowed upon the patrolman who had been most efficient in the discharge of his duties during the year. This medal was first bestowed in 1887 upon John McGramm and nine other patrolmen received at that time honorable mention. Each year the number of patrolmen receiving mention has increased very largely, showing the esteem in which the medal is held by the members of the force. This has been replaced by the Nicholas Longworth medal, bestowed under the same conditions.

Another honor for which policemen strive is to be placed upon the "Roll of Honor," which records the names of those who have achieved distinction by special acts of bravery in the line of the policeman's duty.

There is also a medal for bravery presented by Mrs. Frederick H. Alms.

The Police Relief Association, originally organized in 1870 but changed in many particulars a number of times since, is for the purpose of distributing pecuniary relief to sick or disabled members and insurance benefits to their families in case of death and pensions to those honorably retired from the force. This organization is to some extent under the control of the board, who are trustees of its funds, with five elective members of the police force.

Another organization independent of the regular association is the Policemen's Benevolent Association, which provides for the assessment of all its members, upon the occasion of the death of one of them, for the benefit of the family of the deceased.

The patrol wagon service was established December 5, 1881, by Ed. C. Armstrong, who equipped and maintained for a time this service at his own expense. He was subsequently reimbursed by the Council, which also equipped four more companies as a recognition of the efficiency of Mr. Armstrong's service. The present superintendent of patrol is Thomas A. Duffy.

Another important branch of the police department is the "Rogues' Gallery" and Bertillon room, where criminals upon arrest are photographed and measured according to the latest improved methods so that complete records can be made which distributed throughout the police departments of the country have been of great assistance in the identification of criminals.

The code of 1902 has placed the department under civil service rules with practical examinations for admission and tenure of position during good conduct. This applies both to promotions and to original appointments.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

In 1861 as a result of the request of the citizens of Mount Auburn for the location of a fire company in their neighborhood a new steam engine was purchased and an engine house located on Webster street between Main and Sycamore. The steep ascents of this neighborhood made necessary a new form of engine and as a result the so-called self-propelling engine came into existence. A fire of 1863 was that of May 5th, on which date the so-called Palace Varieties, was burned.

On March 22, 1866, came the burning of Pike's Opera House.

The fire alarm telegraph was established during the year 1866, after a prolonged agitation in which strangely enough many opposed any improvements in the methods of the department. This was located on the southwest corner of Sixth and Vine and the first chief operator in charge was B. B. Glass.

The year 1867 was another unfortunate one in the fire history of the city. On April 11, 1867, came the burning of the distillery of Foote, Nash & Company, at the southwest corner of Pearl and Kilgour. The explosion of the alcohol in the building made the work of the firemen extremely dangerous and several of them narrowly escaped death. A little later, on July 23rd, the coffin factory of Crane, Breed & Company was entirely destroyed. On September 14th another serious fire took place in the neighborhood of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot. In this the fine block of five-story brick warehouses running east from the northeast corner of Sixth and Baymiller streets and belonging to William Moore was totally destroyed. The fire started in the bonded warehouse of George W. Lietch & Company and was occasioned by attempting to handle spirits by candle-light. As is usually the case in warehouses stored with such materials the loss was complete. The year closed with a total destruction of the whiskey establishment of Boyle, Miller & Company at No. 53 East Second street on December 27th. This was a stone building in which were stored 9,000 barrels of whiskey. The stone crumbled to pieces by the intensity of the flames and the loss which was almost a half million dollars was almost complete. At one time during the fire the Spencer House in the rear of the buildings was seriously threatened but it was fortunately saved.

In 1869 a new engine house was erected at the corner of Sixth and Vine according to plans of Architects Anderson and Hannaford. In this year came the burning of the College Building described elsewhere.

In 1871 a detachment of the Cincinnati Fire Department was sent to Chicago and rendered effective aid in the great fire in that city. In the following year considerable alarm was caused by the prevalence of the epizootic which crippled the entire business of the city, including the street railroads and the fire department. Fortunately no serious fires occurred during the prevalence of the disease. There were three alarms and in each case the engines were pulled by long lines of men very much in the fashion of the olden days. The entire organization of the fire department was changed by the act of April 29, 1873, by which the old laws and city ordinances governing the department were repealed. By virtue of this law, a Board of Fire Commissioners was instituted who had entire charge of the department. The mayor, G. W. C. Johnston, appointed the board which was constituted as follows: P. W. Strader, president, W. B. Folger, secretary, and Charles Kahn, Jr., Henry Hanna, George Weber and George C. Sargent. The board reorganized the department entirely and adopted a new code of rules. The force at this time was constituted of 149 officers and men, divided into 18 steam engine companies, four hook and ladder companies, fuel and supply wagons and the fire alarm telegraph corps. There were in the service five first, six second and seven third-class engines, all with one exception made in Cincinnati. In the following year J. L. Thompson became president of the board and C. J. W. Smith succeeded Charles Kahn, Jr.

A costly fire of 1875 was that in the John Holland gold pen factory which suffered a loss of $100,000.

The Bloch fire on July 2, 1875, was notable for its fatalities. The falling walls of the building buried Chief Megrue and 12 firemen in the ruins. One fireman was killed outright and two others fatally injured, but the chief

and others were rescued after sustaining considerable injury.

The fire of 1867 at Melodeon Hall at the northwest corner of Fourth and Walnut consumed the celebrated painting of "The Prodigal Son" by Edouard Dubufe on exhibition at that place. This picture was one of the world's celebrated paintings and at one time was bought by A. T. Stewart for the sum of $30,000. At the time of its destruction it was owned by H. W. Derby who had paid $40,000 for it. It had been exhibited throughout the country and was regarded as a commercial investment for show purposes worth $75,000. A photographic copy of the work is in "Art Treasures of America" and the study for the larger picture is in the A. T. Stewart collection. The fire caught from a temporary gas jet arranged on the stage to light the picture which had been placed too near the draperies.

A false alarm of fire on February 5th of this year resulted in a panic at Robinson's (new) Opera House. The house was crowded with the most prominent citizens of the city, who had gathered to witness a spectacular performance. There was no fire but in the crush that ensued several persons were killed.

In 1877 the organization of the department was changed and it was placed in the hands of the Board of Police Commissioners by what is known as the "Ransom Ripper Bill." A long contest followed the passage of this bill, which it was claimed had provisions other than those intended by the Legislature. The matter was settled by the appointment on April 1st of Charles Jacob, Jr., president, and George W. Ziegler, Enoch T. Carson, Charles Brown and Daniel Weber as police commissioners. The law creating this board was repealed at the next session of the General Assembly by the act of February 14, 1878, and as a result of this Judge Moses F. Wilson of the Police Court appointed the following fire commissioners: George C. Sargent, William Dunn, C. J. W. Smith, George Weber and John L. Thompson. During the control of the department by the Board of Police Commissioners, Chief Megrue, on January 24, 1878, tendered his resignation which was accepted. At the meeting of the new board, a petition signed by 65 leading merchants was presented asking his reappointment, but he absolutely declined and Joseph Bunker was then elected fire marshal, with assistants, Lewis Wisbey, Thomas McAvoy and Henry Schildmeyer.

Mr. Megrue at the time of his resignation had been connected with the fire department of the city for more than 25 years. He was a native of the city born here in 1820 and received his early education in the schools of Cincinnati. At the age of 11 he went to work in the blacksmith shop of Isaac Treat, where he remained several years. For four years he worked in the machine shop of Jabez Reynolds and afterwards for seven years was a cabinet-maker employed by P. Rust & Sons. He became a member of the volunteer fire department before he attained manhood. Upon the reorganization of the department, he became assistant engineer on April 1, 1855, which position he retained until appointed chief two years later. During his 20 years service at the head of the department he showed a wonderful capacity for organization, indomitable energy and excellent judgment. His name should be placed with those of Greenwood, Piatt and Walker as among the most important factors in the success of the paid fire department. There is no question that the later years of his service were embittered by the introduction of politics into the affairs of the fire department.

The last year of Megrue's administration was saddened as well by a frightful holocaust which took place August 3, 1877, at Eighth and Broadway in a cigar box factory of George Pellstring & Company. In the upper floors of the building there were employed a number of girls and the stairways were of the most inconvenient character. The building burned like tinder and the fire was over in less than 25 minutes but in that short time six persons were burned to death, three of them young girls employed on the second floor.

In 1879 John L. Thompson was succeeded on the board by L. C. Weir. This year had its disaster as well. On June 5, 1879, a fire broke out in the factory of Post & Company on the southwest corner of Pearl and Elm streets. In a short time the entire building which was a five-story brick was in flames. The fire was confined in the end to the factory, which became a total loss. Immediately after it had been extinguished, a meeting of the representatives of the insurance companies with their expert builders was held in the building and after an examination the

conclusion was reached that the walls were in sound condition. The insurance companies therefore concluded that it would be perfectly safe to clean and oil the machinery to save it from complete ruin as a result of the drenching it had received. For this purpose a number of workmen were detailed in various parts of the building. A few hours later at about half-past three the roof fell on the fifth floor which immediately gave way and as a result all the floors of the building fell to the cellar. There were almost 100 people in the building at the time the catastrophe happened. Many jumped from the back windows to the roofs of the adjoining buildings, others descended on the fire escape while still others could be seen at the windows with no means of escape. After the fearful noise of the falling floors subsided there were a few moments of almost absolute stillness which was soon broken by the cries of help from those buried in the ruins. The fire department responded and a search for the dead began. A very large number of people were seriously injured and seven killed.

In 1880 George Weber was succeeded on the board by John Mackey, Jr. This year, too, was an unfortunate one from the standpoint of death-dealing fires. One of these was known as the Hey factory fire, which took place in a shoddy factory at Second and Broadway and was attended with a loss of life that seemed entirely unnecessary. After the alarm was given, a number of the younger women employed in the factory left the building, but some of the older ones, not realizing the seriousness of the situation, remained at their work. Within a few moments four or five elderly women were seen at the upper windows calling for help. Bales were placed on the sidewalk and the effort was made to induce them to jump. One jumped and broke her leg and the others frightened at her experience refused to follow her example and before anything could be done five lost their lives. The whole incident did not occupy eight minutes. A little later came the Gay fire at Eighth street and Eggleston avenue. Chief Bunker with a number of his men entered the building but they were almost immediately met with such a burst of flames and smoke as to see that their position was untenable. Bunker called to his men to follow him and led five of them to safety. Five others either misunderstanding his orders or being confused were burned to death.

The Marqua fire on July 7, 1881, for a time threatened to lay waste a large section of the city. This factory was at the southwest corner of Smith and Augusta and was located in the midst of a large manufacturing center. About 30 buildings located on Augusta, Front, Second and Smith streets were destroyed by the conflagration. One life was lost, that of a foreman who jumped from the fourth story of the Marqua Building to the pavement.

Upon the expiration of the term of C. J. W. Smith, Chris. Kiechler was appointed fire commissioner in his stead. A noteworthy fire and one that resulted in a great loss to the city was that of the St. Francis Xavier Church on April 7, 1882. The fire started from some decorations which were placed in position for Good Friday, and in a few hours the church was a mass of ruins. The loss exceeded $200,000 on which there was less than $20,000 insurance. Part of the loss could not be measured in money as it included the altar, statuary and a magnificent painting of the crucifixion sent from Rome and said to have been a Murillo. This year was held the Fire Chiefs' Convention at which there were present the most prominent fire chiefs of the world, including the famous Capt. E. M. Shaw of London. During the convention the 95 visiting chiefs had an opportunity to witness the disastrous fire at the oil establishment of Charles E. Coffin at No. 24 East Second street. An unfortunate feature of the fire was the bursting of much of the hose which materially hampered the department's work. After the fire had been extinguished, an employee who went into the cellar where was a large quantity of oil carelessly ignited it and was burned to death. The defective hose of the department brought to the attention of the public the insufficient appropriations allowed to it and as a result a private subscription was raised which with the appropriations made by the Council was expended for the purchase of new hose.

William Dunn was succeeded in 1882 on the Board of Fire Commissioners by Chris. Kinsinger, while in 1883 George C. Sargent gave way to J. M. Doherty. This was the first flood year and as a result the department was much hampered. An engine was placed on a flat-boat in the bottoms and afforded the necessary protection for that region. As a result of a fire on Walnut between Fifth

and Sixth streets in the rag establishment of Henry Dremen & Company a number of persons were seriously injured and nine killed. The department was called upon, as stated elsewhere, at the time of the riots in 1884 but was not permitted to render any service. This year, too, is memorable for the sad death of Chief Bunker as a result of a collision between his buggy and a chemical engine while both were on the way to a fire. The collision took place at Sixth and Vine on September 28th and the chief died the following day.

Joseph Bunker was born in Saratoga, New York, in 1832 and came to the city when but a year old. In early life he was a teamster and was a volunteer fireman in the old Washington Company. In 1856 he entered the regular service as driver for the company at that time located on Vine near Front. Five years later he was appointed on the Cincinnati police force but shortly afterwards enlisted in the army. Subsequently he returned to the city and rejoined his company then at the corner of Race and Commerce streets. In 1870 he became a councilman but two years later returned to his company and was appointed a captain by Chief Megrue. After a lapse of four years he was made assistant chief and two years later he succeeded Megrue as chief marshal. At the time of his death at the age of 52 he had served the fire department 30 years and was a most efficient and popular officer.

Bunker was succeeded on November 28, 1884, by Lewis Wisbey, who had been acting as chief since the death of the former. The change in the board this year was the result of the expiration of the term of L. C. Weir, who was succeeded by Abe Furst appointed by Mayor Thomas J. Stephens. Other events of the year were the passage of acts permitting the increase of the fire appropriations from $250,000 to $300,000 and the changing of the rules requiring an applicant for membership in the department to pass a medical examination. Dr. L. A. Querner was appointed medical examiner. A notable fire of the year was that of the Masonic Temple on the day before Christmas.

In 1885 John Mackey's term expired and he was succeeded by Edwin Stephens. This was another year of fatalities among the citizens. The most serious fire of the year and one of the most disastrous in the history of the city was that in the building occupied by the Sullivan printing establishment and the Parisian dye house at No. 19 West Sixth street. The building was a five-story brick. On the first floor was the dyeing establishment while the printing works were on the upper floors. On the fifth floor 17 girls were employed. The fire is supposed to have started from the explosion of a small can of benzine. The nature of the supplies in the building made it very inflammable and almost immediately the whole building was in flames and within five minutes after the discovery of the fire 14 people had been killed. The engines arrived almost immediately after the alarm and found three dead bodies lying on the pavement. They were those of the inmates who had jumped from the upper stories. The fire was extinguished in a very short time but on the fifth floor the firemen discovered the remains of 11 girls who were half smothered and half burned to death. One of those who lost his life at this time was young John Sullivan who upon the discovery of the danger rushed up the stairs where he assisted several of the girls in escaping from the windows. This aid, however, was rendered at the cost of his own life as he was severely burned and also injured by falling as a result of the burning of the rope on which he was descending and which he had used to save the lives of others. A serious obstacle in the handling of this fire and one thought to be responsible for several of the deaths was the immense network of wires which made it impossible for the hook and ladder department to use its apparatus satisfactorily and also interfered with the use of life-saving apparatus.

An interesting event of 1886 was the celebration of the tournament of the volunteer firemen who had formed an association as early as 1869 composed of persons who had held active membership in the old volunteer fire department. For three days the old volunteers were the heroes of the city. This year, too, was organized the salvage corps with Herman F. Newman, a former fireman, at the head of it. The expiration of the term of Chris. Kiechler resulted in the appointment of Charles Fleischmann as a fire commissioner.

The fire fiend added his share to the celebration of Independence Day in 1887. As a result of carelessness in handling fireworks, the malt house of the George Weber Brewing

Company at 12th and Clay streets burst into flames and was entirely consumed with a loss of two lives. Three weeks later on July 29th a children's bonfire resulted in the sweeping away of six acres of tenements on State avenue between Gest and Depot streets. Another serious fire of this year was that of the Strobridge Lithographing Company at Canal and Race streets.

In 1887 Chris. Kinsinger was succeeded as fire commissioner by Joseph R. Megrue and the following year J. M. Doherty gave way to John Goetz, Jr.

The Strobel fire of December 22, 1888, at the corner of Canal and Elm was another terrible disaster. In this fire Captain Bray lost his life and another person died several days later as a result of injuries received. Almost a dozen firemen were seriously injured, many being buried under falling walls.

In 1889 Abe Furst was succeeded by Abe Steinau and Edwin Stephens (resigned) by John Mackey, Jr. Many new buildings were erected for the use of the department during this year.

In 1890 Lewis Wisbey resigned as chief and on March 1st W. H. Hughes was appointed to succeed him. The changes in the board were the appointments of Thomas G. Smith to succeed Charles Fleischmann (resigned) and Robert M. Archibald, to succeed Thomas G. Smith (resigned). A serious fire of this year and one involving great loss resulted in the complete destruction of the Nevada Building at the southeast corner of Fifth and Sycamore on January 5, 1890. In this fire the Henderson Achert Lithographing Company was a loser to the extent of $100,000. The total loss was almost $300,000. Another and great fire was that of Stern, Mayer & Company, at the northeast corner of Third and Vine, on March 11th, with a loss of over a third of a million dollars.

Under the charter of 1891 the Board of Fire Commissioners ceased to exist and was succeeded by a Board of Fire Trustees appointed by Mayor John B. Mosby. Abe Furst, R. M. Archibald, James J. Faran, Jr., and John Goetz, Jr., were the first appointees. The principal fire of the year resulting in a loss of more than a million dollars was that known as the Burkhardt fire, which occurred July 8, 1891. As the night watchman was decending to the sub-cellar of the building about 9:30 in the evening, he heard the tolling of the fire bells. The alarm had been sent in by the automatic fire indicator in the cellar. When the firemen arrived no fire was to be seen and some difficulty was met with in bursting into the building, which was a very substantial one and firmly locked with iron doors. Finally after 15 minutes had elapsed it was noticed that the sidewalk was getting very hot and a hole was broken through to permit firemen to introduce the hose into the sub-cellar. Almost immediately a puff of hot air was followed by a crash of glass and the curtains in the show windows on Fourth street floated out showing the burning caldron within. At 10 o'clock came a muffled explosion, which was followed by a tremendous burst of flames which enveloped the entire upper part of the building and crossed both Fourth and Elm streets. In this fire too the telegraph wires interfered with the use of the ladders and almost resulted in the loss of the lives of several of the salvage corps men.

At the Onken fire this same year there were three deaths, two of which, those of firemen, were caused by the breaking of a ladder.

On March 31, 1892, the steamer "Golden Rule," which had just started for New Orleans burned to the water's edge with the loss of four lives.

W. T. Perkins succeeded R. M. Archibald as fire trustee in 1893. The new board selected J. A. Archibald to succeed W. H. Hughes as chief. A notable fire of this year was that of the American Book Company on Walnut street and Baker alley. A terrible disaster came on February 9, 1893, when Heider's restaurant and Thayer's shoe store on West Fifth street burned with the loss of four lives. One of those who lost his life was a waiter named Albert Grau who heroically rushed about the building warning the sleeping inmates of their danger. After saving many lives he himself was overcome by the smoke and heat and smothered to death. An explosion on the steamboat "Bellevue" lying at the foot of Ludlow street resulted in the loss of life. Another serious loss of life took place at the Front street fire which started on July 17, 1895, in the feed store of J. H. Hermesch, at No. 13 Walnut street. As a result of this fire practically the whole block bounded by Water, Walnut and the approach to the Suspension Bridge was destroyed and two firemen, one Captain Healy, lost their lives by the falling of a wall; the other fireman was Thomas Wisbey, a son of the former fire chief. About 20 firemen were seriously injured in this fire.

As the terms of Messrs. Faran, Goetz and Perkins expired they were succeeded in 1898, 1899 and 1901, respectively, by William Rieker,

Joseph M. Rice and John Mackey, Jr., while Mr. Furst was reappointed in 1900. Mr. Rice was replaced in 1902 by Mr. Faran, so that until the time the department passed under the control of the Board of Public Safety, as a result of the code of 1902, the last Board of Fire Trustees was made up of Messrs. Rieker, Mackey, Faran and Furst. The two latter, with Messrs. Cushing and Burgheim from the Board of Police Commissioners, constitute the Board of Public Safety, described under the police department.

On October 3, 1895, was held a grand parade of the fire and police departments followed by a review by Governor McKinley and Mayor Caldwell. The honorary grand marshal for the fire department was Gen. Andrew Hicklenlooper and for the police department, Col. Leopold Markbreit. This parade in which were the regular soldiers from Fort Thomas as well as the First Regiment of the Ohio National Guard was one of the most imposing of its kind ever seen in the city.

A terrible disaster of the year 1896, which called out the fire department although there was no serious fire, was what was known as the Drach explosion, which occurred on the west side of Walnut street between Fourth and Fifth streets as a result of escaping fumes of gasoline. A number of persons were killed and several buildings collapsed entirely as a result of this disaster. A celebrated fire was that of the Grand Opera House on January 22, 1901. Mr. Sothern was at the time giving a performance of "Hamlet" and had just uttered the words "Oh! that this too solid flesh would melt," when it became apparent that the theatre was on fire. Despite the fact that the house was packed and that within a half hour the entire interior of the structure was practically destroyed from basement to roof by the flames, the entire audience escaped without a single serious injury. This result was largely due to the presence of mind and courage of Mr. Sothern himself, who remained upon the stage assisting auditors to escape through the back part of the house and directing the spectators until all had reached places of safety. The slightest excitement on the part of Mr. Sothern would have probably resulted in a great loss of life and although as has been suggested much credit is due to the audience itself for its self possession in the presence of so great a disaster, Mr. Sothern's conduct on this occasion was such as to entitle him to the everlasting gratitude of Cincinnatians. In the light of subsequent theatre disasters it is possible to realize the magnitude of the debt owed to him.

Another great fire occurred on February 25, 1903, at which time the Pike Opera House building and several adjoining buildings were completely consumed by a conflagration probably unsurpassed in fierceness and splendor in the history of the city.

In connection with the fire department must be mentioned the Firemen's Protective Association of Cincinnati organized for the relief of members and their widows and orphans and the Firemen's Pension Fund, which provides pensions to disabled firemen and to the widows and orphaned children of firemen.

An interesting feature of the fire department is the relic room of the old volunteer firemen which is kept in the Gifts' Engine House on Sixth street near Vine.

The following is the first entry in the records of the fire alarm telegraph corps of the city:

"February 7, 1866, the Tower watchmen were withdrawn from their posts of duty at six o'clock this evening at which time the 'Fire Alarm Telegraph' was accepted and went into service. Between eight and nine o'clock the same evening a test alarm was turned in and sounded upon the bells from Box Six (6) which proved satisfactory to all concerned. The first alarm of fire under the Telegraph system was given from Box Twelve (12) February 9, at eight o'clock P. M." This call came from a vinegar factory on Front street between Main and Walnut.

THE WATER WORKS.

In 1860 plans for a twenty-four million gallon pumping engine were submitted by George Shield and finally a contract was let for building the same. This was the great Shield engine, which was finally started on November 15, 1865, and for over 20 years gave invaluable service to the department. In 1864 a water supply commission was appointed by the Council, which included the mayor, the city civil engineer, the Trustees of the Water Works and various members of the Council who were to report concerning a pure supply of water to the city. In 1865 J. P. Kirkwood made a thorough search and investigation of the various sources for a new water supply and adopted in his plan a pumping system using the Ohio River as a source. The plan involved the purchase of a new site at Pendleton, which feature was not accepted by the water supply commissioners. The necessity for new reservoirs was apparent and on the 6th of

January, 1866, the Garden of Eden was purchased for reservoir and park purposes. On the 11th of April, 1867, a curious accident demonstrated the effect of the Miami Canal eddy upon the water supply. On this day the Henry Clay distillery, located at the corner of Kilgour and Pearl streets, was burned and the wasted whiskey found its way into the canal and from the canal into the river. The eddy carried it into the pump wells and for several days the people of the city enjoyed their water diluted with whiskey. Steps were taken at once to remedy this by sinking barges and extending the stone aqueduct farther in the river so as to prevent the eddy.

In 1868 steps were taken for the building of reservoirs to supply the suburban regions of Mount Auburn and Walnut Hills. Two boiler-iron tanks were constructed at the intersection of Auburn avenue and Vine street on Mount Auburn and pumping works located in the valley below at the corner of Hunt street and Effluent Pipe street, now Elsinore avenue. The Mount Auburn service commenced September 1, 1869. Work had been begun upon the Eden Park Reservoir in January, 1866. The site selected was a deep and rapidly descending ravine, bounded on three sides by steep hills and embracing about 13 acres. A large retaining wall was built and a fill of 84 feet in depth was made at the southwestern end. The wall itself is a splendid structure with eight elliptical arches and Dayton stone trimmings and presents a bold and imposing appearance. It is 48½ feet thick at the base and 120 feet high; its least width is 18½ feet. At the top, which is designed for a foot and wagon way, its width is 25 8-10 feet, the increased breadth being supported by the eight arches. The division wall of the reservoir between the influent and effluent chambers was built 30 feet wide at the base, 10 feet wide on top, 67½ feet high and 307 feet in length. The upper basin was completed in 1872, but water was not put into it, owing to the non-completion of the pumping engines, until October, 1874, in which year on October 19th the new Scowden engine No. 7 pumped water into it. In the following year the two Scowden engines Nos. 7 and 8 and the upper basin were put into active service. In 1878 the lower basin was completed and during the following year a 46-inch main was laid from the old to the Eden Park Reservoir. In November, 1877, a middle or Eden Park service was permanently established. At that time the subdivisions were,—the low service supplied by the Third Street Reservoir 172 feet above low water mark, the middle service supplied by the Eden Park Reservoir 233 feet above low water mark and the high service supplied by the Mount Auburn Tank, 492 feet above low water mark.

According to the report of the water works department for the year 1902 the property occupied by it included the Front street station, Hunt street station, the Price Hill station, Cumminsville station, Linwood station and the Westwood station and, in addition to the Eden Park Reservoir, the Third Street Reservior, and the Mount Auburn Tank, the Price Hill Tank and Linwood Reservoir Tank. There is also included the Charles street and George street stables and George street storage lot, as well as Markley farm and various rights of way. The actual pumpage of water for the year 1902 was 15,707,050,326 gallons, making a daily average consumption of 43,033,031 gallons. The largest daily average consumption, that for August, 1902, was 57,803,076 gallons and the per capita daily consumption was 124.71 gallons. The total mileage of pipe in use in the city on December 31, 1902, was 440,389. The total reservoir capacity was 110,000,000 gallons and maximum pumpage, 89,600,000. The total number of dwellings supplied was 34,811 in which resided 62,878 families. The total water works receipts for the year were $853,384.84 and the total disbursements, $879,002.82.

THE NEW WATER WORKS.

By virtue of an act of April 24, 1896, the Governor appointed in June of that year as Commissioners of Water Works for the city of Cincinnati: Maurice J. Freiberg, Charles M. Holloway, Leopold Markbreit, Dr. Thomas W. Graydon and August Hermann. In December of the following year Dr. Graydon resigned and William B. Melish was appointed in his place. The purpose of this commission was to provide for a new water supply for the city of Cincinnati and they were empowered to make surveys, prepare plans, acquire real and personal property by purchase and to construct water works at a cost not to exceed $6,500,000. The board organized by the election of Mr. Hermann as president but transacted little business until such time as certain suits filed for the purpose of testing the validity of the act should be determined and during this time they refused to accept compensation. The law was sustained by the Supreme Court in February, 1897, and thereupon a consulting commission of five engineers was appointed, which recommended a low service pumping sta-

tion at Markley farm or at the California site, the building of settling reservoirs, further investigation of the purification of the river water, together with other details. In May Gustave Bouscaren was chosen as chief engineer, and he finally submitted four questions for determination by the commission. The answers to these were to the effect that the daily capacity of the new plant should be of from eighty to ninety million gallons, that the pumping station should be at California, Ohio, that no high level reservoirs should be built and that the high service pumping station should be located on the west side of the Miami River. Shortly afterwards a committee consisting of Melville E. Ingalls, representing the Commercial Club; Henry C. Urner, the Optimist Club; W. J. Breed, Board of Trade; J. T. Carew, Chamber of Commerce; P. J. Cadwalader, Young Men's Business Club; and E. C. Goshorn, Manufacturers' Club, was accorded the privilege of attending the meetings of the trustees and examining plans and participating in the work. In July, 1897, George H. Benzenberg of Milwaukee and Charles Hermany of Louisville were appointed as consulting and advisory engineers. Finally in December the commission issued a statement to the public to the effect that they were working to provide for an abundant supply of pure and wholesome water, to limit the cost, and to consider not only original cost but cost of maintenance. The plans adopted covered an intake pier in the channel of the river near the Kentucky bank opposite California, tunnel beneath the river at that point, a low service pumping station, a double line of force mains, a system of subsiding reservoirs, a system adjacent thereto of filtration and a covered clear-well basin with a gravity conduit from this to the high service pumping station on Eastern avenue opposite Torrence road, which is to be equipped with necessary pumping machinery from which will run rising mains to the various distributing points at Eden Park. For the purpose of studying the European system of sand filtration and the American system of mechanical filtration, an experimental station at Eden Park was established. Shortly thereafter the contract for building pumping machinery, boilers, etc., was awarded and work was begun on the filtration plant in Eden Park. Proceedings for the condemnation of land were undertaken, which resulted in the acquisition of the necessary property at California at a cost of a little over $142,000. The filtration plant in Eden Park was put in operation and the results of the experiments finally published in a handsome volume covering over 600 pages. As a result of the investigation, George W. Fuller the chemist in charge concluded that it was practicable to clarify and purify the Ohio River water by either the so-called modified English system or the American system and that the latter was the least difficult to operate, cheaper and in general more advantageous. As a result in January, 1900, the mechanical system of filtration was adopted by the board. The work has been delayed from time to time by numerous suits and by the negotiations including those with the authorities of Campbell County, Kentucky, for the purchase of the right to the bed of the river under which the tunnel was to go. For this right it became necessary to pay the sum of $2,500 which in the judgment of the president of the commission was an outrageous price, which led him to denounce the action of the officials of our neighboring county in the strongest terms as unjust, unwarranted and uncalled for. Work has continued however with such rapidity that in the report of January, 1903, the board ventured the opinion that it will be completed and turned over to the proper authorities within 36 months. It has been found that the original estimate of the cost was too small and bond issues of $2,000,000 more have already been authorized. It is expected that the entire work will cost $10,000,000 but that as a result Cincinnati will have a system of water supply unsurpassed by any in the country.

THE PARKS.

The city has at various times had property offered to it for park purposes at prices which to-day seem ridiculously small. The original purpose of the donation for public use of the square bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Main and Walnut streets was never carried out. In 1802, when Fort Washington was abandoned, 12 acres owned by the government were offered to the city at $900 an acre to be paid at the end of 30 years. The proposition was rejected. In 1811 Nicholas Longworth suggested the acquirement of the out-lots between Seventh and Court streets, Broadway and Central avenue containing almost 100 acres at an average price of $600 an acre, the principal to remain at interest so long as the purchaser might desire. The proposition was hooted at in the Council and its projector ridiculed as a "crazy Jerseyman." It must be remembered that at that time Longworth did not own all the property and merely advanced the proposition

from his desire to ensure proper breathing space to the public and from a belief in the future growth of the city.

In 1818 Mr. Longworth again offered to the city 25 acres of land on Longworth street beyond Western row at $1,000 per acre on perpetual lease. The interest mentioned was to be used for paying his taxes. This offer was refused and thereupon the "crazy Jerseyman" offered to let the city have the property at a price named by any three disinterested persons. This too was rejected. Thereupon Longworth offered the ground to the city free of cost on condition that the authorities should fence it, lay out proper walks in it and cut down and grade the streets about it. He also agreed that assessors should be appointed to determine any benefits arising to his adjacent property and that the sum determined upon by them should be paid by him toward the expenses of improving the park. This proposition was also refused. In the same year (1818) James Ferguson offered 12 acres of ground at the corner of Sixth and Vine opposite the Mechanics' Institute building at a price to be named by disinterested viewers, the principal to be paid by crediting him each year with his taxes. This was also refused. A little later Mr. Ferguson laid out the squares from the canal west of Vine and offered to donate every other square to the city for park purposes if the latter would agree to fence them. This was also refused as being too expensive. This so angered Ferguson that he declared that if the city could not afford to take parks for nothing he would have them anyway and he thereupon gave a lot 200 feet square in each of the blocks between Vine, Elm, Canal and 12th streets, to the lot owners in these blocks.

At a later time Mr. Longworth proposed to sell to the city on perpetual lease any number of acres of ground west of Central avenue and north of Sixth street for $2,500 per acre, one-half of the interest money to be devoted to the poor in the Commercial Hospital and the balance to be paid to him either in cash or in receipts for taxes. This too was refused.

In 1834 William Barr, a very prominent citizen who had become temporarily embarrassed, offered to sell to the city 50 acres of ground west of Mound street at $2,000 per acre to be paid in 30 equal annual installments. A special meeting of the Council was called out of respect to Barr who was a member of the body at the time and a committee of three appointed to investigate the subject. That committee has not as yet reported. After Barr's death in 1837, his son-in-law William Van Horne offered to sell to the city 25 acres of ground near Seventh and Baymiller streets at $3,000 per acre to be paid in 15 yearly installments. This offer was refused and the following year the ground was subdivided and sold for about twice the sum asked.

Judge Burnet's property on the square between Third and Fourth and Race and Vine could have been had for $25,000. It was afterwards offered for $60,000 and again at about twice this amount but was each time refused. At a later time Burnet offered to sell part of the grounds adjacent to his residence on Seventh and Elm at $3,500 an acre or at a price to be fixed by a disinterested committee of assessors, the principal to be paid on any terms the city desired. This offer was also refused.

Mr. Longworth repeatedly offered various tracts to the city, not only owned by himself but other tracts (which he was willing to purchase) at prices below the real value of the property. He was a great believer in real estate not only for himself but for the city and was confident of the future prosperity of the place.

In 1832 he agitated the question of the ownership of the city of a square in possession of the First Presbyterian Church and Charles Hammond and Vachel Worthington, together with N. G. Pendleton and Mayor S. W. Davies, reported that the ground above mentioned belonged by right to the city. Nothing ever came of this matter as is well known. In 1836 Longworth obtained from Timothy Kirby, agent of the United States Bank, an offer to sell the square south of Eighth between Walnut and Vine for $40,470 and the square north of Eighth at this point for $53,480, the money to be paid in five yearly installments. Afterwards action was taken in the Council by which an offer was obtained for the squares east of the bank property at a little more than the amount asked by Kirby and George W. Jones offered to procure the square from Fourth to Fifth and from Walnut to Vine for $350,000. The subject of the purchase of these tracts for park purposes was submitted to the people in 1838 who voted against any such expenditure of money. At a second election in the same year the issue of $100,000 in bonds for park purposes was again defeated. From 1839 to 1847 Mr. Longworth made continuous propositions to the city officials offering ground for park purposes in almost any part of the city at any price and on any terms. In 1847 he published a long article calling attention to the mistakes made in the past and renewing a number of his offers, but stating that he knew

none of them would be accepted. He desired however to have his statement on file to show that he had not asked too much for the ground which one day the city would be glad to purchase at five, 10 or even 20 times the price.

Rufus King presented the memorial to the Council with his approval. It was ordered filed and that ended it.

At the time of the donation of the ground for the Observatory on Mount Adams, Mr. Longworth offered to give the city 76 acres adjoining if they would make certain improvements, such as grading, laying out walks, building fences, etc. Needless to say this offer was refused. At a little later time he offered to sell to the city 300 acres including the Garden of Eden at $1,000 an acre on perpetual lease,—one-half of the interest money to be devoted to assisting the poor under directions to be given in his will. It was feared once more that the wealthy Jerseyman was laying a trap for the city and this offer was refused. Then Longworth offered to sell 100 acres of the ground at $2,000 an acre, the principal to remain unpaid forever and three-fourths of the interest to be devoted to charity. The generosity of this offer convinced the city authorities of Longworth's selfish schemes and it was not accepted.

In 1857 Mr. Longworth offered any number of acres above 100, of the Garden of Eden property at $4,000 an acre, which he thought was about one-half of what the ground was actually worth. This offer was also rejected.

In 1851 a committee of the Council reported various offers for park purposes of land in the neighborhood of Catherine (Court) and Cutter streets at $25,000 an acre, diminishing toward Mill creek to $3,000 or $4,000 an acre. Judge McLean, John Baker, W. S. Groesbeck and others offered to donate 20 acres of ground, 500 yards northwest of the Pest House now Lincoln Park on condition that the city build a levee to prevent Mill creek from flowing over the land. The committee recommended the acceptance of this proposition. Another tract on Mount Auburn known as the Bigelow property and including 15 1/3 acres could be had for $3,000 an acre. Ten acres on Vine street hill were offered at $6,000 an acre and six and one-half acres on the same hill at $4,000 an acre with three and one-half acres adjoining the same at $3,000 an acre. Upon these last tracts of land the original forest trees were still standing. Three hundred acres in other tracts could be procured in the West End for a million dollars. The committee recommended the issuing of bonds to the amount of $2,000,000 payable in 20 years for the purchase of park property. The scheme fell through.

In 1849 George Hatch, afterwards mayor, in planning a subdivision in the northwest part of the city offered to donate a park 100 feet wide and 1,250 feet long for park purposes, provided the city would fence it and grade the streets passing on both sides of it. The proposition was received with so much ridicule by the Council that Mr. Hatch withdrew it. In 1854 part of the home farm of Caleb Kemper, a tract of almost 20 acres, was offered for $40,000. As ground was selling in the neighborhood for from $10,000 to $25,000 an acre this offer was supposed to be a generous one but it was refused. So much for the wisdom of the city fathers.

The city is at present the owner of six parks. In addition to these parks may be included the ground lying around the old Third Street Reservoir which under the control of the water works department is expected to become a part of the park department of the city. The oldest of the parks is the so-called Garfield Park which in two tracts extends through the middle of Eighth street from Elm to Vine including in its limits approximately an acre. This park is about on the site of two of the old embankments or ancient remains which were found here at the time of the earliest settlement. On April 9, 1817, John H. Piatt and Benjamin M. Piatt gave this land to the city for a market space. It seems never to have been used for any considerable length of time for this purpose. It certainly was used for park purposes as early as April 6, 1843, for at that time an ordinance was passed to protect it as a park. This ordinance provided a penalty for breaking or in any manner injuring the fence "which encloses the ground on Eighth street between Vine and Elm streets known as the park" and also for injuring any of the trees included within it. Within a very few years previous to this time this tract had been marked on the maps as the new market space. Five years later an ordinance was passed to protect the so-called public squares laid out by James Ferguson in the blocks lying between Canal, 12th, Elm and Vine streets. These so-called Ferguson Parks frequently referred to as Reagan Park have never become a part of the park system and in fact are simply breathing spaces for the occupants of lots abutting on them. On June 19, 1868, an ordinance was passed dedicating the so-called Eighth Street Park for park purposes. At the intersection of Eighth and Race streets midway between the east and west portion of the park stands the great Garfield

statue executed by Charles H. Niehaus, the Cincinnati sculptor. At the eastern terminus of the park on Vine street stands the equestrian statue of William Henry Harrison "Ohio's First President," executed by Louis T. Robisso.

Lincoln Park is a 10-acre tract on the west side of Freeman avenue between Hopkins and Kenner streets. This property in 1829 was purchased by the township for $2,000 from J. D. Garrard and Sarah Belle Garrard. Five years later six acres of it were conveyed to the city in exchange for the south half of out-lot 53, the out-lot at 12th and Elm and in 1837 the remaining four acres were conveyed to the city in exchange for the north half of the lot. The right was reserved to the building known as the Orphan Asylum which was thereafter used as the Pest House and the ground was used as a potter's field for the poor of the city and township. This was continued for some 20 years until in 1857 the neighborhood became too central for such purposes and serious complaints of abutting property holders resulted in the removal of the Pest House outside of the city limits and the conversion of the land into a park known as Lincoln Park.

On September 23, 1818, the city purchased from Jesse Embree for $3,200 out-lot 53 on the west side of Elm street beyond 12th. This property was subsequently given in exchange for the land comprising Lincoln Park and thereafter was used for many years as the site of the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum. A four-story building 64 by 54 feet was erected and the asylum remained here for 30 years. On January 29, 1859, this property was purchased by the city for $150,000. It was acquired for park purposes. The Orphan Asylum building was used for a time for exposition purposes and at a later time the German National Saengerfest was permitted to erect their building on this park land. This building was purchased by the city in November, 1870, and the old Orphan Asylum building sold. The Saengerfest building and this park (known as the Elm Street Park) were used for exposition and similar purposes until 1876 at which time the ground was turned over to the Music Hall Association.

The first ground was purchased for what is now Washington Park in 1858. At this time the Episcopal Burying Ground lying between 12th, 14th, Race and Elm streets and the First Presbyterian Burying Ground on 12th between Race and Elm were purchased by the city, the first for $38,000 and the second for $85,000. In 1863 the church property on Elm street belonging to the United Protestant Evangelical German congregation was purchased for $15,050, making the total cost of the land occupied by Washington Park $138,050. This park which is on the north side of 12th street extending from Race to Elm street includes five and six-hundredths acres. In it is a large aerolite which has been pierced for a supply of drinking water and also statues of Generals Robert L. McCook and Frederick Hecker. This park has been used from time to time for the temporary buildings of the expositions and also by the Fall Festival Association.

In 1866 Lewis H. Hopkins presented to the city an acre of land on Mount Auburn at Auburn and Saunders streets for park purposes, which is known as Hopkins Park.

Eden Park, now 200.25 acres in extent, was acquired by purchase from a very large number of persons and in 1869 the principal tracts incorporated into this park were leased from Nicholas Longworth, Washington McLean, John Bates and Joseph Whittaker at rentals aggregating almost $45,000 a year. Other tracts were purchased in 1866 and 1868 and one tract had been purchased as far back as 1859 from J. S. G. Burt. In 1880 and 1881 the leased grounds were purchased by the city. The so-called Columbia avenue purchases were made in 1893. The total cost of the land covered by Eden Park was $851,913 and the amount expended upon this park in the shape of rents, improvements and maintenance of this park to December, 1901, was $815,014.81. In this park is the reservoir of the City Water Works holding 100,000,000 gallons of water and valued at four and one quarter millions. The water tower, completed in 1894 at a cost of $135,000, located in this same park attains the height of 172 feet. Here also are the Art Museum and Art Academy and on Sunday afternoons the public concerts paid from the Schmidlapp fund. This park has been improved according to the best methods of landscape art and is in itself a scene of remarkable beauty with views over the river and the valleys about it that cannot be surpassed.

In August, 1871, Robert W. Burnet and W. S. Groesbeck submitted to the city a proposition to lease a certain tract of land known as the Burnet Woods for park purposes. The

proposition after some negotiation was accepted and on October 19, 1872, the tract containing 163½ acres was leased to the city for the full term of 99 years, renewable forever for the yearly sum of $29,430. The city reserved the right to purchase the whole or any part of the property at $3,000 an acre. This right was afterwards exercised in July, 1881, and $490,500 was paid for this park. The amount paid for rent, improvements and maintenance of Burnet Woods Park to December, 1901, was $256,355.68. Here are located the University buildings and on Saturday afternoons in the summer time are given the public concerts paid from the Groesbeck fund.

The total cost of the parks described above, including the cost of the land, improvements, rents and maintenance so far as can be ascertained before December, 1901, is estimated at $4,232,219.68. At the moment of writing steps are being taken to extend largely the park system of the city.

The parks are at present under the control of the Board of Public Service and a superintendent of parks, Brian P. Critchell.

TRUSTEES OF THE SINKING FUND.

Before the constitution of 1851, many of the so-called charters of the city of Cincinnati contained provisions authorizing the borrowing of money. These acts required provision for interest but provided in general terms only for redemption. In some of the ordinances passed by the Council provision was made in a way for the sinking fund. For instance, an ordinance of May 27, 1831, applied the yearly revenue of the city from wharves and coffee houses to such a fund and further provided that after 30 years $10,000 annually from the revenues should be invested in a sinking fund and pledged the faith of the city that this fund should not be diverted. Again in 1834 another loan ordinance made provision for an annual tax for interest and the setting apart of from $10,000 to $20,000 a year to be invested in stock to pay the principal when due and appointed two commissioners to look after the matter. Other ordinances and generally those relating to school loans contained pledges of a tax to pay interest and finally redemption. All others simply pledged the faith and property of the city. The sinking fund, however, received but little special attention although the principal debts have either long since been paid or are represented in the bonds now outstanding. After 1851 the matter of sinking funds received special legislative attention. The act of 1852 for the organization of cities provided for a tax for such a fund and this provision with amendments is still the law. The code of 1869 made but little change in this special feature, adopting the sections of the previous code. Other changes were made in 1871 and in 1880 and as the law now stands a levy is provided for and the fund created thereby can be used only for the extinguishing of the city's debts. A city ordinance of July, 1856, appointed the mayor, auditor and a council committee, "Commissioners of the Sinking Fund" and made it their duty to suggest measures to meet maturing debt and purchase the city bonds nearest maturity but not above the market price or par value but to make no purchase until after the Council had appropriated the necessary funds and the fund was to remain on deposit with the other city funds. On May 3, 1877, an act was passed providing for the appointment of Trustees of the Sinking Fund by the Superior Court and Aaron F. Perry, James H. Laws, Joseph Longworth, Lewis Seasongood and William F. Thorne constituted the first board. This board which continued until the adoption of the code of 1902 has had as members, in addition to those mentioned, Julius Dexter, William S. Groesbeck, John E. Bell, Larz Anderson, Charles P. Taft, Thornton M. Hinkle, Julius Freiberg, James M. Glenn, Franklin Alter, Francis H. Baldwin and John V. Scarborough, and needless to say it has supremely justified its existence. By the act creating it, the trustees were charged with the management of the city's debt and finances and under their control were placed all sinking fund balances and assets. The board took charge of the debt and was required to certify annually the rate of tax necessary to provide a sinking fund for the future payment of city bonds and to pay certain judgments against the city (this rate not to exceed one mill), and also the rate necessary to pay interest and such levy as might be necessary to provide a sinking fund for the final redemption of the Cincinnati Southern Railway bonds and required the Council to levy the rates so certified without change. The act further provided for the investment of the moneys in

SAUSAGE ROW FROM SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

RACE STREET LOOKING NORTH FROM FRONT STREET.

LOWER MARKET LOOKING EAST FROM SYCAMORE.

THE FLOOD OF 1884.

bonds of the United States, Ohio, Cincinnati, Toledo or Columbus, giving the preference to Cincinnati bonds, and that no bonds of the city should be offered for sale until they had been offered to the trustees at par and they had declined to take them. All bonds of the city thus purchased beyond the amount of $75,000 should be canceled and could not be reissued and the interest coupons were payable only to the sinking fund. The board also has supervisory powers over the city departments and officers.

"The practical result of the trust as administered in Cincinnati is simply to reduce the debt. The trustees have nothing which can be used to pay bonds that may be presented beyond the amount of cash that may be on hand. As, for example, at the close of business on December 31, 1897, the fund proper held in cash was $393,313.84. This can be used. The securities then amounted to $8,523,220.30, but these can not be used because they are city bonds, all but $75,000 of which are required to be stamped 'canceled.'

"But were it not for the trust this great body of bonds would be still outstanding and the city debt would be 34½ millions instead of about 27 millions.

"The first annual report of the trustees contained a statement of the condition of the debt of the city on January 1, 1878. The results of their work during the twenty years may be grouped into a general statement in which I use round figures only. The increase in outstanding bonds has been slightly over two millions, while the increase in the holdings of the sinking fund has been nearly eight millions.

"And it should be added that this statement does not include payments at maturity of many bonds which had been issued and redeemed within the twenty years." (Thornton M. Hinkle, Sinking Funds; paper read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, January 1, 1898.)

According to the report of the trustees for the year 1902 the net bonded debt of the city of Cincinnati at the end of that year was $26,582,000 and the interest payable in the year 1902 was $1,200,940. Of this bonded debt $6,485,000 were Southern Railway bonds maturing in 1906, 1908, 1909, and bearing interest at six, seven and seven and three-tenths percent. During the year 1902, $494,000 seven percent and $7,611,000 seven and three-tenths percent bonds matured and to meet them $7,810,000 Consolidated Sinking Fund bonds were issued bearing three and one-half percent interest; these were redeemable in 30 years and payable in 50 years. By this transaction alone the city more than cut the interest on $8,000,000 in half. The largest purchase of the year 1902 by the sinking fund was that of the Southern Railway Terminal issue of three and one-half percent, in amount $500,000. There were called during the year three issues of four percent bonds still with 10 years to run, in amount $644,500, and the total purchases for the year including the terminal bonds already mentioned amounted to $838,000, so that practically the total bonds extinguished by maturity, call and purchase were $9,592,500 as against the new issue of $8,848,800, a net decrease of $744,500 indebtedness without refernce to the saving in the rate of interest. The annual interest charge on January 1, 1902, less interest on bonds called, was $1,523,982. The total interest charge for 1903 was $1,200,940 showing a decrease in interest of $323,042. There were held in the sinking fund at that time bonds and cash uninvested to the amount of a little over a million dollars so that the net liability of the city was $25,429,763.05. Of the total debt of the city, $18,300,000 represents the original amount invested in the Cincinnati Southern Railway,—reduced by refunding purchase, etc., to $16,353,000,—and $500,000 in the new terminal facilities and $2,925,000 represents the amount expended upon the new water works improvement.

Under the code of 1902 provision was made for a Board of Trustees of the Sinking Fund to be composed of four citizens not more than two of whom should belong to the same political party and who should be appointed by the mayor. This board succeeds the old board and has very much the same powers as those possessed by that board except that it is not limited quite so much in the character of its investments. It also constitutes the Board of Tax Commissioners whose duty it is upon levies made by the Council to consider the same and within 10 days to return the same to the Council for approval or rejection with reasons in case of rejection. This power of veto extends to parts as well as to the whole and can be overruled by a three-fourths vote of the Council. Under this act Mayor Fleisch-

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RACE STREET LOOKING NORTH FROM FRONT STREET.

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bonds of the United States, Ohio, Cincinnati, Toledo or Columbus, giving the preference to Cincinnati bonds, and that no bonds of the city should be offered for sale until they had been offered to the trustees at par and they had declined to take them. All bonds of the city thus purchased beyond the amount of $75,000 should be canceled and could not be reissued and the interest coupons were payable only to the sinking fund. The board also has supervisory powers over the city departments and officers.

"The practical result of the trust as administered in Cincinnati is simply to reduce the debt. The trustees have nothing which can be used to pay bonds that may be presented beyond the amount of cash that may be on hand. So, for example, at the close of business on December 31, 1897, the fund proper held in cash was $[illegible]. This can be used. The securities then amounted to $[illegible], but these can not be used because they are city bonds, all but $[illegible] of which are required to be stamped 'canceled.'

"But were it not for the trust this great body of bonds would be still outstanding and the city debt would be [illegible] millions instead of about 27 millions.

"The first annual report of the trustees contained a statement of the condition of the debt of the city on January 1, 1878. The results of their work during the twenty years may be grouped into a general statement in which I use round figures only. The increase in outstanding bonds has been slightly over [illegible] millions, while the increase in the holdings of the sinking fund has been nearly eight millions.

"And it should be noted that this statement does not include payments at maturity of many bonds which had been issued and redeemed within the twenty years." ([illegible] W. [illegible], Sinking Fund, paper read before the Cincinnati Country Club, January [illegible] 1898.)

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mann appointed to these two boards: Charles P. Taft, C. H. Kellogg, George W. Harris and Thornton M. Hinkle for terms expiring in 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907. The clerk of the board is Louis Carroll.

The annual report for 1903 shows that the levies made in 1903 for 1904 expenditures are upon a total valuation of $215,942,390, as against $211,347,880 of the previous year. The new bonds issued during the year aggregated $2,275,500, and the additional bonds assumed by the city as the result of the annexations aggregated $481,084.04. Of the new issue, $1,500,000 was for water works improvement, $500,000 for Southern Railway terminals and $100,000, hospital bonds. The gross bonded debt of the city December 31, 1903, was $32,884,142.43. The net liability of the city on the same date was $28,292,561.02. This includes assessments, debts,—$1,179,671.06,—of which all but $317,179.41 are held by the Trustees of the Sinking Fund. Omitting the Southern Railway and new water works debt to date and sinking fund investments, the liability of the city on January 1, 1904, was $7,082,861.02.

SOME FIGURES ABOUT THE CITY FINANCES.

An interesting comparison of figures can be made with relation to the values of taxable property, of which a very complete record has been kept for more than three-fourths of a century. In 1826 the total valuation of taxable property in Cincinnati was $3,157,392, of which as has always been the case realty furnished by far the greater amount, $2,335,456, and personalty, $821,936. By 1835 these valuations had about doubled and about trebled by 1845. The population in 1830 was 28,831, in 1835 estimated at 31,000, in 1840 a little over 46,000 and in 1846 estimated at 82,167, showing an increase of wealth a little more rapid than that in population. The total valuation in 1846 was almost ten millions, of which about six and a half million dollars was made up of realty and three and a half millions of personalty. In 1847 the valuation increased over twenty-seven millions, realty jumping from a little over six milions to about twenty-eight millions and personalty from a little less than three and a half million dollars to over nine millions, making a total valuation of thirty-seven milions. The increase in population for this period was estimated at a little over 8,000. By 1854 the valuations had again more than doubled, exceeding eighty-seven million dollars of which fifty-eight millions was realty and twenty-nine millions personalty. Just prior to the beginning of the war, in 1860 with a population of 161,044 the aggregate valuation was a little over ninety-three millions, two-thirds of which was realty. The one hundred million mark was passed in 1863 and during the next few years the increase was quite rapid. By 1870 when the population was 216,239 the aggregate valuation of taxable property was one hundred and thirty-six millions, of which about seventy-nine millions was realty and fifty-seven millions personalty. During the 10 following years in seven there was a decrease of valuations so that in 1880 the total valuation was one hundred and sixty-seven and a half million dollars of which one hundred and thirty millions was realty and thirty-seven and a half personalty. This was but little more than half the valuation of personalty in the middle "sixties." Despite the lower valuation of this year the total taxes levied exceeded those of any preceding year with the exception of one (1877), being a little over five millions and the tax rate for 1880 rose in consequence to the third highest point it has ever reached,—$3.10 per hundred. During the decade ending 1890 valuations almost recovered their former high point. In that year, at which time the population was 296,908, the total valuation was one hundred and seventy-eight million dollars of which a trifle over one hundred and thirty-seven millions was realty, the highest valuation with one exception (1882) as yet attained, and forty and a half millions was personalty, still far below any of the valuations of the "sixties." In 1900 the total valuation was $206,481,790, of which $164,311,260 was realty; the personalty was $42,170,530, less than two-thirds of the valuations for 1866 and 1867. In 1902 the total valuation was $211,347,880 of which $169,369,040 was realty and $41,978,840, personalty. The valuation of the realty in the years 1901-02 far exceeded that of any preceding years while the valuation of the personalty was about equal in amount to the personalty valuations in the early "sixties" and about two-thirds of the valuations from 1865 to 1875. The first serious drop in personalty was in 1867 but this was quickly overcome by the increase two years later. During the "seventies" the decrease was considerable and in 1882 it was about thirteen million dollars.

There was a recovery a year later and since 1883 the tendency in personalty valuation has been downward rather than upward; this certainly is a remarkable commentary on the efficacy of our tax laws.

The rate of taxation in 1826 was 65 cents on the hundred dollars, four years later it became $1.10. It did not pass the two dollar mark until 1837, when the rate was $2.10. In 1842 it was $3.00. The tremendous increase in the valuation, which took place in 1847, lowered the taxes from $2.95 to 95 cents and the rate remained below $2.00 until 1864, when it became $2.02. The maximum rate was reached in 1869; in that year the rate was $3.19 and the year following $3.16. Another great increase of over forty-five million dollars made by the increased valuation of real estate from seventy-nine to one hundred and twenty-three and a half millions reduced the rate to $2.22. As already stated, in 1880 it again reached the high point of $3.10. The following year the amount of taxes levied was lowered from a little over five to three and a half million dollars and the rate was $2.22. The highest rate since that date was in 1894, when it was $2.832. The rate of taxation has gradually been lowered since that time until in 1902 it was $2.318 and in 1903 $2.270 on a total valuation of $215,942,390. The total taxes levied for the year 1902 were $4,899,043.86. (City Auditor's Annual Report 1902, p. 758.)

Of the taxes levied in 1904, 4.39 mills on the dollar were for education, 11.93 mills for city purposes, 1.35 mills for State purposes and 5.51 mills for county purposes.

The estimated product of the duplicate (estimated at $215,000,000) for corporate and school purposes for 1903 was $3,505,175 which, with receipts other than by taxation, including estimated balances of 1902, made a total allowance for maintenance of city departments for 1903 of $6,985,754.55. Of this, $1,092,689 comes under the head of Board of Education and $1,197,500 under that of interest and rents. General estimates including contingent fund expenses of the Board of Public Service, electrician, engineer, mayor, Free Public Employment Office, city auditor, city treasurer, corporation counsel, city clerk, Board of Legislation, justices of the peace, Police Court, supervising engineer, City Hall, Board of Elections, inspector of buildings, stationery storekeeper, wharfage, Board of Supervisors, superintendent track elevation and subways and miscellaneous expenses amounted to $494,146.18. A large amount of this fund comes from sources other than taxation on the general duplicate, such as the Dow tax, cigarette tax, street railroad car licenses and the Russell license receipts. Other large items are the water works, $894,825; watch, $597,000; fire, $500,000; street cleaning, $235,000; street repairing, $120,000; light, $354,000; trunk sewer, $222,592.15, and sinking fund, $537,500. (Anual Report of Board of Supervisors, 1902, p. 507.)

The actual receipts for the year 1902, as shown by the auditor's report, were $7,874,056.38 and the actual expenditures for that year $8,578,145.52. This was in excess of receipts, which left a balance at the end of the year of $1,154,682.39.

The ordinary expenses, which included operation and maintenance with the items of general government, protection of life, health and property, public service, public education, public interest and certain unclassified items, were $5,883,203.10. The extraordinary expenses, including construction, divided under headings of protection of life, health and property, public service, public education and public indebtedness, were $2,389,691.91. Trust funds including University, Firemen's Pension, Police Relief and Groesbeck endowments, as well as expenditures by virtue of certain donations and from the sale of fire and police bonds, aggregated $305,250.51. The total expenditures under the heading of general government, which includes the legislative, executive and judicial departments, to-wit: Council, mayor, auditor, treasurer, solicitor, Sinking Fund Trustees and Board of Elections, as well as the Police, justice and Superior courts, amounted to $176,248.68. Ordinary expenditures for protection of life, health and property, including the Department of Public Safety, Board of Health and Bureau of Inspection, aggregated $1,121,008.53. Public service, including the Board of Public Service, public charity and correction, public ways, public institutions, public parks and public buildings and lands, aggregated for ordinary expenses, $2,058,113.16. The extraordinary expenses under this head aggregated $1,479,841.79, of which $1,072,384.71 was for municipal water works, over $200,000 for street paving and repairing, in addition to about $200,000 for the same purpose classed under ordinary expenses, and a little more than $135,000 for sewers, etc., in addition to about $39,000 classed under ordinary expenses. Public education, including the schools and the University, aggregated to $621,528.09, with an item of extraordinary expendi-

tures of $15,970. Under the heading public indebtedness, as part of the extraordinary expenditures, is the item of payments into the sinking fund from the city treasury of $885,880.12. The item of public interest refers to the payment of interest upon the funded debt, amounting to $1,867,381.58.

The total assets in the sinking fund are given as $5,162,072.05, and the bonded indebtedness of the city as $31,226,256.62, making an excess of debt of $26,064,184.57. Of these bonds, $27,021,452.64 are under the heading for general municipal purposes, $945,303.98 for special assessments, $3,187,000 for water works and $72,500 for electric plant. The fixed assets of the city are valued at $50,863,653.98. Of this, $30,000,000 is the estimated valuation of the Cincinnati Southern Railway and $10,000,000 of the water works. The parks, including land and equipment, are valued at $2,575,000, the City Hall at $2,500,000, wharves at $1,500,000, hospitals $500,000, Library $250,000, infirmaries $300,000, Work House and House of Refuge $250,000, and markets and equipment at $300,000. The University, Observatory and equipment are valued at $1,236,068.01. The fire department, land, buildings and equipment, $1,308,085.97, and the police, land, buildings and equipment $143,000. Using these figures as a basis and subtracting from them the total net debts of the city ($23,370,416.66), leaves a balance in the city's favor of $27,493,237.32.

The report of the inspector of buildings shows that during the year 1902 permits for new buildings, alterations and repairs numbered 2,571, involving an expenditure of $4,069,585. Among these buildings are many office and manufacturing buildings, three being of the fireproof skyscraper class.

THE SEWERS.

But little had been done in the matter of providing a proper system of sewerage until the year 1851. In 1828 a committee of Council, consisting of Bellamy Storer and Lewis Howell, had reported to the Council certain letters received from the authorities of New York, Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia, with reference to the systems in use in those cities, but nothing further seems to have been done subsequent to the report. On January 15, 1851, H. Daniels proposed to the Council investigations on the subject of sewers and public buildings of Paris and London for a compensation at the rate of $2,000 a year, but his proposition was rejected. During the following month another proposition was made by B. Hazart, which was laid on the table. On March 5, 1851, T. R. Scowden, the engineer of the water works, who was about to visit the World's Fair at Paris, offered to investigate the subject of sewerage in London, Paris and other cities and a committee, consisting of the city civil engineer and the grade committee of the Council, was appointed to prepare specifications.

Mr. Scowden finally presented an elaborate report, accompanied by many works on the subject. On July 13, 1853, the city civil engineer made a topographical survey of the city with a view to provide for thorough drainage and sewerage of the city. This was made and a very complete report returned. It was not until October 2, 1863, that a resolution was adopted in accordance with an act of April 14, 1861, providing for a thorough and complete system of sewerage. On April 1, 1864, a resolution of the Council established the first sewerage division embracing the lower part of the city south of Sixth street and between Eggleston avenue and Sixth street and the following year the improvement of this division commenced with the sewering of Walnut street and its laterals. There were at that time sewers in Sycamore, Main, Walnut and Vine streets from the river to Pearl street, in Race, Elm and Plum to Water street, the Deer creek sewer with its laterals, Court street, Sycamore, Main and Ninth streets in the East End. In the West End was the Laurel alley and Sloo street sewer, the Wade street sewer with its extension through Green and Henry streets, the Clark street sewer, the Betts and the 14th street sewer and the Harrison avenue sewer from Bogen street west.

By 1866 there were 26 miles of sewers in the city. The Board of Commissioners of Sewers created in accordance with the code of 1869 began operations a year later, and in a short time 17 miles of sewers were laid. In 1872 the great Eggleston avenue sewer was constructed at a cost of over $500,000, and about the same time was built the McLean avenue sewer. At the end of that year there were 33 miles of sewers in the city. Lick Run sewer was built in 1890-91 and Badgeley Run sewer came in 1895. The building of sewers has continued each year, until at the end of 1903 the total city sewers constructed aggregated about 240 miles in extent.

THE STREETS.

In 1902 the total number of miles of avenues, streets and alleys in the city was 640.00; of these

390.90 were improved. The greatest number of miles was included under classification of macadamized avenues, etc.; of these there were 163.5 miles. Boulevards covered 65.4 miles, granite 47.5 miles, brick 45 miles, asphalt 26.5 and limestone 8 miles of avenues, streets and alleys. There were also 31 miles of macadamized roads and four miles of graveled roads. The total number of miles of brick sidewalks in the city aggregated 400.57, artificial stone 187.63 and plank 138.67. The miles of gas mains in operation were 387.33.

THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AND ITS OCCUPANTS.

The old Government Building and the land at the corner of Fourth and Vine were sold March 24, 1874, to the Chamber of Commerce for the sum of $100,000. The building, at that time considered one of the most beautiful in the city, was donated by the Chamber of Commerce to the Art Museum Association for the purpose of being reerected in Eden Park. Reuben R. Springer and David Sinton offered to donate the necessary funds. The project was found to be impracticable and was abandoned. The postmasters who occupied the building were James J. Faran, succeeded in 1859 by Dr. J. L. Vattier, who in turn was succeeded in 1861 by John C. Baum. In 1864 Fred J. Mayer became postmaster and served two years. The next postmaster was W. H. H. Taylor and after him Calvin W. Thomas. In 1869 Thomas H. Foulds became postmaster and served five years. His successor was Gustav R. Wahle, appointed in 1874. John P. Loge succeeded him in 1878, to be succeeded in turn four years later by Smith A. Whitfield. It was during Whitfield's administration that the Post Office was removed to the Government Building on Fifth street, between Main and Walnut. The ground for this building, purchased in 1873, cost $696,712 and the building itself, which occupied 11 years in building, cost $4,553,288. It is built of Maine and Missouri granite, five stories high with basement and sub-basement, with a frontage of 398 feet and a depth of 192.6 feet. It is supposed to be absolutely fireproof.

The Post Office is on the ground floor. The successor to Mr. Whitfield in the Post Office was John C. Riley, who was appointed by President Cleveland, in April, 1886. He was succeeded by John Zumstein, the appointee of President Harrison. Charles Edgar Brown was his successor and gave way in turn at the expiration of his term to the present incumbent, Capt. E. R. Monfort.

The post office inspector in charge of this division, which includes Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, is W. J. Vickery.

The United States courts are also located in this building, occupying the third floor. The personnel of the courts has been given.

The building also contains the offices of Amor Smith, Jr., surveyor of customs and custodian; C. A. Bosworth, assistant United States Treasurer; Bernhard Bettmann, collector of internal revenue; George H. Kolker, United States appraiser; Maj. E. H. Ruffner and Col. G. J. Lydecker, United States engineers; O. T. Holloway, superintendent railway mail service; S. S. Bassler, in charge of the United States Weather Bureau; Michael P. Bolan, secret service agent; and numerous other government officials.

CHAPTER LI.

CINCINNATI OF RECENT DAYS

THE CENSUS OF 1880 — THE CONVENTION OF 1880 — THE FLOODS OF 1883 AND 1884 — THE RIOTS OF 1884 — THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED — THE RAILROAD LABOR RIOTS — THE OWEN LAW — CENTENNIAL YEAR — THE CENSUS OF 1890 — THE A. R. U. STRIKE — THE STREET CAR ROUTES — THE INCLINED PLANES — THE HILLTOP RESORTS — THE SPANISH WAR — THE G. A. R. ENCAMPMENT — THE JUBILEE SAENGERFEST — THE FALL FESTIVALS — NEW BUILDINGS — THE CENSUS OF 1900 — THE INDUSTRIES OF 1902.

THE CENSUS OF 1880.

The population of Cincinnati according to the census of 1880 was 255,139, an increase of almost 40,000 for the 10 years. The taxable value of real estate was $129,956,980, an increase of $51,220,498 over the valuation of 1870, or if comparison be made with the revised list of 1871 of the Decennial Board of Equalization an increase of $6,529,097. The value of personalty, as a result of the return to a hard money basis and the depreciation in prices, continued to decline. The levy of 1880 was on a valuation of $37,578,376, a decrease of about one-third of the valuation of 10 years before.

The most significant event at the opening of the new decade was the passage of the first through train over the Cincinnati Southern Railway from Cincinnati to Chattanooga, which occurred on March 8th. The completion of the road was celebrated by the wonderful Southern Railway Banquet given to 3,000 Southerners at Music Hall March 17th. A panic in Music Hall in February, which occurred during the performance of a magician, resulted in the trampling and serious injury of 15 women and children. In June the affairs of the old street railroad company were wound up and the new street railroad company took charge of the street railroads of the city. During this year the Bell and Edison telephone exchanges were consolidated. During this month as well, the two evening newspapers, the *Times* and the *Star* consolidated under the name of the *Times-Star*. In September, Charles W. West proposed to contribute the sum of $150,000 to the founding of an art museum upon conditions which were finally complied with and on October 9th it was announced that the necessary sum amounting to over $200,000 had been raised.

THE CONVENTION OF 1880.

Cincinnati was once more honored by a national convention in the year 1880, when the Democratic party selected its candidates in this city. The principal question prior to the meeting of the convention was the probability of the candidacy of Governor Tilden. Tammany opposed him bitterly and besides it was thought that his patriotic acquiescence in the results of the canvass of 1876 might injure his candidacy. His name was therefore withdrawn before the convention met and the contest narrowed down to Gen. Winfield S. Hancock and Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, supposed to be Tilden's choice. There was hesitation at the start however and Randall's name was not presented until the second ballot, when it was too late to stop the movement towards Hancock. This convention was treated to a fine display of oratory and the speech of Daniel Dougherty presenting the name

of Hancock to the convention was recognized as one of the finest of its class. It is said that he did not prepare it until within a few moments before he was selected to present the name. On the first ballot the candidates who received votes were: Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania (171), Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware (153½), Henry B. Payne of Ohio (81), Allen G. Thurman of Ohio (68½), Stephen J. Field of California (65), William R. Morrison of Illinois (62), Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana (50½), Samuel J. Tilden of New York (38), Horatio Seymour of New York (8) and three scattering. When Randall's name was presented on the second ballot, he received 128½ votes but Hancock had already advanced to 320 and it was apparent that the contest was over. Delegations began to change their votes and as a result Hancock received 705, Hendricks 30, Bayard 2 and Tilden 1. William H. English of Indiana was nominated for the vice-presidency against Mayor Richard M. Bishop of Cincinnati.

Among the distinguished visitors of this year were Charles Stewart Parnell the Irish agitator, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler and Roscoe Conkling. The deaths of the year included those of ex-Mayor Robert M. Moore, John Short the millionaire, George M. Herancourt the oldest brewer in the city, William M. Corry, Thomas LeBoutillier, Dr. P. B. Aydelott, Philip Hinkle, E. D. Mansfield, Peter Zinn and Oliver Perin.

Early in the year 1881 a company of Cincinnati capitalists was formed to introduce the electric light, and nightly a specimen of this light flashed from the front of the *Commercial* office. Other important events of the year were the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the preliminary steps for the building of the Central Union Depot. The new Little Miami depot was completed during this year. Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar on the site of the southwest blockhouse of Fort Washington was torn down in February to make way for the Lorraine flat building. An opera festival at Music Hall held in February of this year presented a number of operas on a magnificent scale. The Metropolitan National Bank, the Security Insurance Company, the Union National Bank and the Exchange National Bank were added to the financial institutions of the city at this time. The Queen City National Bank came the next year. This latter year was also remarkable for a notable religious revival. The Reverend "Boy Preacher" Harrison held daily meetings for three months and succeeded it is said in making nearly 3,000 converts.

The death of Dr. J. L. Vattier, which occurred January 13, 1881, renewed the interest in the Last Man Club, of which he was the last survivor. Dr. Vattier for many years was a most prominent and useful citizen.

In 1882 there was a renewal of the Sunday closing agitation, as a result of which a well known citizen was convicted and sentenced to the Work House. The sentence was suspended upon the promise to obey the law. One or two Sundays in the early part of May were noteworthy for the fact that the saloons were practically closed throughout the city. The agitation, however, soon passed by and matters once more took their usual course.

As a result of the passage of the Pond bill which was afterwards declared unconstitutional the Democrats carried the spring election.

During this year were held the National Forestry Congress and the meeting of the American Library Association, which were attended by many prominent men from all parts of the country.

A noteworthy event was the dinner held on April 26th of this year in honor of Col. George Ward Nichols. There was also a farewell dinner in May to Judge Alphonso Taft, who had been appointed U. S. Minister to Austria. Rufus King presided at both of these dinners.

The year 1883 was a great flood year and the river in February passed the high water mark and made a record which surpassed all previous ones and was itself surpassed a year later.

THE FLOODS OF 1883 AND 1884.

The Ohio River from the day of its earliest recorded history has been subject to rapid rises which cover at times large parts of its valley. The very character of its formation contributes to this result. Its sources and feeders, the Allegheny and Monongahela with their tributaries the Cheat River, the Youghiogheny and numerous other streams of less importance, are said to drain a territory of 20,000 square miles. A large part of this territory is a mountainous country, which during a great part of the winter is covered by snow. When the spring thaws come, the melting snows and the early spring rains sweep an immense volume of water into the channel of the Ohio with most disastrous results. The improvement of the river within historic times has had a tendency to narrow its channel so that one writer calls it simply a canal bed. This narrowing of the channel has made the river more than ever of insufficient capacity to respond to the sudden demands made upon it in the spring.

From this cause it has come to pass that each year in the late winter and early spring the matter of floods in the Ohio is one of anxious inquiry.

Cincinnati is so located as to feel very seriously the effects of any sudden rising of the waters. The front of the city along the river has in the course of time been smoothed down so as to form a gradual descent but towards the west and about the mouth of Mill creek the land lies so low as to permit the back water from the Ohio to extend miles up into the inhabited territory, at times cutting the city in two and frequently stopping railroad traffic which comes down this valley.

The great floods have been referred to from time to time in the course of this book but the floods of 1883 and 1884 so far surpassed in their magnitude and consequence all those that had preceded them as to make them the occasion of special consideration and of comparison with their predecessors.

The Indians had many traditions with regard to the Ohio waters. It will be remembered that in June, 1773, the McAfee brothers in their journeyings down the Ohio in search of a settlement opposite the mouth of the Licking found the river at that point full from bluff to bluff. Ignorant of the unusual character of this rise they abandoned the projected site of their settlement and finally went to Kentucky where they became very distinguished pioneers. Tradition has it that the flood at this time was 12 feet higher than the floods of 1832 and 1847 which would have made it three feet higher than the great one of 1884 but this is not generally accepted as true. The Indians measured this flood by a mark on a tree which stood below the subsequent site of Fort Washington.

The winter of the settlement of the Miami country was remarkable for its great floods. Judge Symmes, it will be remembered, spoke of the high waters, higher than at any date since 1773, "being several feet higher than had been known since the white people introduced themselves into Kentucky." At Columbia he found the place under water with but one house projecting above the floods. The soldiers had been driven into the lofts of their blockhouse from which they had to be taken in boats.

In 1792 came another flood which flooded the entire bottom to the average depth of five feet and drove many of the inhabitants from their houses. In March of the following year the plain below the Hill was again inundated and in the same month 12 years later a freshet in the Ohio swept away houses, stock and property of all kinds on the lower levels of the city.

The flood of 1832, however, was the one which established the first authentic record. This year was also a year of flood, fire and disease. The flood itself has been described in an earlier part of this work. The river this year reached the height of 64 feet 3 inches on February 18th. The next flood of consequence was that of December 17, 1847, when the water was 63 feet 7 inches high. The river stage did not pass 60 feet again until February 5, 1883, when it went as high as 66 feet 4 inches, at that time the highest record of which any authoritative account had been preserved. As the annual high stage of water had declined from year to year since 1832, it was thought that the day for the serious disasters for floods had passed by, but the experience of 1883 completely shattered this belief.

In 1883 long continued rains had swollen the streams above and this caused the waters of the Ohio to rise slowly from day to day until, a little after noon on February 12th, the high water mark of 1847 was reached and at 11 o'clock that same night that of 1832 was passed and there was no evidence of any cessation of flood. Many citizens had rested secure in the belief that the record could not be broken but this sense of security soon gave way to serious alarm. Upon the suggestion of Melville E. Ingalls, the Chamber of Commerce organized a Relief Committee of 15 which was subsequently increased to 20 and arrangements were made to assist the sufferers and divert as far as possible serious results. The rise of the waters stopped the pumping engines of the water works, but fortunately sufficient water remained in the reservoirs to supply the immediate needs of the city. The gas works, too, were submerged and the city was without its customary light. Lamps and candles could not be obtained at once as the demand was unprecedented. More than 1,500 business houses and many homes were under water in Cincinnati, which caused 2,400 people to be thrown entirely upon the charitable aid of the citizens for support. In Covington 350 houses and in Newport about 2,100 and in Dayton and Bellevue (Kentucky) 400 houses were under water. The rise continued through the day of February 14th and until between four and five o'clock of the morning of the 15th when the water stopped at the height of 66 feet 4 inches. Two hours later it began to recede and fell over a foot during the day. By noon of the 24th the waters had re-

sumed their normal position. This it was thought would be the record year for many years to come so far as floods were concerned but unfortunately it but gave the city a taste of the disasters to be repeated on almost exactly the same days of the following year.

The flood of 1884 was made the occasion of special investigations and R. B. Stevenson in his report to the Chamber of Commerce considered it from all points of view. The causes which produced it he divided into geographical, topographical and meteorological. The geographical and topographical have already been referred to. The meteorological causes began on December 14, 1883, with the first fall of snow in the Ohio Valley. This was less than one inch at Cincinnati where the stage of water was 10 feet 7 inches, a point to which it did not again decline for more than six months. Rainfalls and light snows on the 15th, 16th, 18th and 19th, followed by a heavier one on the 20th and one of 12 hours in length on the 22nd, measuring 6¾ inches in depth, and sleet and rain on the 23rd, equaling a rainfall of 2.57 inches, followed by a sharp cold snap with ice on the 24th and light rain on the 27th and again on the 30th and 31st, produced an aggregate of snow, sleet and rain during that month which reduced to rainfall amounted to 5.61 inches. The highest stage of the river during the month was 49½ feet on the 28th, when it began to decline. This in itself as compared with other years was high water. The first two weeks of January were cold, with frequent light snows. On the 14th a heavy snowfall set in in the evening and continued throughout the following day. On the 19th there was another fall of snow. This alternated with sleet and rain and with a temperature varying for the last five days from zero to 60° above. The river had fallen from 49½ feet to 15 feet 5 inches on January 13th, had then risen to 24 feet 1 inch on the 19th, falling to 15 feet 9 inches on the 29th and again rising to 31 feet 3 inches on the 31st, when the flood of 1884 may be said to have begun. Much of the previous fall, varying from 18 inches to four feet of solidified snow, was packed on the hills, mountains and valleys of the Ohio. Ten inches of snow had fallen at Cincinnati during the month of January and the rainfall had been 2.31 inches and the total snow reduced to rainfall was 2.2 inches. During the closing days of January the temperature along the river rose a little but this was not the case in the mountains, extending for 100 miles on each side of the river. On the 29th there was a general rainfall over the southern half of the watershed but this did not affect the Allegheny drainage. The Monongahela continued to rise and all the tributaries of the Ohio below poured out floods of water from such parts of their courses as had been affected by the warmer temperature. The temperature at Cincinnati on January 31st was 59°. The ice of the Youghiogheny was on that day broken up and piled up in its own bed, passing into the Monongahela below on the 5th. About the same time rises took place in the other tributaries of the Ohio and at Cincinnati the river rose 12½ feet from local causes, that is the waters of the Little Miami and the smaller streams on its south side. The weather turned cold on the last day of January and fell 30° during the night but the rivers above continued to rise very rapidly and more slowly at Cincinnati. The rise at Cincinnati during 24 hours ending at six P. M., February 1st, was 7 feet 10 inches, at which time the stage of the river was 40 feet 5½ inches. The river rose steadily and rapidly at Cincinnati and entered the buildings at the foot of Main and Walnut streets on the morning of the 2nd and those at the foot of Broadway during the day. At seven A. M. on the 4th the stage was 49 feet 11½ inches. There was a drop of about an inch, but in the afternoon a heavy fall of rain brought in much of the solidified snow and a rise set in which did not cease until noon of the 14th, "when it culminated in the highest stage of water at the mouth of the Licking River that had ever been seen at that point by an enlightened people." There was a rainfall on the 4th of 1.35 inches, when the temperature had crept up to 62°, which produced a dense fog, so dense that at three o'clock in the afternoon artificial light was needed in all the buildings south of Third street. Stars appeared at midnight but the river continued to rise nearly two inches an hour and at daylight all the buildings fronting the river between the Suspension Bridge and Main street and from Broadway to Ludlow had been reached by the water. By February 5th the conditions were such that those who had been observers of the river began to suspect the oncoming danger, but the public at large were but little excited by the matter. All the bottoms were covered with water and Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana, were partly submerged. Alarm began to be felt for the levees in front of those towns. The rain fell all day on the 5th so that more rain fell on the 4th and up to 2:30 in the afternoon of the

5th than during the entire four days preceding the same stage of water the year before. The water was 20 feet ½ inch higher than at the same time the year before and its height had been exceeded but nine times before in the history of the river.

News from all directions showed a rapid rise of the tributaries. The Licking was going up 12 inches an hour at Cynthiana, the Ohio was rising at Portsmouth and the same news came from the Big Sandy, the New, the Kanawha, the Muskingum, Youghiogheny, Monongahela and Allegheny. All were rising and rain was still falling. The Kentucky River, too, was an important factor, because by pouring its great volume into the Ohio it arrests the passing off of the waters from above. On February 6th the levee gave way at Lawrenceburg and the citizens of that town called upon Cincinnati for relief.

A meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was called and a relief committee of 15 members, subsequently increased by 13 more names, was appointed by Chairman Henry C. Urner. Subscriptions were called for and the Chamber by a unanimous vote appropriated $5,000 to a fund. S. F. Dana was chosen treasurer and Sidney D. Maxwell, secretary, and an executive committee of six members was appointed to cooperate. Buildings were secured for the storage of provisions and measures adopted for the relief of sufferers. At a meeting of the Common Council, a resolution was passed requesting the Legislature to authorize the city comptroller "to borrow a sum not to exceed one hundred thousand dollars to be placed at the disposal of the Relief Committee of the Common Council to be used for the purpose of relieving the distressed and protecting life and property during the continuance of the great flood." As a result of this a committee of 15 consisting of the mayor as chairman and seven members from each of the representative bodies was appointed, who reported to the Relief Committee of the Chamber of Commerce on February 7th and was thereupon incorporated with that committee, thenceforth known as "The Relief Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Common Council of Cincinnati."

Strangely enough there was a time on the 7th when by reason of a little fall in the temperature and the fact that the river came to a stand for a little while at 61 feet 9½ inches the impression prevailed that the measures for relief so promptly adopted would not be needed. Water had covered Second street at Vine, Walnut and Main streets. It was two feet deep at Third and Wood streets and extended above Second on Sycamore and Broadway. Communication with the Suspension Bridge was cut off except by boats. At noon on the 8th the water reached 62 feet 6½ inches and submerged the Cincinnati gas works cutting off the supply. The superintendent of the Chamber of Commerce began posting half-hour bulletins of the stage of the river at Cincinnati and organized a system of reports by telegraph from all points on the Ohio and the doors of the Chamber were thrown open throughout the 24 hours so that all could be informed as to the situation. At nine o'clock on the 9th the high water mark of 1847 was passed and by midnight that of 1832 was reached. The Covington gas works were cut off, 8,000 people were homeless and in all the villages along the river the people were suffering for food. Up the river at point after point the record of the previous year was passed on the 10th. This event happened in Cincinnati at 12:45 on the evening of February 11th. On the night of the 12th a windstorm from the south overthrew many houses whose foundations had been undermined by the current.

By the 13th a decided cold wave set in throughout the Ohio Valley, which seemed to indicate the approach of the climax. The tributaries above began to fall and with the temperature at Cincinnati rapidly falling to 12° below freezing point, the end of the rise came on February 14th at 12 o'clock at which time the water stood at 71 feet and ¼ of an inch. At the end of 90 minutes a fall of a quarter of an inch was reported, to the enthusiastic joy of the citizens and the whole nation. For five hours the water stood and then the gradual decline at the rate of a quarter of an inch per hour set in and continued steadily until by the end of February the stage of the water was 25 feet 6 inches.

While the water was at its highest stage, permanent high water marks were established at various points about the Public Landing and elsewhere and from these it was subsequently ascertained that the height of the flood above that of the previous year was 3 feet 8¾

inches and above that of February, 1832, 6 feet 9¼ inches and above that of 1847, 7 feet 5¾ inches. The total rainfall was 7.03 inches, of which 6.82 inches fell in the first 14 days of February. As the mercury had been below freezing for some time, the waters as they receded left marks of ice recalling the canopies on the trees seen by Symmes at North Bend almost 100 years before. Every street in Pendleton had been reached by the water and the frozen line of the flood extended up Deer creek to the foot of the Highland House Incline. Up Mill creek valley it extended eastwardly until it covered all of Lincoln Park and reached Baymiller street at Clark. On Colerain pike at Hamilton the water was four feet deep. On Race, Vine, Walnut, Main and Sycamore the ice was north of Pearl street and on the north side of Lower Market as far as Broadway the first floors of the buildings were covered with water. At the southwest corner of Fourth and Mill the waters of Mill creek and the Ohio met and extended above Longworth on Hoadly, and on Sixth covered part of the railroad tracks running out of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton station. At Eighth street the water came east as far as Harriet. The Mill creek bottom was so covered that the largest steamboats could have passed over Eighth street and advanced up the valley to Cumminsville. One-half the city of Newport was covered with water which stood several feet deep over the bridge connecting that town with Covington.

Railroad communication with the outside world, as well as water and gas, was practically cut off from the city. There was not a railroad track entering the city of Cincinnati that was not submerged at some point except that of the Northern Railway coming to the depot on Court street. The Ohio & Mississippi Railroad carried its passengers to places between Cincinnati and Aurora by boat and railroad traffic and steamboat business and in fact commerce and business of all sorts was practically suspended.

On the morning of February 15th, after the waters had begun to recede, the buildings at Nos. 123 and 125 East Pearl street collapsed and 10 persons were killed and a number injured. These were occupants who had been driven to the upper floors. Some were crushed to death and others drowned.

Almost as impressive as the flood itself was the uprising of the citizens both of the city and of the nation in behalf of the sufferers. Relief measures by the committee included a careful patrolling of the flooded district. Soon a fleet of innumerable boats under the command of Capt. W. P. Walker, Jr., as admiral of the fleet, were floating through the streets of the city rescuing people from the upper stories of houses projecting from the waters and carrying supplies of food and clothing to others. The president of the Board of Education, Howard Douglass, ordered the vacation of the school houses to provide shelter to those driven from their homes. The First Regiment, Ohio National Guard, under the command of Col. C. B. Hunt, the Veteran Guards under Col. M. L. Hawkins and Captain Joyce's Second Battery aided the police in the preservation of the public peace and patrolled the streets of the city which were without light. A soup house was opened and maintained during the entire period of the high water. Many buildings had to be torn down because of the danger. This action was opposed by a great many but fortunately with the exception of the one instance mentioned above no accident happened of serious consequence. One of the most striking of the measures of relief was the concert given in Music Hall by the prominent singers of the Opera Festival. On this occasion Madame Sembrich endeared herself to Cincinnati forever by her conduct in leaving the stage and passing through the aisles of the auditors and soliciting contributions. This concert given by candle-light realized the sum of $6,170.14.

The entire amount contributed by Cincinnati was $96,680.12, while persons not citizens of Cincinnati contributed the sum of $97,751.22. This was all expended under the direction of the Relief Committee with the exception of a little over $5,000, which was turned over to the Trustees of the Sinking Fund of the city. None of the funds received from outsiders was applied to the relief of the Cincinnati people but they were distributed throughout the Ohio Valley outside of the city. The large steamer "Granite State" was chartered and loaded with supplies; it carried assistance to such people as could be reached along the shores of the river. $15,000 of the cargo was defrayed by the Ohio State Relief Commission while the government through Gen. A. Beckwith placed on board

supplies to the value of $10,000 for the aid of those on the opposite side of the Ohio.

The number of persons fed at the Sixth street soup house during the 13 days it was in operation was 65,000, as many as 7,500 being fed in one day. The militia were not called out until the advancing river cut off the supply of gas. They remained on duty for 11 nights, during which time the best of order was preserved and fewer crimes reported than usual. The warning of 1883 saved many persons from loss so that this did not exceed that of the year before. The houses inundated were estimated at 4,930 and the persons driven from their homes, 21,856. About 100 houses were afterwards ordered to be destroyed as unsafe.

For purposes of reference the following table showing the highest and lowest stages of the Ohio River at Cincinnati is appended:

	HIGHEST STAGE.			LOWEST STAGE.		
Year.	*Date.*	*Ft.*	*In.*	*Date.*	*Ft.*	*In.*
1832	February 18	64	3			
1847	December 17	63	7			
1858	June 16	43	10	October 3	2	5
1859	February 22	55	5	September 19	3	3
1860	April 16	49	2	October 3	5	4
1861	April 19	49	5	July 13	5	1
1862	January 24	57	4	October 31	2	4
1863	March 12	49	9	October 6	2	6
1864	December 23	45	1	August 6	3	1
1865	March 7	56	3	October 19	5	8
1866	September 26	42	6	August 17	4	9
1867	March 14	55	8	October 19	3	
1868	March 30	48	3	July 21	5	1
1869	April 2	48	9	August 21	5	4
1870	January 19	55	3	October 4	3	10
1871	May 13	40	6	October 12	2	8
1872	April 13	41	9	October 14	3	
1873	December 18	44	5	October 12	3	8
1874	January 11	47	11	September 22	2	4
1875	August 6	55	4	September 19	4	3
1876	January 28	51	9	September 4	6	2
1877	January 20	53	9	October 9	3	3
1878	December 15	41	4	October 24	4	4
1879	December 27	42	9	October 23	2	6
1880	February 17	53	2	October 28	3	9
1881	February 16	50	7	September 18	1	11
1882	February 21	58	7	November 2	6	
1883	February 15	66	4	September 20	3	7
1884	February 14	71	¾	September 26	2	6
1885	January 20	46		October 11	3	11
1886	March 31	40	8	September 10	5	2
1887	February 5	56	3	September 23	2	8
1888	March 31	39	9	August 7	5	3
1889	February 22	38	3	September 12	5	4
1890	March 26	59	2	August 4	5	9
1891	February 25	57	4½	October 10	4	6
1892	April 25	43	11	November 5	3	6
1893	February 20	54	11	August 29	3	7
1894	February 15	35	7	September 14	3	1
1895	January 13	48	6½	October 27	2	4
1896	April 4	47	6	September 25	5	5
1897	February 26	61	2	October 18	3	1
1898	March 28	61	1	October 5	4	5
1899	March 8	57	3	November 1	3	5
1900	November 30	40		October 21	3	1
1901	April 26	59	6	November 19	4	1
1902	March 5	50	8	September	3	9

THE RIOTS OF 1884.

Hardly had the city recovered from the excitement and suspense of the great flood, when it was called upon to witness another extraordinary period of excitement. The riots of 1884 were the natural result of the refusal of the outraged public conscience to abide any longer by open and notorious defiance of the law. The historian of the riots, J. S. Tunison, in his discussion of the causes and results gives a very sad picture indeed of the condition of the city at that time. Unfortunately there seems to be no reason to believe that his picture is an exaggerated one. He concludes that the Cincinnati riots belong in the catalogue of popular mental epidemics as it would be impossible to conceive how such a train of action could have been carried on by men thoroughly sane.

The responsibility he attributes to all classes of the community. Twenty-three persons accused of murder or at least homicide occupied the county jail at the time preceding the outbreak. Some of them had been in jail many months, some had been tried several times and their guilt was still undecided. The public had grown impatient at the continued violation of the law and the failure of the court to deal expeditiously with persons charged with crime. The courts were regarded as lazy and inefficient and juries as well as judges and attorneys were thought to have become indifferent to crimes of all character. A particular case, the "burking" case in Avondale where two body snatchers were accused of murdering a family to secure bodies for the dissecting table, had inflamed the mind of the public who began to feel that unprincipled lawyers had the courts and people at their mercy.

The incident which furnished the spark to start the conflagration grew out of the so-called Berner trial. William Berner (a young German) and Joseph Palmer (a light mulatto) had beaten the life out of their employer, William Kirk, a stable man on West Eighth street near Mound. It was a crime utterly without provocation or excuse and naturally

the general expectation and judgment was that this case should certainly take its course. The case was watched from the time of the arrest throughout the intricacies of the trial, whose details were published at length according to the miserable methods of modern journalism. The evidence showed that the murder was committed absolutely without provocation for a very small sum of money. Berner seems to have been the inspiring brute in the transaction and had several times confessed to his guilt. He persuaded Palmer to aid him and the two beat their victim into insensibility and then strangled him. From the evidence and conduct of the prisoners it was apparent that they were hardly human beings and were entirely lacking in moral sense. "It is not an exaggeration to say that they gave the impression of two-footed wild beasts in whom the instincts of destructiveness and self-preservation had been extraordinarily developed at the expense of every other faculty." After the murder they had thrown the body of Kirk into a wagon, taken it to the outskirts of the city and dumped it into a thicket. The two prisoners were defended by T. C. Campbell, a member of the bar especially proficient in the defense of persons charged with crime. He succeeded in having the indictments separated and had the case of Berner taken up first. The obvious reason for this was to avoid any prejudice against a negro which might reflect on the codefendant. During the trial it was apparent that public feeling was very much aroused. The incidents of the case and the means supposed to have been employed to escape conviction had a special tendency to inflame the public mind. Caricatures of the jury, attorneys and the courts were hung in the windows of saloons and restaurants. These were accompanied with suggestive comments and marks and emblems, the avowed purpose of which was to encourage mob violence. A vigilance committee was the subject of common talk. Mr. Tunison leaves the impression that this feeling was confined to those who frequented the beer gardens and grog shops; in this he is quite mistaken. While it is undoubtedly true that the better class of citizens showed the lack of foresight and had no expectation of the horrible results that ensued, the lawlessness and unrestrained violence of the mob was a natural consequence of the public feeling of all classes. Finally on the evening of Monday, March 24th, the jury, 12 men who had been selected after the examination of 504 people, found this self-confessed murderer, who had killed his employer for the proceeds from the sale of a horse after planning the crime for weeks, guilty of manslaughter. "We the jury on the issue joined, find the defendant William Berner not guilty of murder in the first degree but guilty of manslaughter." The verdict was absolutely without excuse and served to condemn forever the jury that rendered it and the methods which had made it possible. It is not strange that the presiding judge, Samuel R. Matthews, should have been aroused into an indignant denunciation of this miscarriage of justice nor that he should have felt constrained later in passing sentence (on March 28th) to impose the full limit of the law.—20 years in the penitentiary.

The indignation of the judge communicated itself to those in the court room, where strong evidences of disapprobation were shown, and the press and the people were unanimous on the following day in the denunciation of the outrage upon justice. The first thought of course was of a public meeting. A call was issued and a meeting held at Music Hall on the evening of March 28th, the day on which sentence had been imposed. This meeting was very largely attended by many of the best and most conservative citizens of the community. It was presided over by Dr. Andrew C. Kemper and a large list of leading citizens acted as vice-presidents. Speeches were made by Dr. Kemper, Judge A. G. W. Carter and General Hickenlooper and others. The speeches reflected the feeling of outrage felt by the citizens and were very emphatic but were not incendiary nor intemperate. Their purpose as well as that of the resolutions adopted was to bring about the reform of existing evils by legal methods. That they were not too violent was shown by the fact that there were many in the crowd of 8,000 people that packed the hall who gave audible expression to their disapproval of the moderation of tone and expression both of the speeches and of the resolutions. So far as that meeting is concerned and the speakers who took part in it, it can be said after reviewing the matter almost 20 years later that the criticism which has been heaped upon it is without justification. When read to-day the thought that comes to one is that of surprise that such restraint was possible at the time. That a riot

followed which resulted in the burning of the temple of justice and the death of many innocent people cannot justly be charged to this meeting or to its speakers. The conditions for the riot were present and the outbreak would have come whether the meeting had been held or not. The riots of Cincinnati suggest too an inquiry of deeper ethical significance than has usually been accorded to them. They were made the excuse on the part of thousands of lawless men to commit crime; the same was true of the French Revolution with all its horrors. It is not necessary to pursue in detail the parallel nor does the suggestion involve any defense of lawlessness. To criticise, however, the Music Hall meeting is to refuse to free citizens the right to protest against misgovernment and maladministration of the laws.

Immediately after the meeting as the crowd surged from Music Hall the cry was raised: "To the jail!" According to the account given by Oscar Edgar, which seems to have been very carefully prepared, some claim that it was the mob who had been unable to get into the hall that started the march toward Sycamore street. According to one story a young man about 21 years of age cried out "To the jail! Come on! Follow me and hang Berner!" It seems likely that no one person directed the thoughts of that mass of people. Everybody felt that Berner was guilty and that he ought to be hanged. They felt furthermore that the law had failed in its course. It did not require a definite statement of purpose to direct such a crowd towards its victim. Four negroes led the advance across 12th street and the crowd swelled until the march with two hundred or more leaders was joined by onlookers and sympathizers numbering thousands. Before they reached the jail, the sheriff Morton L. Hawkins called up the fire marshal Bunker and the riot alarm was sounded. This necessarily brought more people to the jail. Mr. Tunison criticises the sheriff and his subordinates as being unprepared. It must be remembered that the building was supposed to be impregnable except to artillery. Berner himself had been spirited away from the jail and started on his way to the penitentiary at Columbus. The mob stopped at a lumber pile on Sycamore street and secured some heavy pieces of timber and with these began to batter down the basement doors at the foot of the stone steps. Others threw stones, bricks and missiles of all kinds through the windows. The sheriff would not permit the mob to be fired upon and here it was that the most serious mistake if any was made. It is the same old question that always presents itself when a lawless mob, composed however of citizens, is confronted by those in authority. The solution of the question is much simpler in the light of subsequent events than at the time it first presents itself to those called upon to act.

In a very short time the jail doors were beaten down and the mob rushed into the building. The sheriff and his deputies were swept aside and the whole interior of the jail was filled with the searchers for the murderer. They forced the iron grated door, closing in the cell rooms and looked into each cell demanding the whereabouts of Berner. When they reached the cell of Joseph Palmer, some one asked if he was not Palmer. He came to the front of the cell and said: "No. Can't you see that I am a white man?" Presently the police and patrol wagons responded to the riot alarm and patrol wagon No. 3 arrived first. It was stopped by a crowd of determined men at Court and Sycamore streets, where the officers were ordered to leave and the wagon went down Sycamore street about a square. Patrol wagon No. 1 came down Sycamore street and stopped in the middle of the street opposite the jail entrance. In this wagon were the chief of police and a number of officers. A huge boulder was thrown into the wagon right in the midst of the policemen. Shortly after this a young man of 17 named Tony Bender was shot through the brain. The crowd in the jail at first seemed to spare the private property although an attempt was made to wreck the doors and windows. The first entrance was effected by a plank thrust from the pavement into a window and used as a bridge.

In the midst of the varying accounts it is almost impossible to learn exactly what happened or the sequence of events. While the mob was filling the jail, the chief of police came through the underground passage from the Court House with a squad of police and together with the sheriff drove the crowd back into the office. Those however who could come in through the windows and another detachment which had broken in through the south door were filling other parts of the jail. "The crowd in the office was a mixture of respecta-

ble looking men mostly young and the worst elements of society. Most of those who swung the battering-ram looked like thieves and murderers. Here and there in the crowd were men whose torn and dirty jackets were distended with the boulders they were carrying concealed. Suddenly the gas went out. 'Hold on! Stay were you are!' was the cry and some passed out and quickly returned with lights. The darkness had little effect on the crowd. The gas was quickly relighted. 'The door is giving way!' shouted another. The crowd poured through both doors and precipitated itself on the ranks of deputies, sheriffs and police which under the command of the sheriff and the chief of police were drawn up in front of the two entrances. Several policemen were hit with boulders, one with an ax thrown at him. It was now midnight." (The Cincinnati Riot, p. 83.)

The police headed by Lieutenant Welsh with 25 men had entered the tunnel and had been placed by Sheriff Hawkins at the head of the stairs. They had been ordered not to fire but to use their clubs. He also sent an order for the militia to come in by the tunnel. It was while they were waiting for the arrival of the troops that the crowd had again broken in just as the gas was turned off. As soon as the burners were relighted the militia began filing in. There seems to be a dispute as to what happened at this moment. The militia saw before them the men whom they supposed to be rioters which they were in fact but they were captives in charge of the policemen. Upon the command to fire, Captain Foellger cried to the men to fire high. The officers and most of the militia claimed that they were fired upon first, but Mr. Edgar quotes several statements which imply that there was no firing except from the militia. In any event a volley of shot rang through the jail and a number of persons were hit including two of the militia and four officers. Harry M. Millar in his account states that none of the mob was injured, but Mr. Edgar says that one rioter was killed. The second discharge with blank cartridges and the reinforcement of police drove the mob from the jail to the street. The militia came into the jail from the Court Street Armory by way of the tunnel as up to this time no attack had been made upon the Court House. For the remainder of that night the militia are said to have displayed coolness. In fact is seems impossible to criticise their conduct even if the firing in an enclosed tunnel may have seemed wild.

The militia evidently were an element that had not been counted upon by the mob, which by this time was constituted of the very elements of disorder. Fierce resentment against those who had shed the blood of their brothers took possession of them. An effort was made to set fire to the jail for the purpose of smoking out the so-called murderers,—the militia. A militiaman who obeys orders and by so doing chances to kill the criminal who is trying to kill him is always a murderer. The mob set fire to some frame buildings and piled combustibles about the jail and assaulted it with brick bats and pistol balls; they soon learned that they were making no impression upon the garrison. Thereupon at the north side a number mounted the walls and rained missiles and occasionally pistol shots and finally blazing planks at the windows. These penetrated the bars and sent forth volumes of stifling smoke whereupon a lieutenant of the First Regiment with a detail of men ordered the crowd away upon penalty of being fired upon. This made no impression and finally shot after shot was fired, each one dropping a boy or man from the wall with a wound in his leg or foot. Another detail of soldiers fired from the roof over the mob, requiring them to hug closely the walls of the jail and keeping the rioters out of mischief elsewhere. About half-past one an attempt was made to use petroleum. In protecting against this danger a volley was fired into the mob which killed many others, including one innocent man,—Joe Sturm, the driver of patrol wagon No. 3. The repeated firing of bullets directly at the crowd finally convinced them that the militia meant business and by three o'clock in the morning the crowd had begun to thin out. At this hour the guard of militia was reinforced and was thereupon drawn up on the pavement, marched first down South, then down North Court street and volleys were fired down both these streets. The soldiers were followed by squads of police and marched through the streets for hours and the mob gradually disappeared and the first night of lawlessness was over so far as the jail was concerned. However the jail was not the only scene of disturbance. Part of the mob after it had first been driven from the jail attacked the armory of the Grand Army of the Republic

at Court and Walnut streets where a number of stand of arms were taken. Here also was found a drum which was used to rally the rioters but fortunately there was no ammunition there. The crowd thereupon marched to the gun store of B. Kittredge & Company on the east side of Main between Fourth and Fifth, intending to get guns and ammunition. They destroyed a show window and obtained a number of revolvers and guns but could not find any powder. A later trip however resulted in gutting the store, from which they took not only arms and ammunition but everything else that they could lay their hands on. This time they found a small brass cannon and three kegs of powder but no ammunition for the guns.

The fire department had been called out at the sounding of the riot alarm but the firemen were not allowed to use their hose as the crowd threatened to cut the hose if water was turned on. They therefore returned to their engine houses followed by the cheers of the crowd.

Berner in the meantime had been taken to the train, having been driven in a buggy to Linwood. He was in the custody of a deputy sheriff from whose charge he escaped at Loveland. Fortunately he was recaptured while enjoying a game of cards and was taken at once to the penitentiary in entire ignorance of the attack on the jail or the riots which he had caused.

All day Saturday the people of the city were in great apprehension. Many thought the worst over but others felt that nightfall would witness a renewal of disorder. The militia and police remained on duty throughout the day but had little or nothing to do except keep off the sightseers who attempted to crowd into the square occupied by the Court House and jail. Governor Hoadly upon the suggestion of citizens offered to Sheriff Hawkins the aid of the State militia, and the Fourteenth Regiment and two unattached companies from Columbus and two other companies from Waynesville and Loveland were ordered to Cincinnati by the Governor. At night barricades were erected on Sycamore and Eighth streets and at Court street beginning at the corner of the jail wall and extending across Sycamore and these were guarded by police and militia. The sheriff after consultation with Colonel Hunt of the First Regiment, Chief of Police Reilly and Gen. Matthew Ryan disposed his lines so as to protect the jail which was in his special charge. He could not attempt to cover the Court House without weakening his forces too much. As night fell the crowd which had been dense all day became greater and changed in character. Sightseers were displaced by rioters who gathered chiefly in front of the Court House on Court street. The trouble began with volleys of boulders and bricks, after which there came pistol and gun, shots. Soon a storming party assailed the iron doors in front of the Court House and they were soon battered down. Almost immediately a crowd of boys and half-grown men, said to have been led by some Kentuckians, broke into the county treasurer's office in the northwest corner of the basement. They broke up the furniture and counters and piled them with the carpet and oilcloth in the midst of the room and poured coal oil upon them. To this a match was applied and the flames leaped forth to the delight of the cheering crowd. They crossed to another office taking all in turn and treated them in the same way. As they reached the corner of South Court street they were met by a volley of musketry which made them hesitate. Afterwards a white handkerchief was tied to a stick and the rioters carried off their dead and wounded. Again the mob advanced headed by the sheriff's red auction flag and again they were met by a volley of musketry. The white flag again stopped proceedings until the wounded could be carried aside and surgeons give them attention. Soon the Debolt Exchange, Burdsal's drug store below Canal and a saloon on Ninth street were turned into temporary hospitals. While this skirmishing continued, the Court House burned. The burning was accompanied by scenes of extravagance that would have done justice to the worst days of the French Revolution. One man appeared in the portico and admist the laughter and applause of the citizens of Cincinnati sold at auction the temple of justice and all its valuable records.

It was while leading a detachment of his company, Company B of the First Regiment, through the Court House to protect the great structure in which he practiced his profession that Capt. John J. Desmond was killed. His killing seems to have been particularly useless as the general firing had not then begun. A

miserable scoundrel in the crowd fired at him with a revolver and he fell dead near the spot where the marble tablet now commemorates his gallantry. His murderer was mortally wounded during the night and confessed his crime before he died at the jail.

While the building was being consumed by the flames, the soldiers began to arrive from other parts of the State. The first regiment to arrive was the Fourth from Dayton. It marched up Sixth street and then up to the Court House until almost within view of the burning building. The sight of the mob, however, was too much for these carpet soldiers and they turned and fled to the depot, from whence they came, making record time. One of the regiment's officers and some of the men tried to retrieve the disgrace of the regiment by serving bravely the next day.

This was true of some of the companies from Springfield and other points but the gallant Daytonians for the most part concluded their services on that day. The Fourteenth Regiment from Columbus arrived an hour later at half-past ten and marched from the Little Miami depot to the scene of the battle. They marched down South Court street and drove the mob before them. One company charged the mob up Main street and two others attacked the great mass on Court street. For a moment the crowd wavered but soon a number of them leaped forward at the soldiers and fell dead from another volley. A number of the soldiers were wounded by the mob including several officers. Finally the command to fire directly into the mob was given and volley after volley crashed into the rioters. The crowd finally gave way and rushed up Court street. The Fourteenth proved themselves the masters of the situation. A Gatling gun was brought from the jail but the fighting was really over. From time to time some rioters would dash forward but a few shots served to disperse them.

The engines were then brought out without hindrance and finally made an attempt to save some of the Court House. The northeast corner of the building with the recorder's office and the grand jury rooms were partially saved. Practically all the records in the clerk's office, a large part of those in the Probate Court and the auditor's office, the entire Law Library with the exception of one volume and some of the records in the recorder's office were destroyed. The determined conduct of the Fourteenth had its effect on the mob and the results of the efforts of the firemen seem a convincing proof that a little determination at the outset would have stopped the whole matter.

About nine o'clock that evening occurred one of the most dramatic episodes of these exciting days. A portion of the mob concluded to force an entrance to the gun store of William Powell & Company on Main street between Fourth and Fifth for the purpose of securing arms and ammunition. Their reception was entirely unexpected. Guilford Stone and several of the clerks had prepared a barricade of empty boxes and behind these he and his clerks lay armed with repeating rifles. As the mob rushed in after crashing through the door, it was met by a tremendous volley and the first man dropped dead. The shots followed in quick succession until five men were stretched upon the ground, two of them stone dead. Thereupon the crowd followed the example of the Dayton soldiers and left in a hurry. They rolled a few coal oil barrels in front of the store and ignited them but did not succeed in doing any damage. Later on, intent on revenge, a squad of rioters captured two cannon in Power Hall and started with it to Powell's. Lieutenant Burke with a squad of police came upon the rioters as they reached the store and soon dispersed them, after taking several prisoners.

The original purpose of the riots had been lost sight of by this time and the only motive that gave any further cause for alarm was that of revenge. Every discontented quasi-criminal felt that he had been aggrieved in the failure in his one effort to administer the law without the aid of courts. On Sunday all sorts of rumors filled the city and the crowds hung about in a threatening attitude in front of the barricades. It was said that Music Hall was to be attacked and that Hunt's Hotel owned by Colonel Hunt of the First Regiment had been marked for destruction. Troops continued to arrive during the day and the city buildings were used as barracks. Soldiers occupied the jail, City Hall and city parks. One man was shot on North Canal street as he had become a little too obstreperous. Towards evening the crowd at Court and Walnut streets became a little more riotous and some shots were fired at the troops. A volley of blank cartridges made no impression. The next volley contained lead and the street was cleared. A little before midnight a crowd that had tried

to find a juror named Bohne, with the intention of serving out to him the fate which Berner had deserved, having failed in their laudable undertaking rushed down to the Court street market house and fired upon the barricade. For the first time the crank of the Gatling gun was turned and the air whistled with bullets. A number of the rioters were wounded and quiet was again restored for a time. It was necessary to use the gun several times during the night but a little after midnight it became apparent that the trouble was over. There was a little skirmish at Music Hall, where rioters were endeavoring to get a cannon. A number of thieves were caught in raiding some pawnbrokers' shops on Central avenue near Sixth street.

The exact number of victims can, of course, never be known. There were said to have been 20 dead bodies lying at one time at the morgue. The hospital contained about 150 wounded and dying. The total number of killed is estimated as more than 50, while several hundred were wounded. A great many others were wounded but the injuries were so slight as not to become known. One or two prominent citizens suffered from their over enthusiasm or excessive curiosity.

The Court House itself, which had been built in 1851, was practically a ruin and had to be rebuilt. It had a frontage of 190 feet with a depth of 190 feet and was 60 feet high, with three stories. It will be remembered that the first Court House, built in 1802, was burned in 1814, through the carelessness either of some soldiers quartered in it or of some debtors confined therein. The second Court House known as the "Old Court House" was built on Court street and completed in 1819 and burned July 9, 1849. The jail, the one still in use, was built in 1861 at a cost of about a quarter of a million dollars.

As a result of the riot, those persons who were unfortunate enough to be charged with crime and were obliged to stand trial about that time found a decided change in conditions. The closing scene of the whole affair came when United States troops were ordered to the city. By this time almost all the disorder ceased and after the arrival of these troops quiet was entirely restored. (The Cincinnati Riot, by J. S. Tunison and Oscar Edgar; Our Police, by G. M. Roe; Court House Riot, by Harry M. Millar, in Howe's Ohio.)

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED.

In the fall of 1885 the complaints against false registration and illegal voting led to the establishment of what was known as the Committee of One Hundred, composed of citizens from all political parties. This organization took a lively interest in election matters. Registrations were carefully scrutinized, the residence of voters verified by personal inspection and a number of violations of law discovered. Warrants were sworn out upon charges preferred and given to the Board of Police Commissioners, but arrests failed to follow. As a result of the labors of this committee, in the spring of 1886 the committee preferred charges against the Board of Police Commissioners, and upon the response to these charges filed by the commissioners the members of the board were removed by Governor Foraker. Thereupon a dilemma arose from the fact that it was discovered that no provision of law existed for the filling of places when all the seats were vacant. This was soon remedied by the passage of a law prepared under the direction of the Committee of One Hundred by Col. D. W. McClung. This law, passed March 30, 1886, created a non-partisan Board of Police Commissioners and is the basis of the organization as it now exists. A little later the newly created board became involved in litigation with regard to its revenues. One of the sources of revenue was the tax upon sellers of intoxicating liquors resulting from the Dow law. It became necessary to test this law in the courts and the board employed Thomas McDougal and C. B. Matthews to take charge of the litigation, which resulted in a ruling by the Supreme Court satisfactory to the board.

In the fall of this year work was begun on the Mount Auburn cable road and shortly afterwards the so-called Kerper line, a cable road to Walnut Hills, was begun.

In October the body of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase was brought home for burial in Spring Grove Cemetery and elaborate memorial services were held in Music Hall, which were attended not only by the bar but by the citizens generally.

Among the visitors this year were Michael Davitt, the well known Irish agitator; Herr Wilhelm Liebknecht, the distinguished German socialist and parliamentary leader; and Edward Aveling and his wife Eleanor Marx Aveling, also a distinguished socialist.

Work on the new Court House, built to replace the structure burned in 1884, was so far

completed as to enable the removal of the county offices to the building on the 8th of November and on December 6, 1886, all the courts returned to the new building. This event was celebrated on January 15, 1887, by a banquet at the Gibson House, tendered by citizens, to Henry C. Urner, John L. Stettinius, Wesley M. Cameron and William Worthington, trustees to rebuild the Court House, and James McLaughlin, the architect. At this Judge Alphonso Taft presided and Isaac M. Jordan acted as toast-master.

Another incident of 1886 was the series of revival meetings held by Sam Jones throughout the summer in Music Hall, which were attended by many thousands of citizens and which continued for a number of months.

THE RAILROAD LABOR RIOTS.

In the spring of 1886 came the railroad labor riots. In the early part of May the freight handlers of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway had struck for increased wages. A large number of them thereupon marched in an organized body across the city to the freight depots of the Little Miami Railroad, intending to force their fellow freight handlers in the employ of that company to join them. The recollection of the riots of two years before, however, with a knowledge of what was going on in other parts of the country, gave to this action of the dissatisfied workmen an importance perhaps beyond its merits. The superintendent of the Little Miami road, the only road then operating in the city, had notified the police that his men had been threatened with personal violence and refused to go on with their work unless they were afforded police protection. An anxious conference of business men had been held, at which were present a number of the officers of the city, and for a time the sentiment of the gathering seemed to be that the police were powerless to aid at this juncture. Robert J. Morgan, at that time police commissioner, and Milo G. Dodds, however, insisted that it was the duty of the city to protect with all the force it could command the men of the Little Miami road, who were anxious to earn their livelihood, and finally this judgment prevailed. As a result the strikers above referred to were met in their march by a squadron of police under the command of the chief, Colonel Moore, and were ordered to halt. The majority of the strikers, who were law-abiding citizens, showed signs at once of yielding; three of the leaders endeavored to break through the lines and were arrested, whereupon the main body in a quiet and orderly manner dispersed. This little rencontre, inoffensive in itself, created great alarm, especially as the factories were empty and 30,000 men were said to be on strike. To make assurance doubly sure, the Governor was called upon for troops and five regiments of militia were sent here and placed under the command of Mayor Amor Smith, Jr. Three regiments encamped for several days at Carthage or at Burnet Woods while Cincinnati's own regiment, the First, was located at Industrial Hall in the Exposition buildings. Of course there were many to criticise the action of the mayor as being unnecessary. He called a meeting of the representatives of the labor organizations which was held in his office with one of the strikers, James M. Morley, acting as secretary. A full and complete discussion of the situation was had in the most amicable tone, as a result of which Mayor Smith made it apparent that although he would not interfere between the strikers and their employers he would not permit a breach of the peace or interference with men who were at work. A proclamation was issued assuring protection to men at work, particularly to those who were laying the new streets. This brought forth a protest which simply resulted in making it still clearer that the law was to be observed and that no breach of it would be permitted. As a result the troubles were finally adjusted without bloodshed.

Another very unpleasant incident of the year 1886 was the exposure of the corruption of the officials in charge of the City Infirmary. This was brought about by the Board of Revision and as a result of the investigation 36 indictments were found, followed by a number of convictions.

THE OWEN LAW.

In 1888 the enforcement of the Owen law, which prohibited the keeping open of saloons on Sunday, aroused great excitement. This law was opposed by a large number of citizens in addition to the saloonkeepers as a class. Its enforcement, therefore, was a matter of some difficulty. Warning was given that the law would be enforced and that the saloons must be closed. The chief of police instructed his men to make a note of all offenses and to make arrests on the following day after swearing out warrants. Seven arrests were made on Sunday (without warrants) for disorderly conduct occurring in the presence of the officers. Arrests

continued for violations of the law covering seven Sundays until they numbered 1,950. The first case tried was that of Henry Munzebrock, who had been arrested on a Sunday for disorderly conduct. After a jury trial he was found guilty and sent immediately to the Work House. A stay of proceedings to enable him to perfect his appeal for a revision by the upper court was refused him. His case was taken before Judge C. D. Robertson upon a writ of habeas corpus, where it was shown that he had been arrested without a warrant. Judge Robertson following a decision of the Supreme Court of the State immediately ordered his release. The haste with which Munzebrock had been sent to the Work House and the alleged ignominy of his treatment there at a time when it was known that the case would be reviewed by a higher court led to somewhat of a reaction in the public feeling. Twelve other cases regarded as those of flagrant violations of the law were tried but conviction could not be secured, as the juries disagreed. As a result the prosecutor in the Police Court refused to prosecute further cases on the ground that to do so would involve the city in needless expense.

CENTENNIAL YEAR.

The centennial year (1888) was celebrated by the great Centennial Exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States which, inaugurated July 4th by a grand street pageant, continued for 100 days. This exposition described in an earlier chapter was largely attended by visitors from all parts of the country and was regarded as a great success, although it did not quite pay expenses. During its continuance many conventions and organizations met in the city. The most noteworthy of these was probably the annual conclave of the Knights of Pythias, which occurred in June. The procession held by the visiting Knights was by far the most striking that had been seen in the city up to that time. Twenty-five thousand uniformed men were estimated to have taken part in it and 100,000 people must have been included among the spectators. The gathering had a special local interest from the fact that it was reviewed by a fellow citizen, Howard Douglass, at that time the su-

Another important gathering of this year was that of the American Medical Association, which took place in May.

THE CENSUS OF 1890.

By the census of 1890 Cincinnati was shown to have a population of 296,908, which was an increase of 41,709, or 16.4 percent over the population of 1880. The number of manufacturing establishments in the city was 7,832 as against 3,275 10 years earlier. These employed 84,167 wage earners at the total wages of $30,728,511 as against 54,513 with total wages of $19,553,029 in 1880. The capital employed in these establishments in 1880 was $50,531,900 and in 1890, $104,483,032. The cost of materials used, which in 1880 was $62,374,570, increased in 1890 to $92,545,231, and the value of products, including custom work and repairing, from $105,255,165 to $196,063,983.

THE A. R. U. STRIKE.

In 1894 occurred the great railroad strike of the American Railway Union, headed by Eugene V. Debs. This originating in the Pullman shops in Chicago soon developed into a sympathetic strike whose influences were first felt in Cincinnati on June 28th. On July 4, 1894, the United States attorney acting under instructions received from the Attorney General filed a bill for injunction in the United States Circuit Court upon which after argument an injunction was issued against Debs and other labor agitators and strike managers. At that time the Cincinnati Southern Railway was in the hands of Samuel M. Felton as receiver, appointed by United States Circuit Judge Taft. A strike leader, Frank W. Phelan, who attempted to interfere with the operation of this road while in the hands of this receiver by inducing employees to strike, was arrested by the United States marshal for contempt of court and after a trial of some days he was found guilty and on Friday, July 13th, was sentenced by Judge Taft to six months' confinement in the jail at Lebanon, Ohio. This, as well as the determined attitude of the courts throughout the country, broke the strike in Cincinnati, which ended July 18th.

On October 31, 1895, at 10 minutes after five in the morning a severe earthquake shock was felt in Cincinnati, which lasting about 80 seconds, extending from south to north, shook houses, broke windows, overturned furniture and did considerable damage, but fortunately no injury to persons. It was accompanied by a cracking, hissing noise and created considerable alarm. Previous earthquake shocks had been felt in 1795, 1811, 1812 and on August 31, 1886.

THE STREET CAR ROUTES.

In 1896 practically all the street car routes in the city, at that time 37 in number, came

under the control of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company as a result of a consolidation effected August 1st, under the provisions of the Rogers law passed by the Legislature on April 22nd of that year and approved by the Board of Administration of the city. The company was granted a 50-years' franchise in consideration of a new transfer system, which was inaugurated October 3rd of this year. The Main street electric line was still operated by the Cincinnati Inclined Plane Railway Company although its right to do so was in litigation and the route had been granted by the Board of Administration to the Cincinnati Street Railway Company. The Main street line was operated under a franchise originally granted in 1864. It was the first to build an inclined plane (in 1872). Shortly afterwards as a result of the decision in the United States Court, the Cincinnati Inclined Plane Railway Company was ousted and the road became a part of the system of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company and also of the Sycamore street cable line, formerly owned by the Mount Auburn Railway Cable Company and of the Mount Adams and Eden Park cable line. The purchase price of the last named road was on a basis of $95 in stock of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company for every $100 in stock of the Mount Adams road. The capital stock of the latter road being $2,500,000, the amount paid for this property was $2,375,000 in stock of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company. The sum of $178,000 in cash was paid for the Mount Auburn cable road. In addition to these payments a mortgage indebtedness of $902,000 was assumed. The authorized capital stock of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company was $18,000,000 of which $16,440,450 had been issued up to December 1, 1897. The president of the road at the time of the consolidation, as for many years prior, was John Kilgour and the secretary, James A. Collins. During the year prior to this consolidation 60,000,000 passengers were carried on the Cincinnati street cars. The equipment of the company at this time included about 225 miles of track and about 1,000 cars. In connection with this consolidation, which practically resulted in the street railroad system as it is to-day operated under the lease of the Cincinnati Traction Company, it may be well to mention a few incidents in street railroad history. As will be remembered the first street cars were horse cars and were established in 1859, the routes in operation being the John, Seventh, Third and Pendleton lines. In September, 1884, the first cable cars ran up Gilbert avenue on the Walnut Hills cable line. These were quickly followed by the Mount Auburn and Vine street cable lines. The first electric cars in the city ran in the summer of 1888 on the Colerain avenue line from the old Brighton House to Centre street, Camp Washington, although the Mount Auburn electric road was the pioneer in the use of this power.

THE INCLINED PLANES.

The Mount Auburn Inclined Plane was the first of these remarkable structures (so characteristic of Cincinnati) to be built. This was opened to the public in 1872 and ran from the head of Main street the length of 900 feet to a point on the crest of the hill known as Mount Auburn, 312 feet higher. After the terrible accident of October 15, 1889, which resulted in the releasing of a car at the head of the incline and its rushing with lightning like speed to the foot, carrying death and destruction with it, this plane was remodeled in 1890 at a cost of $200,000. After the control of this line had passed into the hands of the consolidated system, this plane was demolished and abandoned. The second inclined plane was that on Price Hill built by the Price Hill Inclined Plane Company. This was on Eighth street and was opened on July 13, 1875; it ascended 800 feet with separate tracks for passenger and freight traffic to an elevation of 350 feet. This was built at a cost of $300,000. It is no longer used by the street cars. A year later the Bellevue Inclined Plane at the head of Elm street was opened. It was remodeled in 1890 but reconstructed in 1892 at a cost of $375,000. Its length is 980 feet and its elevation 300 feet. In 1877 came the opening of the Mount Adams Inclined Plane, which was remodeled in 1880 and reconstructed in 1892 at a cost of $300,000. Its length is 945 feet and it ascends to an elevation of 268 feet. The latest to be built was the Fairview Inclined Plane which was opened in 1894. This cost $200,000. Its length is 633.8 feet and elevation, 210 feet. From the summit of each of the hills attained by these inclined planes can be had a view of the city which lies spread out like a map at the observer's feet.

THE HILLTOP RESORTS.

For a number of years there were located at the head of each of the inclined planes then in existence public gardens with amusement halls in which various forms of entertainment were given and refreshments of all sorts were served. These were the Lookout House, at the head of Main street, the Bellevue House at the head of Elm street, the Price Hill House at the head of the Price Hill incline and the Highland House on Mount Adams. At the Highland House particularly were held many notable gatherings. Here Mr. Thomas gave his series of summer orchestra concerts and here for a number of years a comic opera company performed throughout the summer. These performances were attended by the best class of citizens and many of them, especially those at the Highland House and for a short time those at the Price Hill House, were regarded as very important social events. The enforcement of the Sunday law which made it impossible to sell beer or alcoholic liquors of any sort took away from these places of amusement a large source of their revenues and finally resulted in their complete abandonment. Nothing has taken their place. The only substitutes that in any way resemble them have been the summer night concerts at the Zoological Garden, Chester Park, and at the Lagoon and Coney Island, all of which are more remote from the heart of the city than were the hilltop resorts. The abandonment of these resorts has been a distinct loss to the city and has taken from it one of its most characteristic and harmless forms of amusement.

The last horse car in the heart of the city which ran on the Third street line was abandoned October 26, 1895, and the road was reconstructed into an electric route. The first all night electric cars were run in September, 1895, on the Colerain avenue route. In 1901 the Cincinnati street car system came under the control of the Cincinnati Traction Company by the lease of all the lines of the old company. Under the terms of this lease, the lessee guarantees dividends upon the stock of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company upon a rising scale which eventually will reach the rate of six percent. There are in Cincinnati (June, 1903) about 40 routes operated by the Cincinnati Traction Company and also the Mill creek valley route and three routes operated by the South Covington & Cincinnati Street Railway Company. In addition there are five inter-urban railways with several new ones in course of construction.

THE SPANISH WAR

Naturally created much excitement in Cincinnati particularly because of the fact that the Sixth United States Infantry, which took such a gallant part at San Juan Hill, had been located at Fort Thomas just across the river for a period of about eight years. As a result many of the officers and men were well known to residents of the city. The first glimpse of war that Cincinnati had seen for 33 years came on April 19, 1898, when the Sixth left its quarters and marched through Cincinnati on its departure for the field of battle. The regiment consisted of 496 men and as it paraded through the streets equipped for marching and not for display it made a marked impression upon all who observed it and brought home the grim possibilities in store for these men, many of whom in fact never returned to this country. The Sixth traveled to Tampa which point it left June 14th, landing at Daiquiri, a little port 12 miles east of Siboney, on June 22nd. Nine days later on July 1st this regiment together with the Sixteenth and Thirteenth made the famous charge up San Juan Hill and captured the blockhouse on top. The following day it held its position on the hill in the face of a storm of shells and bullets and during the night repulsed the efforts of the Spaniards to recapture the point. The regiment remained in the trenches on the hill until July 6th, when it moved a little to the left. It was not until July 14th that it was able to leave the trenches for a regular camp. On August 8th what was left of the regiment started home arriving at Montauk Point, New York, on August 14th and at Cincinnati on the night of Tuesday, September 20th. Here it was given a grand welcome as it marched through the streets to its headquarters at Camp Wetherill where it remained for about a week and then returned to Fort Thomas. On Saturday, September 24th, the regiment paraded through the streets escorted by the Chamber of Commerce and the First Regiment. Afterwards the men were given a luncheon and the officers were banqueted at the Grand Hotel by the Army and Navy League. In the afternoon an exhibition drill was given at the Base Ball Park followed by a ball game between teams of the

regiment and the First Regiment of the Ohio National Guard. The regulars defeated the First Regiment nine by a score of 5 to 3. The proceeds of the game were given to a fund for the erection at Fort Thomas of a memorial tablet to the members of the Sixth who had fallen. On October 1, 1898, a banquet was given to the officers of the regiment at the St. Nicholas Hotel. At the time the regiment left the city for the war, it was in command of Colonel Cochran who was relieved from duty shortly afterwards and the charge up San Juan Hill was led by Lieutenant-Colonel Egbert. The officers killed in this attack were: Capt. A. M. Wetherill, Lieut. Jules G. Ord and Lieutenants Turman and Benchley. Colonel Egbert, Captains Torry and Walker and Lieutenants Purdy, Gross, Robertson and Simons were wounded. The total record of the regiment at Santiago was: Officers killed in action 4, men killed in action 13, officers wounded, 7, men wounded 95, a total of 119 killed and wounded, about one-fifth of the regiment. Six of the men died of fever and two at Montauk Point.

After the return of the Sixth, a movement was started by citizens of Cincinnati to place a memorial tablet at Fort Thomas in honor of the dead. As a result a design made by H. L. Bridwell was accepted and Mr. Bridwell, assisted by H. F. Farny and J. H. Gest, was given charge of the completion of the work and the selection of a sculptor. The sculptor chosen was Clement J. Barnhorne and the tablet which cost about $2,500 was fixed upon the stone tower at Fort Thomas.

Shortly after the Sixth left the city for the scene of war, the First Regiment, Ohio National Guard, was ordered to prepare for service. This was the local military organization with headquarters at the handsome Armory on Freeman avenue built from 1886 to 1889 at a cost of $115,000. The regiment left the city 1,300 strong April 28th, receiving a fine ovation as it paraded the streets to the depot. The men were mustered into service about a week later, less than 20 percent being refused on account of disability. They were subsequently ordered to Chickamauga and to Tampa where they arrived in the early part of June. On the 9th of June they were loaded on transports to go to Cuba but the orders were countermanded and they were once more landed at Tampa, afterwards moving to Fernandina and then to Jacksonville. They reached Cincinnati on their return home September 15th and were mustered out of the service on October 25th and 26th. But five men died in the campaign, of whom but one was of the original number that started. The regiment saw no active service. The commanding officer was Col. C. B. Hunt, Paul M. Millikin was lieutenant-colonel and Thomas W. Thomas, Samuel W. Kennedy, John Proctor and Frank W. Hendley, majors.

One of the troops of the First Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Troop H, was composed principally of artillerymen of Battery B of the First Regiment. The organization was then mustered in as a cavalry troop in the regiment commanded by Lieut.-Col. William Day and the troop 97 strong left the city in May for Chickamauga. It subsequently was sent to Tampa and afterwards to Huntsville and returned to the city September 14th. Its commander was Capt. Fred Herman.

Not only were the regular soldiers and the militia interested in the war, but the whole city was enthusiastic and volunteers were plentiful. As a result a number of military organizations sprang up, many of which saw no service. Eight companies of National Reserves of 72 men each were organized by Joseph W. Heintzman of which two became companies of the Tenth Ohio Infantry, United States Volunteers. The captains of these companies were Lowe Emerson and Verner Guthrie. A regiment was organized by Col. Nicholas Kleeman and Maj. John Nagel but despite the fact that it was soon brought to a first class condition it was never accepted by the State. Capt. Cassilly C. Cooke recruited the company which was finally attached to the First Regiment as Company M. The Cincinnati Cavalry Troop, an organization of 30 young men and a captain, Capt. E. O. Dana, offered its services but they were declined. Another organization was the colored regiment of Col. J. W. Lake. This regiment was not accepted but many of its members joined other organizations. Two companies of volunteer engineers were recruited in Cincinnati, all of whose officers were practical engineers and all of whose members were skilled mechanics. These companies in command of Maj. Richard Henry Savage were transferred first to Fort Sheridan and afterwards to Montauk Point. They subsequently were sent to Cuba in November, 1898. Among the officers of these companies were Captains Howard A. Springer

and T. L. Hueston and Lieutenants William M. Venable, C. E. Lawton, M. M. Cooley and George A. Purington.

May 24, 1898, was observed as Dewey Day in commemoration of the victory at Manila. Business houses were closed and a monster parade of 20,000 men took place, of which Mayor Tafel was grand marshal. In the evening a mimic battle of Manila was given by a fleet of river steamboats. During the war an Army and Navy League was organized for the care of the sick, wounded or indigent soldiers passing through Cincinnati. Its president was Gen. B. R. Cowen and the vice-presidents were representatives from each of the so-called hereditary societies and charitable associations. About 1,200 soldiers were taken care of by this association, 800 at the Central Union Depot and 400 at the Little Miami, in which work $9,000 was expended, as well as a large amount of supplies furnished by business houses.

Another incident of the war was the "American Boy" episode which was an attempt, first suggested by a school boy at Hughes High School, W. Rankin Goode, to raise a fund by voluntary contributions from the school children of the United States to build a battle-ship to replace the "Maine." A large sum of money was raised by branches of the American Boy Association organized all over the United States but this did not prove sufficient for the purpose of the association.

The American Patriotic League was organized by the Jewish people of the city for the purpose of securing funds from Rusisan Jews to build a warship for the United States. Many contributions were received but the speedy close of the war resulted in the abandonment of this scheme.

THE G. A. R. ENCAMPMENT.

In 1898 there was held in Cincinnati from September 5th to September 11th the encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. This was in charge of a Citizens' Committee who raised a guarantee fund and made the arrangements for entertaining the visiting comrades. This committee consisted of 31 members, each of whom was chairman of a sub-committee. The chairman of the executive board was Melville E. Ingalls and the executive director, William B. Melish. Over 200,000 strangers visited the city as its guests. Four fine arches illuminated by electric lights were erected,—one in front of the Government Building, one at Fourth and Race, one at Vine and 12th and one at Sixth and Race. The arch in front of the Government Building cost $5,200 and its illumination $800. The other three arches cost almost $4,000. The arch at Sixth and Race was built largely from donations of colored people. The encampment was opened by the dedication of Camp Sherman in Chester Park on September 5th, which was followed by the labor parade in celebration of Labor Day and closed with a great camp fire in Music Hall. On the following day there was a parade of Naval Veterans, Union Ex-Prisoners of War, Sons of Veterans, and military organizations in charge of Gen. M. L. Hawkins, grand marshal, and in the evening another camp fire. The third day was the day of the parade of the Grand Army of the Republic and its review by the commander-in-chief. Gen. Andrew Hicklenlooper acted as grand marshal. This parade which was a monster one was noteworthy for the promptness with which it started and its orderly management. On Thursday there were meetings of the national encampment and affiliated organizations and receptions of various sorts. In the afternoon came a grand "Civic and Industrial Parade and Peace Jubilee" in charge of Amor Smith, Jr. The day was closed by a fine display of fireworks on the river front.

THE JUBILEE SAENGERFEST

Of the North American Saengerbund in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the bund, which was organized in Cincinnati, was held in the city in June, 1899. A prize of $1,000 was offered by Frederick H. Alms for the best choral composition. For this occasion a special building was erected on Erkenbrecher avenue opposite the entrance to the Zoological Garden. Unfortunately after the building had progressed well towards completion it became apparent that the structure was not sufficiently strong and a modification of the plans became necessary. This and a number of other unforeseen contingencies delayed the work so that the whole was not ready for the opening performance, which was therefore postponed for one night. As a result the Saengerfest was not a financial success. An effort was made to recoup the losses by a number of entertainments and particularly by a prize fight, which however was finally stopped by an injunction obtained from Judge Hollister upon the application of the State of Ohio through its Attorney General.

THE FALL FESTIVALS.

In the year 1900 was celebrated the first of the Fall Festivals. These festivals grew out of a desire to attract to the city merchants and residents of the neighborhood of Cincinnati for the purpose of showing to them the opportunities to do business offered by this city. For this purpose for the four years from 1900 to 1903 a festival was held at Music Hall and in the Exposition buildings, which partook somewhat, in a limited way, of the character of the old expositions. Here were industrial displays and in the auditorium various entertainments while in Washington Park and along the canal were the amusement features proper. A prominent part of the festival scheme each year were the street parades of which in 1900 there were three,—the "Industrial," "Floral" and "Civic." A year later the "Civic Parade" gave way to the parade of the Itannienies in charge of an order organized for this special purpose. In 1902 the "Floral Parade" was abandoned and in its place was substituted the "Roosevelt Day Parade" on the occasion of the visit of the President. Special features were the Editors' and Authors' Day, held in 1901 and 1902, the dramatic performances of "Marco Polo" and the engagement of the Sousa and Innes bands in 1903. The Festival Association was composed of a number of citizens, of whom the presidents for the four years during which festivals were given were C. R. Braunstein, J. Stacy Hill, Frank W. Foulds and Otto Armleder. There was a guarantee fund which fortunately was never called upon. The festivals were not each one profitable but in the aggregate the receipts exceeded the expenditures despite the pall thrown over the festivities by the death of President McKinley in 1901 and the fire at the Odeon in 1902.

NEW BUILDINGS.

There can be no question that the city has taken on renewed strength and increased in prosperity during the last few years. New buildings have been erected of a magnitude far surpassing that of any within the two decades following the war. The handsome office buildings known as the Wiggins Block, Johnston Building and later the Carew Building, Pickering Building, St. Paul Building, the United Bank Building, and the First National Bank Building located in the heart of the city made a great change not only in the appearance of this portion of the business center, but also in the habits of professional and business men. The era of sky-scrapers was begun by the erection of the Neave Building at the northeast corner of Fourth and Race streets, the pioneer of its kind in the city, and one which excited at the time of its erection great interest. In 1899 came the building of the Union Savings Bank & Trust Company sky-scraper. This has been rapidly followed by the Traction Building, the Mercantile Library Building, the Ingalls Building, all of which are completed and occupied by tenants, and the First National Bank Building, which has almost reached the state of completion. The Ingalls Building is said to be the tallest concrete structure in the world. Another wonderful structure built entirely of concrete is the grand-stand at the Cincinnati Base Ball Park. The Third National Bank Building just completed can justly boast that it is unsurpassed in beauty by any bank building in the country. At present a large number of buildings are in progress of erection. The list is too long to record here, but one of them—the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railroad Freight Warehouse—can hardly be omitted. In this building, which is five stories high and 90 feet wide, 420 feet have already been built and work is now about to begin upon the remaining 800 feet, which will make this structure 1,220 feet in length, one of the most striking ones in this city.

THE CENSUS OF 1900.

By the census of 1900 Cincinnati with a population of 325,902 was shown to be the 10th city in the Union. Ten years before its population had been 296,908, which was an increase of 41,769, or 16.4 percent over that of 1880. The increase in the 10 years closing the century was 28,994, or 9.8 percent.

The report of the Census Bureau (Census Bulletin No. 154) gives a number of interesting facts with relation to the city, most of which have been referred to in the earlier portions of this work. Ohio which in the census of 1840-1850-1860 and 1870 had ranked fourth in the value of manufactures in 1880 had become fifth which rank it has since held. As early as 1803 manufactured products such as flour, beef and pork had been shipped to points along the Mississippi River as far south as New Orleans. Cotton and woolen machinery had been built before 1809 and in the year 1835 the city's foundries and machine shops had manufactured 100 steam engines, 204 cotton gins, 20 sugar mills and 22 boilers. During the 10 years prior to 1841 1,500 plantation cotton spinning machines

had been sent South from a single machine shop. Ten years later there were 44 foundries and machine shops in the city, one-third of which manufactured stoves almost exclusively, as many as a thousand being produced in a single day. The whiskey industry had been carried on in Cincinnati from a time previous to 1803 from which time whiskey was sent from Cincinnati to New Orleans. Several of the largest distilleries of the world are located in this city and the distilled liquors produced in Cincinnati in 1900 were valued at about nine and one-half millions of dollars, almost 76 per cent of the total for the State, which ranked third in the country in this industry. The cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of wine had begun as early as 1825 and by 1851 there were 40 manufactories of wine in the city. About 1858 the climate of Southern Ohio was found to be unfavorable for vine culture and it was practically abandoned in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. Another industry especially mentioned is that of tobacco, which had been carried on in Ohio before 1810. Another of the earlier industries was the lumber industry which is referred to before 1803. The familiar statement that the pioneer establishment of the Western pork packing industry was founded in Cincinnati by 1818 by Elisha Mills is repeated. Between 1842 and 1852 Cincinnati packed 27 per cent of the hogs packed in the United States and was the first city to receive the sobriquet of "Porkopolis" on this account. About the beginning of the war, the center of corn production having moved westward, Cincinnati lost its precedence in this industry. Other prominent industries were the manufacture of soap and candles, the printing industry particularly the publishing of school books and music, the manufacture of boots and shoes, men's and women's clothing, carriages and wagons, carriage and wagon materials, agricultural implements, pottery, furniture, leather and leather goods and glass. "The leading manufacturing industries of Cincinnati, in the order of their importance, were clothing, men's, factory product; foundry and machine shop products; slaughtering and meat packing; liquors, distilled; boots and shoes, factory product; liquors, malt; carriages and wagons; tobacco, cigars and cigarettes; and furniture, factory product."

As Hamilton County is tributary to Cincinnati, it seems not improper to quote some of the figures with relation to the manufactures that refer to the entire county. In 1900 the number of establishments in the county was 5,582 and the capital invested was $124,571,235 of which $11,743,986 was in land, $17,581,210 buildings, $25,538,982 machinery, tools and implements, and $69,707,057 cash and sundries. The number of proprietors and firm members was 6,300 and the salaried officials and clerks numbered 7,077 with an aggregate salary of $7,277,803. The average number of wage earners in these establishments was 68,114 and the total wages $29,138,241. The total cost of materials used was $85,436,302 and the value of the products including custom work and repairing $173,582,824.

The figures for the city were, of course, slightly lower. The number of establishments engaged in all industries in 1900 was 5,127. The total capital employed was $109,582,142, of which $10,024,369 was land, $13,894,633 buildings, $23,414,761 machinery, tools and implements and $62,248,379 cash and sundries. The number of proprietors and firm members was 5,805 and that of salaried officials and clerks 6,657, with salaries aggregating $6,776,141. The total number of wage earners was 63,240 and the wages paid $27,189,069. Of these wage earners 46,882 were men and 15,314 women 16 years of age and over, while 1,044 were children under 16, receiving in wages $23,275,688, $3,761,098 and $152,283 respectively. The total expenses of these establishments were $22,873,620. The total cost of materials used in these establishments was $77,539,292 and the value of products including custom work and repairing $157,806,834.

The largest number of establishments in any one industry were those devoted to the manufacture of men's clothing (factory product); of these there were 351 with a capital of $8,262,871 employing 591 officials and clerks and 3,784 wage earners, of whom the larger part (2,347) were women. The total cost of materials used in this industry was $6,640,080 and the value of the product was $11,950,648. The salaries paid in this industry aggregated $616,432 and the wages $1,326,045. This industry not only employed the largest number of establishments but produced the greatest value of product. In addition to the establishments devoted to men's clothing (factory product), there were 270 establishments devoted to men's clothing (custom work and repairing), employing 880 wage earners and turning out a product of $2,169,113. Five establishments were devoted to the manufacture of button holes for men's clothing

(factory product), employed 144 wage earners and turned out a product of $74,518. Women's clothing manufacturing (dressmaking) was carried on in 229 establishments, employing 634 wage earners, earning $166,369, and producing $583,315. The factory product of women's clothing occupied 38 establishments and 1,363 wage earners, earning $398,618 wages and turning out a product of $2,074,805. The value of the materials used by the dressmakers was $177,558, while that in the manufacture of the factory product was $1,173,226. The next largest industry in the number of establishments was that of carpentry,—304 establishments employing 1,160 wage earners and producing a product of $3,418,563. The second largest item from the standpoint of the value of products was that of foundry and machine shop products,—154 establishments with a capital of $10,363,917, owned by 130 persons with 683 salaried officials and 6,680 wage earners, producing $11,705,778 of products. The cost of materials used was $4,963,461, the salaries paid $642,303 and the wages earned $3,211,423. The total expenses of this industry in addition to the labor cost and materials used amounted to $964,178. The third most valuable product comes under the heading,—slaughtering and meat packing (wholesale). Engaged in this were 21 establishments with a capital of $2,790,814, owned by 27 proprietors, under whom were 98 salaried officials and 801 wage earners. The salary list of these establishments aggregated $103,830 and the wages, $382,691. The materials used were valued at $8,083,282, and other expenses were $419,379. The total value of the products was $9,532,057. Distilled liquors were produced by three establishments owned by two proprietors, under whom were 34 salaried officials and clerks and 163 wage earners. The salary list aggregated $54,696, and the wages $97,745. The value of the materials used was $1,034,113 and miscellaneous expenses were $7,344,318, almost altogether included under the heading "rent of offices, interest, et cetera." The capital invested was $1,522,800 and the product was valued at $9,419,687. Thirty-nine factories were engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes with a capital of $3,688,918. These employed 392 salaried officials and 6,919 wage earners to whom were paid $2,187,356 in wages. The value of the product was $8,788,424. Malt liquors were manufactured by 21 establishments with a capital of $11,370,912. The value of this product was $6,387,383. Carriages and wagons employed 63 establishments and 2,147 wage earners, in addition to 280 officials and clerks. The value of the product was $6,096,108. Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes were manufactured in 295 establishments, employing 3,771 persons. The product was valued at $4,781,003. Furniture (factory product) was manufactured in 54 establishments, employing 240 officials and clerks and 2,355 wage earners. The value of the product was $3,594,196. The printing and publishing of newspapers and periodicals employed 81 establishments, 443 officials and clerks, 1,044 wage earners and produced a product valued at $3,546,013. Leather goods tanned, curried and finished were manufactured in 15 establishments employing 25 officials and clerks and 943 wage earners, producing a product of $3,446,525. Bread and bakery products were manufactured in 258 establishments by 1,273 people, producing a product of $3,048,295. Other products above a million dollars were included under the head of carriage and wagon materials $1,136,940, coffee and spice (roasting and grinding) $1,416,395, confectionery $1,525,359, cooperage $1,110,860, lithographing and engraving $1,665,116, lumber and timber products $2,044,650, to which should be added lumber (planing mill products including sash, doors and blinds) $887,253, masonry (brick and stone) $1,804,438, painting (house, sign, etc.) $1,149,192, paints $1,844,207, pickles, preserves and sauces $1,077,450, plumbing and gas and steam fitting $1,147,101, book and job printing and publishing $2,513,458, saddlery and harness $1,194,474, soap and candles $1,877,062, tin smithing, copper smithing and sheet iron working $1,521,564 and tobacco (chewing, smoking and snuff) $1,987,464.

Recapitulating, the five leading manufacturing industries from the standpoint of value of product are: Men's clothing (factory product), $11,950,648; foundry and machine shop products, $11,705,778; slaughtering and meat packing (wholesale), $9,532,057; distilled liquors, $9,419,687, and boots and shoes (factory product), $8,788,424.

The five leading industries from the standpoint of the number of establishments are: Men's clothing (factory product) 351, carpentering 304, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes 295, boots and shoes (custom work and repairing) 292 and men's clothing (custom work and repairing) 270.

The five leading industries from the standpoint of wage earners employed are: Boots and shoes (factory product) 6,919, foundry and ma-

chine shop products 6,680, men's clothing (factory product) 3,784, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes 3,603 and furniture (factory product), 2,355.

The five industries that pay the highest wages are: Foundry and machine shop products $3,211,423, boots and shoes (factory product) $2,187,356, men's clothing (factory product) $1,326,045, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes $1,258,184, and carriages and wagons $1,116,426.

The largest amount of capital employed is in the manufacture of malt liquors,—$11,370,912, of which $1,821,052 was land, $3,262,482 buildings and $2,139,654 machinery. This was followed by foundry and machine products $10,363,917, men's clothing (factory product) $8,262,871, leather (tanned, curried and finished) $4,865,480 and furniture (factory product) $3,817,295.

The population in the city as classified by sex, race and nativity in 1900 was: Males 157,140, females 168,762; whites 311,404, negroes 14,482, Indians 2, Mongolians 14; native 267,941, foreign born 57,961; percent negro 4.4, percent foreign born 17.8. The largest number of the foreign born came from Germany, 38,219; from Ireland there came 9,114, England, Scotland and Wales 2,902, Russia 1,976, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary 956, Italy 917, Poland 471, Denmark, Norway and Sweden 172 and other countries 2,203.

By age periods the classification shows that under five years of age there were 29,821; from five to nine, 32,173; 10 to 14, 30,605; 15 to 24, 65,056; 25 to 34, 60,402; 35 to 44, 47,441; 45 to 64, 47,128; and 65 years and older, 13,058; age unknown, 218. The total population of school age was 100,821, of whom 97,270 were white and 3,551 negroes; of these 53.8 percent were attending school, 54 percent white and 50 percent negro. There were 8,848 illiterate of 10 years of age and over. Of these 6,376 were white and 2,472 negroes, Indians and Mongolians, or 1,262 native and 5,114 foreign born; in other words, the illiterate population was 3.4 percent, of which 7-10 of one percent were native born whites. The number of males of voting age was 92,799, of which 87,786 were white and 4,997 negroes; 65,907 were native and 26,892 foreign born.

Cincinnati contained 94,580 single males and 92,574 single females; 57,180 married males and 57,547 married females; 5,018 widowed males and 18,057 widowed females; 289 divorced males and 554 divorced females; 73 males and 30 females seem to have escaped the census man for their class is unknown. The total poulation of the city at least 10 years of age was 263,908, and of these 141,699 were engaged in gainful occupations, divided as follows: Agriculture 1,123, professional service 6,906, domestic and personal service 31,661, trade and transportation 41,052, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits 60,957. Of the whole population over 10 years of age 125,941 were males, of whom 103,913 were occupied in gainful occupations and 137,967 were females, of whom 37,786 were engaged in gainful occupations. In professional service there were 4,842 males and 2,064 females; in domestic and personal service 17,415 males and 14,246 females; in trade and transportation 34,573 males, 6,479 females; and in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits 45,989 males and 14,968 females.

The total number of dwellings in the city was 40,634, in which resided 74,536 families. The average number of persons to a dwelling was 8; to a private family, 4.2; 14,891 families or 20.9 percent of the population dwelt in their own homes, of which 9,725 were free from incumbrance. To quote the population statistics may be given the total figures of Hamilton County which, having a surface of 425 square miles, had in 1900 a population of 409,479 people, as against 374,573 10 years before.

The mortality tables for 1900 show 6,214 deaths, of whom 5,786 were whites. Of the whites 3,573 were native and 1,730 foreign born and of the native whites 1,574 were born of native parents and 1,373 were children of one or both parents foreign born. The death rate per thousand was 19.1, higher than any large city in the State, except Chillicothe. The death rate among whites was 18.6 and among negroes, Indians and Mongolians, 29.5. Among the native born the death rate was 15.4 and foreign born, 32.6. The lowest rate was in the case of those born of one or both parents foreign born, 13 per thousand, while the rate where both parents were native was 18.3. The principal causes of death figured from 100,000 population were: Consumption 235.3, pneumonia 157.1, diarrheal diseases 127.6, diphtheria and croup 33.1, typhoid fever 32.5, influenza 14.7, scarlet fever 8.3, whooping cough 7.1, measles 2.1 and malarial fever 1.5.

In the early part of April, 1904, an estimate was issued by the Census Bureau which gave the population of Cincinnati as 332,934. This estimate is supposed to be of date of January

1, 1904, and to be based on the actual increase of the two previous decades. It, of course, does not include the villages annexed since the first of the year, which are supposed to contain about 6,000 people.

It is the custom in connection with the discussion as to Cincinnati's population to refer to the fact that as the center of industrial, social and intellectual life it includes a number of the villages of Hamilton County as well as the neighboring towns of Covington and Newport, Kentucky, and their suburbs. Covington in 1900 had a population of 42,938 and Newport 28,301. The population alone, however, is not a fair test of a city's importance and in the judgment of the writer altogether too much attention has been paid to its significance. The constant repetition of this statement, however, seems to imply a doubt of its truth, and the never-ending discussion as to the correctness of census figures seems not only fruitless in results but absolutely injurious to a community's standing. A much better indication of the material prosperity of the city is given by the figures from the census reports of manufactures and from the reports of the Chamber of Commerce, quoted in this chapter. Another item that is usually given in these discussions as affording an indication of Cincinnati's business standing is the aggregate of bank clearances, which for 1903 was $1,154,-647,600.

THE INDUSTRIES OF 1902.

The reports of the Chamber of Commerce, which have been continued for over 50 years, are of great value as giving the history of the development of the commerce and industry of the city. The figures given "are not confined to the corporation limits of the city, but embrace the immediate surroundings which are a part of this centralization of industrial enterprise." According to these figures the value of commodities received in 1902 was $545,000,000 as compared with $407,538,800 in 1900. The value of manufactures was $315,000,000, an increase of $30,000,000 in two years. The Clearing House exchanges for 1902 aggregated $1,080,902,000, as against $795,593,000 in 1900. Many gains were indicated in industrial operations during the preceding five years. The estimated valuation of commodities received in 1902 as compared with 1897 showed an increase of 97 percent, the increase in manufactures was 34 percent, in bank clearings 72 percent, in the production of leather 67 percent, of boots and shoes 60 percent, soap 67 percent, harness and saddlery 41 percent, machinery 67 percent, vehicles 33 percent, furniture and office furnishings 33 percent, clothing 30 percent, groceries 25 percent, pig iron received and sales for shipment 118 percent, petroleum received and sales for shipment 81 percent, lumber received 196 percent, shipments of meat 22 percent. Large gains were also made in the output of electrical equipments, machine tools, pianos and other musical instruments, printing ink, chemicals, etc. The receipts of grain for the local trade for the year aggregated 13,845,000 bushels and flour 2,408,-000 barrels, a slight falling off. The receipts of hogs, exclusive of through movements, were 781,800, showing a falling off as the annual average for five years prior to 1902 was 989,000. Attention is called to the fact that Cincinnati was for many years the leading point in pork packing operations in the West. It "continued so until the base of supplies of the raw material, through the development of the agricultural resources westward, encouraged the erection of slaughtering establishments in more particular proximity to the enlarging supplies of hogs." The pioneer establishment in the industry founded in 1818 is given as that of Elisha Mills and the growth of the industry is shown by figures beginning in 1832, at which time the number of hogs packed was 85,000. For the next 10 years the annual average was 136,000, the second 10 years 310,000, the third 10 years 395,000 and the fourth 10 years 415,000. The highest records in each of these terms were 220,000, 475,-000, 475,000 and 630,000. Before 1872 meat packing was confined to the winter months but in that year as a result of artificial refrigeration, summer packing was made possible and the decline of the industry was delayed until 1879 (Census Bulletin No. 154). The highest annual record since the establishment of summer killing was in 1878-79, when 778,000 was reached, or 280,000 in excess of the year ending March 1, 1903, of which the total was 498,000.

In the manufacture of soap the output in Cincinnati is greater than that of any other locality in the country and an estimate of the quantity made is given as 235,000,000 pounds, approximately worth $16,000,000. Rectified spirits were produced in 1902 to the extent of 15,184,000 gallons and malt liquors to the extent of 1,385,-000 barrels. The local consumption of malt liquors was approximately 985,000 barrels, or 30,535,000 gallons, about 55 gallons per capita of the population of Cincinnati and suburbs, representing an annual expenditure of about $22

per capita for the year, or an aggregate of $12,000,000. Retailers paid out for the quantity handled by them for the year $6,400,000.

"Cincinnati still holds first position in the country in sales of pig iron; dealers here doing large business in effecting transactions for direct movement from furnaces to points of destination." Receipts of pig iron in 1902 were 743,600 tons and the shipments 691,900 tons. Sales by local dealers for direct shipment not included in foregoing figures aggregated 1,319,800 tons and the value of the total receipts and sales for direct shipment approximated $43,300,000. The receipts of manufactured iron and steel indicated a total of 422,600 tons, valued at $21,100,000. The arrivals of coal reached the total of 87,996,793 bushels. There was a considerable falling off in the receipts of cotton; the number of bales received aggregated 179,800, as compared with 233,900 bales for the year preceding. Lumber amounting to 96,500 car-loads and valued at almost $35,000,000 was received. Leaf tobacco valued at $9,710,000 was included among the receipts and 5,880,000 pounds of smoking tobacco, 1,695,000 pounds of chewing tobacco and 271,003,000 cigars were manufactured in Cincinnati, Covington and Newport. This, by the way, represented a very decided falling off. The aggregate sales of dry goods for the year amounted to $41,000,000. The total local sales of boots and shoes, including local and other manufacture, is estimated at $22,950,000 and those manufactured in the city at $16,000,000. The sales of clothing reached a total of $26,975,000. The output of furniture and office fixtures is estimated at $8,000,000. In this line Cincinnati claims the first position in the country. Another large industry is that of vehicle manufacturing and it is claimed for the city that its output of vehicles exceeds that of any other place in the country; $8,000,000 is estimated as a fair value for the product of 1902. The variation between the census figures and those of the Chamber of Commerce calls for discussion and it is claimed that a fair proximate estimate of the value of manufactures for the locality is $285,000,000 for 1900, $300,000,000 for 1901 and $315,000,000 for 1902.

The industries in which the city excels other localities specially mentioned are those of wood working machinery, machine tools, machinery and engines of every kind, vehicles, soap, metal products of every description, clothing, shoes, leather, harness and saddlery, furniture, bank, bar and office furnishings, distilling and brewing, printing, printing ink, playing cards, chemicals, pianos, lumber, pork and beef products, fireproof safes and tight cooperage. Notable articles of export are machinery of all kinds, machine tools, soap, oils, pianos, decorated pottery, whiskeys, pharmaceutical products, stoves, and furniture and office furnishings. The local internal revenue collections for 1902 aggregated $11,687,000, which is but little over the annual average. Ninety freight and passenger steamers of a total tonnage of 15,483.18 are given as plying between Cincinnati and other ports during the year 1902. By the foregoing figures compiled from the census returns of 1900 and the Chamber of Commerce report of two years later the statistical side of Cincinnati of the present day is fairly well covered.

CHAPTER LII.

BANKING AND EARLY MONEY

THE BANKS PRIOR TO THE WAR — THE BANKS OF THE PRESENT DAY — EARLY MONEY OF CINCINNATI — ABORIGINAL COINS OR CURRENCY — MONEY OF THE EARLY WHITE SETTLERS OF CINCINNATI — VERY EARLY PAPER MONEY OF CINCINNATI — CINCINNATI-CALIFORNIA GOLD MONEY — TRADESMEN'S TOKENS, STORE AND SHOP CARDS, OR "HARD TIMES" MONEY — "NECESSITY" MONEY OF THE REBELLION, 1861-65 — COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS OF COINS, MEDALS, TOKENS, BANK BILLS, "SHINPLASTERS," ETC., IN CINCINNATI.

THE BANKS PRIOR TO THE WAR.

The early history of banking has been given at length in the chapters dealing with the period. The story of the Miami Exporting Company is a story of enterprise and disaster. The other banks of those days as well,—the Farmers' & Mechanics' founded almost a decade later in 1812, the Bank of Cincinnati opened in 1814,—all gave way to the great national bank and finally the panic of 1820 stopped for a time, at least, all banking enterprises.

The Bank of the United States, however, established another agency at a little later time in May, 1825. Peter Benson was sent out to open the Branch and a good local board of directors was selected. In 1829 the president of this, the only banking institution in the city, was James Reynolds and Peter Benson was the cashier. The directors were Bellamy Storer, M. P. Cassilly, William Neff, John H. Groesbeck, William Phillips, Henry Emerson, J. W. Mason, C. W. Gazzam, Joseph Gest, William Greene, Luman Watson and Benjamin Urner. The capital stock of the Branch was $1,200,000 and the directors are credited with intelligent management which proved highly advantageous to the business of the West. Specie payments were enforced and local banks which were established a little later were compelled to keep their circulation within safe limits and exchange was supplied at fair rates. The bank building which was on the east side of Main street between Third and Fourth was regarded "as one of the chastest specimens of architecture within the city." The front was of freestone and was 40 feet exclusive of the wings which were 10 feet each in width. The remainder of the building was of brick and was two stories high. An engraving of the building is presented in Drake's and Mansfield's "Cincinnati in 1826." Among the new directors in 1831 were David Gwynne and Josiah Lawrence.

At a little later time the capital of the Branch Bank was increased to $1,700,000. The same officers managed the bank for a number of years and there were not many changes in the directorate. In 1834 among the new names were William McLean, Thomas W. Bakewell, Lewis Howell, Charles Sonntag, Lewis Whiteman, Griffin Taylor, Charles S. Clarkson and Jacob Resor. The bank's career ended of course with the expiration of the charter for the parent institution in 1836. Timothy Kirby, its agent, maintained an office in the city for many years for the purpose of winding up its business.

The next bank to be organized in Cincinnati was the Commercial Bank. The Directory of 1829 states that the stock had not yet been entirely subscribed for, but very shortly afterwards the bank opened for business with an

office at No. 45 Main street between Columbia and Front streets. Its capital was $1,000,000 and its president, Robert Buchanan and cashier, William S. Hatch. Its directors included some of the most prominent of Cincinnati's business men, such as Jacob Strader, John S. Lytle, Francis Read, James McCandless, J. Smith Armstrong, Nathaniel Wright, John McCormick, Joseph Smith, Thomas Reilly, John Young, John M. Rowan, John Yeatman, James Johnson, J. R. Coram, Aaron G. Gano and James Hall. The directorate was much changed by 1831, Elisha Brigham, Henry Orne, E. C. Smith, G. R. Gilmore, Caleb Bates, J. T. Martin, David Griffin, Ezekiel Thorp and William S. Hatch acting at that time with but four of the previously named directors: Thomas Reilly, John Young, Francis Read and President Robert Buchanan. Augustus Moore had become cashier with Robert I. Dunlap as teller. Buchanan had been succeeded as president by 1836 by J. S. Armstrong. In 1841 Armstrong was still president and James Hall was cashier. Ten years later Jacob Strader had succeeded Armstrong as president. Just prior to the war the president was James Hall and Charles B. Foote, who afterwards became president and was acting in such capacity at the time the bank went out of existence, was cashier.

Another institution organized about the same time was the Savings Institution of which George W. Jones was president and H. H. Goodman, secretary. Its office was at No. 5 West Third street at Goodman's Exchange office near Main. Its directorate was quite large. In 1836 it included 24,—William Burke, Jacob Burnet, Stephen Burrows, William Crossman, John P. Foote, Calvin Fletcher, Joseph Gest, J. H. Groesbeck, David Gwynne, William Hartshorne, E. S. Haines, Micajah T. Williams, Daniel H. Horne, E. P. Langdon, James McIntyre, E. Morgan, George C. Miller, William Neff, Jacob Resor, Joseph Smith, Wright Smith, Sr., O. M. Spencer, Sr., William Stephenson and Charles Tatem. This institution was strictly a savings bank, receiving the smallest sums for deposit and paying interest which for a number of years exceeded eight percent per annum. Most of the directors at this time had served from the organization of the institution in 1831. Of the first directorate, Martin Baum, Peter Britt, James Reynolds, Lewis Howell, Francis Carr, Ezekiel Thorp, David Loring and Matthew Benson had retired.

The Franklin Bank, another million dollar institution, was incorporated on the 19th of February, 1833. Its banking house was for a time on Main street between Third and Fourth and its president for a great many years was John H. Groesbeck. It is the oldest banking house in the city doing business at the present time. Augustus Moore was its cashier for a number of years and among its early directors were Samuel Wiggins, William Greene, Marcus Smith, John P. Foote, Micajah T. Williams, George Luckey, Josiah Lawrence, Edward King, James McGregor, William Disney, Daniel Corwin (1834), David Loring, George W. Jones, O. M. Spencer, Sr., William S. Johnson, E. S. Haines, Griffin Taylor, Fenton Lawson and J. C. McClellan (1836). By 1841 William Hooper had become the cashier. T. M. Jackson was cashier in 1851 and occupied that position until the time of the war. At this time the bank was called Groesbeck & Company and included J. H. Groesbeck, J. C. Culbertson and Charles H. Kilgour. This company is still in existence as a private bank.

The celebrated Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company was incorporated in February, 1834, with authority to make insurance on lives, to grant and purchase annuities, to receive and execute trusts of every description and to buy and sell bills of exchange and drafts. On all sums received by the company over $100 they allowed not less than four percent per annum. The capital stock was $2,000,000 and it was required to be invested in bonds or notes secured by unincumbered real estate at an interest not to exceed seven percent. About one-fourth of its capital could by the terms of its charter be loaned upon real estate in any one county. The company was authorized to issue bills and notes to an amount not to exceed twice the amount of the funds deposited with the company for a time not less than one year other than the capital stock and was not permitted at any time to have in circulation an amount greater than one-half the capital paid in and invested in bonds and notes. The charter was not to be repealed or amended before the year 1870. The powers of the company were to be exercised by a board of 20 trustees, each of whom was required to have not less than $500 stock. This for many years one of the most powerful institutions of the West had its office for a time at the north-

west corner of Fourth and Main and afterwards at the southwest corner of Third and Main. Its president was Micajah T. Williams; secretary, Samuel R. Miller; and cashier, J. M. Perkins. In its board of directors were such men as Jacob Burnet, Vachel Worthington, Alexander Gibson, David T. Disney, George Luckey, Samuel Fosdick, and James R. Baldridge. In 1851 Charles Stetson became president and his neighbor, William Grene, was the secretary while G. S. Coe acted as cashier. A well known member of the banking fraternity, S. P. Bishop, was the assistant cashier. The panic of 1857 was precipitated by the failure of this institution which suspended payment on August 24th. This suspension was really caused by the action of the New York Branch, which had placed large call loans at points where they were not immediately available. The excitement in the city as a result of this shock to public confidence caused a run on all the banks. Although there was almost universal suspension throughout the country, most of the banks in Cincinnati were able to weather the storm.

The Lafayette Bank was incorporated in February, 1834, with a capital stock of $1,000,000 under a 20-year charter. Its president was Josiah Lawrence and its cashier, W. G. W. Gano. This bank, too, had a distinguished directorate, including such prominent citizens as John D. Jones, Salmon P. Chase, Caleb Bates, Davis B. Lawler, Henry L. Tatem, Wright Smith, C. Donaldson, Charles S. Clarkson, George W. Neff, William McLean, Morgan Neville and S. W. Phelps. In 1839-40 the Franklin and Lafayette banks cooperated in erecting the well known building on the north side of Third street between Walnut and Main, which is still occupied by these two institutions. It was at the time of its erection and is still one of the most majestic buildings not only in the city but in the United States. The architect was Henry Walter, who took its design from that of the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia, although both in fact with their magnificent Doric columns four feet six inches in diameter were modeled from the Parthenon. This building was built of freestone from the banks of the Ohio River. George Carlisle was the president of this bank in 1851. In 1859 the proprietors are given as George Carlisle, Samuel Wiggins and C. P. Cassilly. Mr. Gano still continued as cashier and Henry Peachey was the assistant cashier.

Another bank, the Miami Exporting Company, reappears in 1836 with a capital stock of $600,000, with J. C. Wright as president and J. G. Lamb as cashier. This institution recognized the growth of the city to the north and had its banking house on the northeast corner of Court and Main streets. Among its directors were Daniel Gano, George Graham, Jr., J. W. Caldwell, George W. Jones, Jr., J. W. Coleman, C. W. Gazzam, James Taylor, J. M. Bissell, C. S. Ramsey and W. R. Morris. N. W. Thomas and T. W. Bakewell were subsequent presidents. In 1851 Stanhope S. Roe was cashier. The bank at this time was at No. 700 Main street.

A private institution established in 1834 or 1835 was the Exchange Bank and Saving Institution of John Bates & Company. Its office was at No. 154 Main street. It offered to receive the notes of all solvent banks at par, to pay five percent interest on deposits and made a special point of its exchange facilities for immigrants. It appealed particularly to the industrious mechanic or laborer whose business was on too small a scale to enable him to have an account with the other banking houses.

The banking business during the 20 years following the incorporation of the city was quite successful and the institutions mentioned all prospered. In 1831 we are told that money was in great demand and that the banks discounted at six percent, although the market price of money was greater than that. Ten percent was the market price of money, secured by mortgage, except in very large sums. On personal security the rate of interest varied from one to three percent a month. (Directory of 1831.)

A curious feature was the notices indicating offering and discount days. For instance Monday and Thursday were offering days of the United States Bank; Tuesday and Friday of the Franklin Bank and Wednesday and Saturday of the Commercial Bank and the Exchange Bank. The discount days of the first named bank were Tuesday and Friday, of the Franklin, Wednesday and Saturday and of the Commercial, Monday and Thursday. The banking hours of most of the banks were from nine o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon although the Exchange Bank kept its office open until five in the evening.

In 1841 there were but seven banks in the city, of which five were incorporated. In ad-

dition to those already mentioned was the Bank of Cincinnati, in which G. R. Gilmore was president and George Hatch, cashier. Ten years later but six incorporated banks are given, including the Commercial, Franklin, Lafayette, Mechanics' & Traders', Ohio Life and the City Bank on the south side of Third between Walnut and Vine. Of the last mentioned E. M. Gregory was president and J. P. Reznor, cashier. There were a large number of private banks, many of which were simply brokers' offices. These included Ellis & Morton, T. S. Goodman & Company, George Milne & Company, the Citizens' Bank of W. Smead & Company, B. F. Sanford & Company, Langdon & Hatch, Gilmore & Brotherton, S. O. Alny, Burnet, Shoup & Company, the Merchants', Phoenix and the Western Bank of Scott & McKenzie. These banks were in the main located along Third street or Main and Walnut in the neighborhood of Third. The bank of B. F. Sanford & Company was at Fourth and Walnut while that of Langdon & Hatch was at Court and Main. The Western Bank was at the northwest corner of Western row and Fifth street. The rates offered by the various bankers of the time varied with different institutions. In one case six percent was allowed for deposits and discounts were charged at the rate of 12 percent. This house, Ellis & Morton, claimed to be the first to introduce the system of allowing interest on deposits. It bought no paper but those of depositors. The Citizens' Bank allowed six percent on deposits while Sanford paid 10 percent on special deposits. In the savings department of the Merchants' nine percent was paid.

In 1859 the principal banks given were the Commercial, Lafayette, Groesbeck & Company (Franklin) and Gilmore, Dunlap & Company; the last named was at the northeast corner of Third and Walnut. There were also Evans & Company at the southwest corner of the same streets, which included the well known bankers, Jason Evans, Briggs Swift, H. W. Hughes and W. T. Drake; J. R. Morton & Company, James F. Meline & Company, C. F. Adae & Company, and Alex. Van Hamm's Savings Bank. Many of these were of course brokers rather than bankers but in these institutions were many of the famous bankers of latter days.

The banks that are enumerated in the Directory of 1861 are forty in number. Among them are C. F. Adae & Company, Bank of the Ohio Valley, Bank of Savings, E. G. Burkam & Company, A. G. Burt & Company, Commercial Bank, Culbertson, Kilgour & Company, S. S. Davis & Company, Allis, Young & Company, German Savings Institution, Gilmore, Dunlap & Company, T. S. Goodman & Company, Kinney, Espy & Company, Lafayette Banking Company, Joseph F. Larkin, James F. Meline & Company, J. R. Morton & Company, S. S. Roe & Company, Union Bank and the Walnut Street Bank.

THE BANKS OF THE PRESENT DAY.

Immediately upon the passage of the National Bank Act, steps were taken by many of the banking concerns of the city to share in the benefit of its provisions, and within a very few years almost all the banks of the city were included in the list of national banks. The following figures show the condition of the national banks of Cincinnati at the close of business March 28, 1904:

BANK.	*Capital.*	*Surplus.*	*Undivided Profits.*	*Loans.*	*Gross Deposits.*
Market National	$ 250,000	$200,000	$ 62,618	$ 2,130,563	$ 3,083,324
Fifth National	600,000	300,000	124,368	3,964,135	4,022,511
Ohio Valley	700,000	140,000	210,464	2,287,992	3,673,507
Fourth National	500,000	700,000	69,325	2,770,910	3,566,042
Third National	1,200,000	240,000	344,361	3,901,972	5,547,999
First National	3,000,000	600,000	598,489	7,742,670	8,640,019
Citizens' National	1,000,000	200,000	383,376	3,353,984	5,602,045
Equitable National	250,000	50,000	28,097	1,475,950	1,773,994
German National	500,000	500,000	124,383	2,502,295	4,673,670
Atlas National	400,000	400,000	31,240	1,366,617	2,827,441
Merchants' National	1,000,000	300,000	115,575	3,539,627	4,400,258
Second National	200,000	200,000	42,000	1,700,000	2,417,054
National Lafayette	600,000	400,000	238,774	3,778,330	3,080,507
Total	$10,200,000	$4,230,000	$2,366,070	$39,995,045	$55,118,361
January 22	$10,200,000	$4,230,000	$2,226,503	$38,609,870	$57,102,171

Other banks of the city at the present time, which have not availed themselves of the provisions of the National Bank Act, are the Brighton German Bank, City Hall Bank, Cosmopolitan Bank & Savings Company, Franklin Bank, S. Kuhn & Sons, Home Savings Bank, Northside Bank, Unity Banking & Savings Company, Helvetia Savings & Banking Company, Guarantee Deposit Company, Seasongood & Mayer, and the Western German Bank.

There are also a number of trust companies which do a large banking business, such as the Central Trust & Safe Deposit Company, Cincinnati Trust Company, Provident Savings Bank & Trust Company, Southern Ohio Loan & Trust Company, Union Savings Bank & Trust Company, and the Security Savings Bank & Safe Deposit Company.

The Cincinnati Clearing House Association was organized in 1866 and most of the banks of the city are members of it. It has its office in the Masonic Temple and has been managed for some years by W. D. Duble. The clearings for 1903 aggregated $1,154,647,600.

Early Money of Cincinnati.

By Henry C. Ezekiel.

ABORIGINAL COINS OR CURRENCY.

All nations or people have possessed some one thing relatively of more value than anything else, and whether it may have been a shell, a bead, a piece of lead, silver, gold or other metal, paper, leather, or what not, it has been established at some time as a standard of value for trading or purchasing purposes. It is not strange then that the aborigines of this part of the country should have made or coined money as a measure of value, or a medium of exchange in dealing with one another. Evidences of this have been found in unearthing the mounds near Cincinnati.

About 1840 a great number of lignite and coal pieces were discovered in a small mound on the Little Miami River, the largest of which was about the size of the old copper cent, but much thicker. There were some pieces of smaller size. "The largest of these coins was perforated with sixteen small holes; the faces of others were indented with five to eight parallel lines, and on one specimen the lines were crossed, forming diamond shaped figures. These specimens were taken to Cincinnati and distributed among the lovers of the curious. Some were deposited in the Dorfeuille Museum, where we had the pleasure of examining them in 1844 and taking drawings from them. * * *

"The aboriginal mounds also abound in copper money. We found specimens of these also in the Dorfeuille Museum in Cincinnati." (See Dickenson's American Numismatical Manual for illustrations, etc.)

MONEY OF THE EARLY WHITE SETTLERS OF CINCINNATI.

In the early days of Cincinnati, about the end of the 18th and the first part of the 19th centuries, the currency used in Cincinnati and vicinity was much like that in circulation in other parts of the country. The "shinplasters," or paper money, of the government and the Colonial States were still in use, as well as the early issues of United States gold pieces, Portuguese "joes" and Spanish dollars, or pistareens, which came through the paying off of the troops quartered at Fort Washington and elsewhere in the campaigns against the Indians. Considerable difficulty existed in the making of change in the settlement at Losantiville, where, as in many places, raccoon and other skins were the medium for barter and trade. The United States gold pieces, Portuguese "joes," and Spanish dollars did not relieve the situation for small change, and in this perplexity the early settlers coined "necessity," "cut," or "cob" money, also known as "sharp shins," the Spanish dollars being cut into four equal parts, worth 25 cents each, or again divided into 12½-cent pieces. The smaller Spanish silver pieces were also cut and clipped to make change.

VERY EARLY PAPER MONEY OF CINCINNATI.

The earliest banking corporations, individual firms and government banks in Cincinnati issuing money in the shape of bank bills, notes, "shinplasters," and "wildcat" currency, were:

The Miami Exporting Company, incorporated....1803
The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, incorporated...1812
The Bank of Cincinnati, incorporated.....1816
John H. Piatt & Company, who commenced business in 1817
The United States Branch Bank, instituted in....1817

The collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in the Van Wormer Library of the University of Cincinnati, contains a variety of specimens of this currency, as noted below and in Scott's "Catalogue of the Paper Money of the United States," a number of the various banks and denominations are also specified, viz:

The Miami Exporting Company, 1815,—$1.00; 1818 and 1820,—6¼c. (In business in 1836, see Cincinnati Directory of that year.)

The Cincinnati Bank, 1818,—$1.00.

The Bank of Cincinnati, 1814, 1816, 1818,—$1.00, $2.00, $5.00, $10.00 and a 12½c. note of 1816.

The City Bank of Cincinnati, $1.00, $3.00, $5.00, $10.00. (So noted by Scott's "Catalogue," but none of the early directories of Cincinnati report the name of this bank.)

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank, 1814-18.—$1.00, $3.00, $5.00, $10.00, $20.00, $100.00.

The Commercial Bank, 1831-49,—$1.00, $3.00, $5.00, $10.00.

The Lafayette Bank, 1834,—$5.00.

John H. Piatt & Company, 1816,—6¼c.

The Cincinnati & White Water Canal Company, 1840,—$1.00, $2.00, $3.00 and $5.00.

The Ohio & Cincinnati Loan Company, $2.00.

The Bank of The Ohio Valley, 1859-63.—$1.00, $3.00, $5.00, $10.00.

The Burnet House, 1862,—5c.

The Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company was authorized to issue notes and bills (see Cincinnati Directory of 1834), but we have failed to find any examples of them.

The Branch Bank of the United States at Cincinnati, 1829 and thereafter. (The Cincinnati Directory of this year says: "This is the only Banking Institution in operation in the City.") This bank also issued bills, but none of them have come within our notice.

The Franklin Bank, 1834 and thereafter. We understand that this bank issued bills, but none of them can be found.

The Mechanics' & Traders' Bank, 1842 and subsequently. It is probable that this bank issued notes as others did at this period, but no examples of them are in collections.

Many of the foregoing continued to issue bills or bank notes up to the time of the establishment of the national bank system, which was devised by a Cincinnatian, Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States under President Abraham Lincoln.

There were no doubt many other Cincinnati corporations, firms and individuals who issued "wildcat" currency during "hard times" periods, but specimens or records of them do not exist, or are unobtainable.

Engravers and Printers of Bank Bills, "Wildcat" Currency and "Shinplasters" in Cincinnati.—The early directories of Cincinnati and Cist's works on Cincinnati of 1841, 1851 and 1859, make mention of a number of engravers and printers of bank bills, and, from numerous specimens we find the names of many of them to be as follows:

Draper, Fairman & Company.....1814 to 1818
Looker & Wallace.....1815
Morgan, Lodge & Company.....1818 to 1820
Woodruff & Hammond.....1840
Doolittle & Munson.....1844
Rawdon, Wright & Hatch, and successors .....1844 to 1851
Toppan, Carpenter & Company, and successors .....1849 to 1851
Danforth, Bald & Company.....1851

These firms also executed bank bills, "wildcat" currency and "shinplasters" for other cities throughout the country.

Counterfeit Bank Note Detectors Published in Cincinnati.—There were a number of counterfeit bank note detectors published in Cincinnati which circulated throughout the United States. Those of which we find record are: *The Counterfeit Bank Note Detector*, published by H. H. Goodman & Company, 1841; *Bradley's Counterfeit Detector*, edited by T. W. Lord, 1851; *Dye's Counterfeit Detector*, John S. Dye, publisher, 1851; *White's Financial and Commercial Reporter, and Counterfeit Detector*, 1859; *Beppler's Bank Note List* (German), 1859; *Paddock's United States Bank Mirror*, William R. Paddock & Company, editor, 1859-63; and *Lord's Bank Note Reporter and Counterfeit Detector*, published by Johnson Brothers, bankers and brokers, 1855-63.

CINCINNATI-CALIFORNIA GOLD MONEY.

Soon after the discovery of gold in California there grew up a number of "private mints whose coinage was characterized by skill, honor and remarkable enterprise." Among these we find Ten Dollar ($10.00) and Five Dollar ($5.00) pieces of the "Cincinnati Mining and Trading Company, 1849." They are of native gold, not alloyed, and are now very rare. Examples of them are in private cabinets and in the collection of the United States Mint at Philadelphia. (For illustrations see Dickenson's American Numismatical Manual.)

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS, STORE AND SHOP CARDS, OR "HARD TIMES" MONEY.

For many years before the War of the Rebellion there passed current in the United States for ONE CENT in value numerous tokens, shop cards, etc. The earliest of them had been made in 1789 and continued to be coined by corporations, political parties and business houses up to about 1860. The only one issued by a Cincinnati house, and which passed current with the

rest, was that of "Dodd & Co., Hatters, No. 144 Main Street." These were about the size of the old copper cent, and were made in copper and brass.

From the Cincinnati directories of 1843 to 1851 we find that William Dodd & Company were at this same location and continued business there for some time thereafter.

Cincinnati Makers of Metal Money, "Hard Times" Tokens and Shop Cards.—In addition to the manufacturers, or printers and engravers of paper money, there were also a number of die sinkers and stampers of metal pieces, which passed current as money for the value of ONE CENT each, prior to and during the War of the Rebellion. Among these were the following: V. R. Allen, B. C. True, John Stanton, James Murdock, Murdock & Spencer, Joseph J. Sayre and others.

These firms also made sutlers' checks, used in the Union Army, milk checks, bar checks, soda water checks, street car checks and checks, or "necessity" coins, of all kinds, payable on demand, which passed as money in Cincinnati for a standard of value, as stamped thereon.

"NECESSITY" MONEY OF THE REBELLION, 1861-65.

Copperheads.—When the war broke out and the people were pressed sore and hard for small change, a species of metal currency was engendered known to collectors and numismatists as "copperheads." There were a great many of them, generally of bronze, and the size of the United States small cent. While a few of them were put into circulation in 1861 and 1862 bearing patriotic devices, the most of them were issued in 1863 and 1864 by several hundred firms in Cincinnati. On one side of the latter was the head of "Liberty" and the date underneath, and on the other side was the card of the corporation, firm or individual issuing them. The most of these were made in Cincinnati and large numbers of them are to be found in the cabinets of collectors.

United States Encased Postage Stamps.—The silver money of the United States became very scarce in the early part of the war, and prior to the issuing of the postage fractional currency by the government many business houses in Cincinnati put forth as "necessity" money *Encased Unused United States Postage Stamps*, which practice was sanctioned or at least not objected to by the National or the State government. This medium of currency consisted of a brass rim or shell enclosing the postage stamp and showing the same under a layer of thin isinglass, or mica. The back had the advertisement of the firm issuing the same impressed on the metal in relief. The stamp issues were 1c blue; 3c red; 5c brown; 10c green; 12c black; 24c violet; 30c orange and 90c blue. The Cincinnati firms who issued them were Ellis, McAlpin & Company, Pearce, Tolle & Holton, John Shillito & Company and L. C. Hopkins & Company. There may have been others, but these are the only ones that are known to be in the cabinets of collectors.

COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS OF COINS, MEDALS, TOKENS, BANK BILLS, "SHINPLASTERS," ETC., IN CINCINNATI.

For many years there have been in Cincinnati some collections and collectors of coins and paper money. Possibly the earliest of these, of any note, were those of the Western Museum Society, instituted in 1818; the Cincinnati Museum, Letton & Willet, proprietors, 1819; Western Museum, J. Dorfeuille, proprietor, 1829 and thereafter ("3,125 Medals, Coins and Tokens," see Cincinnati Directory of 1834); Letton's Museum, Ralph Letton, proprietor, 1829 and thereafter ("Coins," etc., see Cincinnati Directory of 1834); Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar, 1829 and thereafter; and Wood's Museum, 1851.

All of the foregoing collections have been dispersed. The Cincinnati Art Museum of the present time (1904) contains many examples of coins, medals, etc.

Among the best known and most extensive private collections in Cincinnati have been those of Thomas C. Clencay, Charles C. Reakirt, Henry C. Ezekiel, Dr. William I. Prescott, Henry Probasco, J. Zanoni, Robert Downing, Robert Leslie, Samuel A. McCune, R. W. Mercer, H. H. Muller, Henry Sayre, J. M. Tilton, John Hauck, T. Bishop Disney, Dr. M. L. Amick, James Bindley, Enoch T. Carson, Alfred S. Field, James G. Hughes, Peter Mougey, Joseph Kluber, Louis Hauck, Abraham Mayer and others. Most of these collectors are dead and gone and their collections dispersed. Peter Mougey has at the present time (1904) the best collection of the United States coinage, while that of Henry C. Ezekiel is the most extensive in all branches of numismatics. He has also a large collection of autographs, stamps, historical and literary curiosities, possibly the most extensive of any private collector in the United States.

CHAPTER LIII.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—THE BUSINESS MEN'S CLUB—COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS—THE CINCINNATI BAR ASSOCIATION—THE CINCINNATI WOMAN'S CLUB—THE CINCINNATI KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION—POLITICAL CLUBS—SOCIAL CLUBS—FRATERNAL SOCIETIES—MILITARY ORDERS—THE CINCINNATI HOUSE OF REFUGE—THE CITY WORK HOUSE—THE CINCINNATI HOSPITAL—LONGVIEW ASYLUM—THE CITY INFIRMARY—CHARITABLE AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS—THE CHURCHES—THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—SPRING GROVE AND OTHER CEMETERIES—AMUSEMENTS—THE RAILROADS—THE NEWSPAPERS—SOME CINCINNATI WRITERS.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

On October 22, 1839, was organized the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of promoting the amicable settlement of differences between the merchants of the city. It met at first but once a month in the rooms of the Young Men's Mercantile Library. In 1846 the Chamber was combined with the Merchants' Exchange and in 1850 Nicholas W. Thomas, Dunning M. Foster, Henry Emerson, William B. Cassilly, Joseph Torrence, S. P. Hall, George Keck and Richard Smith, the officers of that year and their associates were chartered under the name and style of "The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange." From time to time the charter has been amended until the organization has become empowered with all the privileges permitted to such organizations by the laws of the State.

The meetings of the Chamber were held for many years at No. 22 West Fourth street from which point they subsequently removed to the Pike Building. At the time the site of the old Post Office at the southwest corner of Fourth and Vine was abandoned by the government for the new quarters in Government square, the ground was purchased by the Chamber of Commerce for the sum of $100,000 and on this ground was erected one of the handsomest structures in the city, designed by the well known architect H. H. Richardson, at a cost of about $600,000.

Its first board of officers from October, 1839, to January, 1840, included Griffin Taylor as president; B. W. Hewson, as treasurer; Henry Rockey, as secretary, and Roland G. Mitchell, Peter Neff, S. B. Findley, John Reeves, Thomas J. Adams and Jacob Strader as vice-presidents. Hewson was the treasurer until 1843 when he was succeeded by Parkhurst and Rockey was secretary until 1846, when he was succeeded by William D. Gallagher. In 1846 a superintendent was appointed for the Merchants' Exchange with which the Chamber of Commerce was consolidated. The office of superintendent, involving as it does the preparation of the annual report, is the most important in the body and fortunately it has been at all times well administered. A. Peabody was the superintendent from 1846 to

1849, when he was succeeded by Richard Smith, who acted as secretary and superintendent until 1854, at which time William Smith became the superintendent, while Richard Smith remained secretary down to 1860. William Smith continued as superintendent until 1871, when he was succeeded by Sidney D. Maxwell whose efficient labors continued until 1890, at which time the present very able superintendent, Charles B. Murray, was selected. The presidents of this organization have included some of the most prominent business men of the city. In the early days there was not the same rotation of offices as in the present and several of the presidents retained office for several years. Louis Whiteman was president in 1841, Roland G. Mitchell in 1842, Thomas J. Adams in 1843 and 1844. James C. Hall was president for three terms and Nicholas W. Thomas for six terms. R. M. W. Taylor succeeded in 1854 and the following year was succeeded by James F. Torrence who was president for five terms. J. W. Sibley and Joseph C. Butler officiated each for a year and in 1862 George F. Davis became president, to be succeeded three years later by Theodore Cook. S. C. Newton was president the following year and was succeeded in 1867 by John A. Gano, who had been the secretary for seven years. Mr. Gano held the position for three years and, after him, Charles W. Rowland for two. S. F. Covington and C. M. Holloway each acted for two years. In the centennial year, 1876, Benjamin Eggleston became president. He was succeeded in turn by John W. Hartwell, Florence Marmet, William M. Hobart, H. Wilson Brown, Henry C. Urner (two terms), James D. Parker, W. W. Peabody (two terms), Edwin Stevens, A. Hickenlooper, Levi C. Goodale, Thomas Morrison, Lee H. Brooks, Lowe Emerson, Joseph R. Brown, Brent Arnold, Michael Ryan, James M. Glenn, Maurice J. Freiberg, J. Milton Blair, William McAllister, Robert H. West, John H. Allen, James T. McHugh, W. W. Granger and J. F. Ellison (1903).

The greatest compliment that the Chamber is able to confer is that of honorary membership. The first honorary member was Henry Probasco elected in 1871; Miles Greenwood was elected two years later and since that time an honorary member has been elected each year. They have been in turn John H. Gerard, David Sinton, Reuben R. Springer, James F. Torrence, George Graham, Charles W. West, William Procter, Joseph Longworth, John Sherman, William Glenn, George H. Pendleton, Joseph Rawson, Henry C. Urner, Samuel F. Covington, John A. Gano, Charles Davis, John Kennett, Richard Smith, Julius Freiberg, A. E. Armstrong, David Gibson, Reuben A. Holden, Paris C. Brown, William A. Procter, Michael Ryan, Grove J. Penney and H. Wilson Brown. Messrs. Urner, Freiberg, Armstrong and the last five mentioned are the living honorary members.

The membership of the Chamber on the 1st of January, 1903, was 980. This organization has always taken an active part in the affairs of the city and is justly esteemed as a representative body of the highest character. It may be regarded as the legitimate successor of the Canal Produce Exchange established in 1835 with Josiah Lawrence as president and William Rockey as secretary. This organization met originally in Maj. Daniel Gano's brick store at Court and Mound and was maintained but a few years.

THE BUSINESS MEN'S CLUB

In 1892 a number of young men organized themselves together for the purpose of informing themselves with relation to matters of public interest to citizens of Cincinnati and for the discussion of the municipal conditions. The plan involved a series of banquets at which were present prominent speakers of the city representing the business, literary and artistic interests of the community. The organization was successful for a time but afterwards languished. In 1896 it was reincorporated under the name of "The Young Men's Business Club of Cincinnati" and its purpose as given in its articles of incorporation was "to promote the best interest of Cincinnati." Subsequently a change of name was decided upon and by proceedings had in 1899 it became "The Business Men's Club of Cincinnati." This organization after several changes of location has now established itself in the Chamber of Commerce Building and is governed by a code of regulations adopted May 18, 1903. The club is largely social in its character and is fully equipped with dining rooms, billiard rooms and reading and lounging rooms. Its special purpose however is best shown by a list of its committees. These cover the subject of canals, Ohio River improvement, Ohio State Board of Commerce, taxation, park improvements,

manual training, Ohio Mechanics' Institute, street improvement and cleaning, smoke prevention, fair grounds, transportation, terminal facilities, quarantine laws, legislation, street railways, conventions, processions and art. Its president is James C. Hobart and Irwin M. Krohn is secretary.

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati, established in 1895, was organized for the development of the manufacturing interests of the city. It is non-partisan in politics and limited to a membership of 100. This club has an annual banquet and monthly meetings at which matters relating to manufacturing interests and also to business affairs in general are discussed. Its president for 1903-04 is P. C. Fosdick and secretary, E. P. Wilson.

The Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association, organized in 1887 and incorporated in 1893, has for its object the encouraging of merchants to visit the city for commercial purposes by continuous offers of legitimate inducements and attractions. For the purpose of inducing buyers to transact their business with merchants and manufacturers of Cincinnati, this association offers free transportation to merchants throughout this section of the country. Its chairman is Stewart Shillito and secretary, John W. Irvine.

The Cincinnati League, representing the civic authorities, the railroads, the hotels, Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers' Club, Board of Trade, Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association and citizens of all classes is organized for the purpose of extending the organized hospitality of Cincinnati to conventions. Its president is O. H. L. Wernicke and secretary and manager, E. P. Wilson.

The Cincinnati Industrial Bureau was organized at a meeting held at the Business Men's Club on January 8, 1901. Its purpose is to promote the industrial interests of the city, particularly by seeking to secure the location here of new industries, by aiding and encouraging existing manufacturing enterprises, and by making known generally its advantages as an industrial center. It is maintained by popular subscription and is conducted by a board of 15 directors. Many of the most prominent business firms and men are included in its membership. Its president is John H. Gibson and its secretary, Will L. Finch.

THE CINCINNATI BAR ASSOCIATION

Was organized February 22, 1872. Its objects were to maintain the honor and dignity of the profession, the cultivation of social intercourse and the promotion of legal reforms. To aid it in its purposes it has a number of standing committees on such subjects as investigation, grievances and on the judiciary and legal reform. Its banquets held at frequent intervals have been for many years among the pleasant social features of the city and it has taken part in numerous movements looking to the improvement of the administration of the law and the attainment of a judiciary of high character. On several occasions the association has been active in the promotion of a non-partisan judicial ticket which in several notable instances was quite successful at the polls. Its meetings are held in the Literary Club rooms and its president for the year 1903-04 is Alfred B. Benedict. Its membership includes over 300 members of the bar.

THE CINCINNATI WOMAN'S CLUB

Was organized in the rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio on Easter Monday, March 26, 1894, at a meeting called by Mrs. S. P. Mallon, Miss Annie Laws, Mrs. J. J. Gest, Mrs. H. C. Yergason, Mrs. H. B. Morehead, Mrs. Fayette Smith and Miss Clara C. Newton. The meeting was called to order by Miss Laws, who became the first president. At the preliminary meeting papers were read by Miss Laws, Mrs. Smith and Miss Newton looking towards the organization of a club of women. The organization was completed at once and in a very short time the membership limited to 150 was almost entirely taken up. Meetings were held for a time in the hall of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History and afterwards for a number of years in the Perin Building. The club was regularly incorporated in 1897 and in 1899 a movement for the purpose of securing a permanent club home resulted in the formation of a stock company, whose special object was the procuring of a club house. The club has finally arranged for quarters in the new Mercantile Library Building which were dedicated on Thursday, April 7, 1904, at which time a reception was given to the great musician Richard Strauss and his wife. The club rooms are quite spacious and are regarded as among the handsomest in the country occupied by a woman's organization.

They include a large assembly room extending to the height of two stories with which communicate tea rooms, committee, cloak and toilet rooms with a well furnished pantry and a library and lecture rooms. The president of the board for the current year, 1903-04, is Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Jr. The club has a number of departments, covering many fields of interest by lectures, discussions and exhibitions.

THE CINCINNATI KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION

Is a most important educational organization whose purpose as expressed by its articles of incorporation adopted in 1894 is to organize and supervise kindergartens and to carry on a training school for kindergartens. Kindergartens had been started in Cincinnati as early as 1875 at which time Miss Helene Goodman conducted a private school of this character in the building of Miss Nourse's school on Seventh. An organization was had in December, 1879, for the purpose of increasing interest in the subject and widening the usefulness of the schools. During the year 1902-03 there were conductd under the auspices of the association 25 kindergartens, which in addition to two private kindergartens were supported by various charitable persons and organizations. The headquarters of the association and training school are on Linton street in Vernonville. This school furnishes a two-years course leading to a regular diploma. The president of the association is Miss Annie Laws.

POLITICAL CLUBS.

Among the principal political clubs of the city are the Young Men's Blaine Club (Republican), which was organized on June 6, 1884, the day of Mr. Blaine's nomination for the presidency, and has a handsome club house on Eighth street east of Vine; the Stamina Republican League, organized November 5, 1888; the West End Republican Club, organized February 22, 1888; while the Duckworth Club (Democratic), which was organized in 1880, has a handsome club house on Ninth street.

SOCIAL CLUBS.

The Queen City Club, a leading social club, was organized in October, 1874. Its building on the southwest corner of Seventh and Elm was built at that time and has since been enlarged so that it is equipped with all the appointments of a first class club house. Here are held many of the semi-public gatherings of citizens for the discussion of topics of general interest and the club is quite a center of city life. The Commercial Club, an important organization since 1880, whose object is largely indicated by its name, meets regularly in the Queen City Club House. Other clubs that use this club house for their home are the Optimist Club and the Piccadilly Club.

Another prominent social club is the Phoenix Club, founded in 1856, whose house at Ninth and Race, erected in 1894, is one of the fine buildings of the city. The Cincinnati Club, organized in 1889, has a handsome club house on Melrose avenue on Walnut Hills. The Phoenix and Cincinnati clubs are practically limited to Jewish membership.

The Literary Club, organized in 1849, has been referred to at length in an earlier chapter. This club, the oldest of its class in the country, includes in its membership many of the most prominent professional and business men in the city. It meets every Saturday night from September to June to hear papers prepared by its members. It has a handsome club house, built especially to answer its needs, on Eighth near Walnut street.

Other well known clubs are the Country Club and the Cincinnati Golf Club adjoining it on Grandin road, the Riding Club, Clifton Golfers' Club and the Pillars.

The Academy of Medicine is, as is indicated by its title, an association of the physicians of the city; it meets regularly in the Literary Club rooms. Here, too, meets the Engineers' Club.

FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.

The number of societies, secret and public, as is natural to expect in so large a city, is almost countless. It is estimated that they exceed 2,000 in number and the list of some of them occupies 68 closely printed columns of the city directory. There are almost 300 building associations.

Under special headings are given such orders as the Catholic Knights of America, of which there are 10 branches, and a central committee, Catholic Knights of Ohio, of which there are 26 branches and a local council, Catholic Order of Foresters with a central chapter and 14 courts, two councils of the Young Men's Institute, and 14 conferences and the particular council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Over 170

trades unions are enumerated. Thirteen lodges and chapters of Masons meet in the Masonic Temple at the northeast corner of Third and Walnut, three commanderies meet at the Scottish Rite Cathedral; in addition there are enumerated 18 other lodges and chapters, as well as a Masonic Employment Bureau, Masonic Relief Association and Masonic Library Association. The office of the grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ohio is in the Masonic Temple. The various bodies classed under the heading Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Free Masonry meet at the Scottish Rite Cathedral, as do also the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. There are also six colored Masonic bodies, including one of the Scottish Rite. About 30 different bodies belong to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and one to the Imperial Order of Muscovites; 14 organizations are listed under the heading G. U. O. O. F. and seven organizations in the Ancient Order of Hibernians. There are about 30 lodges and associations of the Ancient Order of United Workmen and one grove of Druids. There are nine lodges of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and two of the Independent Order of B'rith Abraham. There are eight organizations under the auspices of the American Protestant Association as well as one of colored people. The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks has two lodges, one of which is of colored people. There are three bodies of the Independent Order of Red Men and four of the Improved Order of Red Men.

There are a dozen lodges of the Knights of Honor, one of colored Knights of Honor, 11 of Knights and Ladies of Honor and two colored bodies of the same. The Knights of Pythias include about 25 lodges and four organizations of the Uniform Rank, as well as seven colored lodges and one lodge of the Improved Order of Knights of Pythias. There are three organizations under the auspices of the Sons of Temperance and eight of the Royal Arcanum. The following organizations are entirely made up of colored people: United Brothers of Friendship, of which there are nine bodies; Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria of North America (three lodges); United Order of True Reformers, of which there are 38 organizations, under such headings as "Fountains" and "Rosebuds"; and the International Order of Twelve, including 10 "Tents," "Temples" and "Tabernacles," and a "Royal House." There are 17 councils of the National Union, nine tents, etc., of the Knights of the Maccabees, six hives of the Ladies of the Maccabees. The Knights of the Ancient Essenic Order and the Essenic Army include about 10 separate organizations. Seven organizations make up the Tribe of Ben Hur and six the Independent Order of Foresters. The Junior Order of United American Mechanics has 22 bodies and the ladies' auxiliary to this, known as the Daughters of America, has 23 organizations in its ranks. Other organizations of one or more branches are such as the American Benefit Club Fraternity, the I. O. F. S. of L., Fraternal Mystic Circle, Order of the Sons of St. George, Knights and Ladies of the Golden Eagle, Protective Home Circle, Sons of Benjamin, United Commercial Travelers, Order of Mutual Protection, Daughters of Liberty, Knights of Joseph, Home Guards of America, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Knights of Fidelity, Knights of Columbus, Order of the Iroquois, Royal League, Order of Hercules, Fraternal Censer, Fraternal Order of America, Knights of Ancient Rome, Woodmen of the World and Ye Ancient Order of Whynot.

MILITARY ORDERS.

A most distinguished order is the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. There is also a Society of the Hispano-American War, a Regular Army and Navy Union, the National Army of Spanish-American War Veterans and the well known Society of the Army of the Tennessee. There are 30 posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, including the affiliated organizations—Ladies of the G. A. R. and Women's Relief Corps—and five organizations of the Union Veteran Legion, as well as four of the Sons of Veterans and two of the Daughters of Veterans. There are also chapters of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, Society of Colonial Wars, Society of Colonial Dames, Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, War of 1812 societies, and numerous other so-called "hereditary" societies.

THE CINCINNATI HOUSE OF REFUGE.

Opened for the reception of inmates, October 8, 1850, is situated about four miles northwest of the city Post Office on the east side of Colerain. Its grounds include nine and seven-eighths acres, five of which are enclosed

on three sides by a stone wall. The main building completes the quadrangle. This is a castellated edifice of rough blue limestone trimmed with white Dayton stone, with a front of 277 feet. It contains 112 sleeping rooms for boys, 72 single sleeping rooms for girls and a large dormitory for girls with plunge and shower baths, dressing rooms, sewing rooms, school rooms, laboratories, hospital and offices. There are also special buildings for the kindergarten department, one for the girls and one for the boys, as well as a chapel, manual training school, printing offices, gymnasium, power house, laundry and other special buildings. The building accommodates 450 inmates and is heated by steam and lighted by electricity. The superintendent and secretary is James Allison.

THE CITY WORK HOUSE

Is located on Colerain avenue upon the grounds of old Camp Washington, used for the rendezvous of Ohio troops during the Mexican War. The buildings are handsome and extensive,—about 510 feet in length, five stories high and froom 54 to 60 feet in width. They were designed by Adams and Hannaford and built under the direction of Robert Allison, chairman of the building committee of the Council in the years 1866 to 1869, at a cost of about a half million dollars. It has 606 cells and receives between 2,500 and 3,000 prisoners each year.

THE CINCINNATI HOSPITAL

Is an outgrowth of the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum for the State of Ohio, which was established January 22, 1821. It subsequently became known as the Commercial Hospital and May 1, 1861, as the Cincinnati Hospital. It occupies the block between Central avenue and Plum, 12th and Ann streets. The old buildings were used until 1867—more than 46 years—when they were removed to make way for the new buildings which were completed and opened for occupation January 7, 1869. The structure contains eight distinct buildings placed *en echelon* and connected by corridors surrounding a large central court 400 feet square. They are constructed of brick with freestone finishing around the angles and finished in French style with Mansard roofs. Each building is three stories high. The cost of the structure was about $800,000. There are 16 free wards accommodating between 500 and 600 beds. There is also a Branch Hospital for Contagious Diseases in Green township near Lick Run road.

LONGVIEW ASYLUM.

From 1821 to 1854 there was what was called a crazy ward in the Commercial Hospital which in fact was organized in part for asylum purposes. For six years following 1854 the insane of the county were cared for in a large building in Fairmont now known as the "Woolen Mill." Longview Asylum at Carthage was first occupied in 1860. The building, which took five years to build, has a frontage of about 1,000 feet, with a depth on the north wing of almost 300 feet and on the south wing of 375 feet and the grounds, which are beautifully improved, cover an area of 100 acres. The hospital, which at the time it was built, was regarded as fully adequate for its purposes, has long since proved of insufficient size and accommodation. It was never expected to receive over 1,000 patients: the average during recent years has been between 1,100 and 1,200. It is at present in charge of Dr. W. F. Harmon as superintendent.

THE CITY INFIRMARY

Is located at Hartwell. The buildings erected in 1851 and 1898 are in form of the letter "E," with a frontage of 380 feet and a depth in each wing of 250 feet. The floor space is equal to three acres. The buildings cost $350,000. Surrounding them is a farm of 160 acres, purchased by the city as early as 1847. The institution will accommodate 1,200 inmates. Its superintendent is Frank A. Tucker.

CHARITABLE AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

The Children's Home, situated on Ninth street between Plum street and Central avenue, has for its object the amelioration of the condition of the children of poor and unfortunate parents in procuring for the homeless and destitute children, who may be committed to it in accordance with its charter, permanent country homes where they will be trained in habits of industry and receive a suitable English education, in clothing, feeding and instructing all such children as long as they remain in the Home and in affording a temporary home for poor children whose parents thus aided may be enabled in a short time to support them in homes of their own. It is one of the oldest charitable institutions in the city.

The Cincinnati Union Bethel is located on East Front street between Sycamore and Broadway. Its chief object is to do constructive and preventive work among the poor. It has a Sunday-school, sewing and cooking schools, daily kindergarten and a well equipped bath and laundry for poor women, gymnasium, music school, dentistry department, district nurse, social settlements, boys' and girls' clubs, millinery and shirt-waist clubs, home libraries and a suite of men's club rooms which any self-respecting man may join for 25 cents a month. Relief is given to the poor in the form of clothes, shoes, groceries, rent, etc., and the Bethel also runs a lodging house where such as are not able to work at the labor yard are kept free.

The Cincinnati Relief Union was established in 1848. Its purpose is indicated by its title. It is supported by voluntary contributions and conducted without charge by ward managers located in the various wards.

The Ohio Humane Soociety at No. 24 East Ninth street was organized for the protection of children and the prevention of cruelty to animals. It cooperates with the House of Refuge, Children's Home, Orphan Asylum and other asylums, hospitals and charities of all sorts. Its agents seek out and investigate cases of abuse and neglect of children, hunt up the cruel and criminal parents and compel them to care for their children and also gather up homeless and vagabond children. It also prosecutes cases of cruelty to animals as well as to children.

The Associated Charities of Cincinnati has its office and industrial department at No. 304 Broadway. Its objects are the promotion of cooperation among charitable institutions and includes a registry of dependent, defective and delinquent persons, the provision for temporary employment and industrial instruction for such persons and the prevention of imposition and the diminution of vagrancy and pauperism. In additon to its registration bureau, it maintains a free employment bureau and labor yard for men and a work room for women. Here are provided meals, lodging, free baths and reading rooms and the men and women are employed in various occupations, the former in wrecking buildings and in splitting kindling and the women in plain sewing, rug making, carpet weaving, laundry work and the like.

The Widows' Home and Asylum for Aged and Indigent Females dates from 1850. It has a fine building on McMillan street and Ashland avenue. One wing of the building is occupied by the Widows' Home and the other by the Old Men's Home.

Other well known charitable institutions are the Home for Incurables, Home for the Friendless and Foundlings, the Bodmann German Protestant Widows' Home, Cincinnati Orphan Asylum, Deutsches Altenheim (German Old Men's Home), Fresh Air Home, Rescue Mission and Home for Erring Women, the Homes for the Aged Poor, Glenn Industrial Home, as well as the large number of Catholic and Jewish institutions covering every form of charitable relief work.

Between 50 and 60 benevolent associations are enumerated in the latest directory. These include five convents, a number of orphan asylums, widows' homes, old men's homes, homes for the friendless, aged, poor, incurables, Jewish aged and infirm, working boys and various relief associations.

In addition to the Cincinnati Hospital and the well known Good Samaritan Hospital at Sixth and Lock and St. Mary's Hospital, better known as the Betts Street Hospital, and the United States Marine Hospital, there are the Jewish Hospital, one of the very best, on Burnet avenue; Christ Hospital in the building of the old Mount Auburn Institute, the German Deaconess Home and Hospital on Clifton avenue, the Protestant Episcopal Free Hospital for Children (better known as the Children's Hospital), Presbyterian Hospital, the Ohio Hospital, St. Joseph's Maternity Hospital, the Ohio Maternity Hospital, St. Francis Hospital and several other institutions for the care of the sick.

THE CHURCHES.

According to the last directory there are included in the city of Cincinnati 24 Baptist churches in addition to six stations of the Ninth Street Baptist Church (11 of these churches are colored), eight Congregational, 11 Disciples of Christ, one Friends' Meeting House, 15 German Evangelical Protestant, two German Evangelical Union, two German Reformed, one Holland Reformed, five Lutheran, 27 Methodist Episcopal, six Methodist Episcopal (German), one Methodist Protestant, eight Methodist (colored), one Church of the New Jerusalem, 20 Presbyterian, two Presbyterian Reformed, one United Presbyterian, 22 Protestant Episcopal, 58 Catholic, one Seventh Day Adventist, three United Brethren in Christ, one Universalist,

one Unitarian and one Welsh Calvinist Methodist Church. In addition to these there are 12 Jewish synagogues and six meeting places of the Salvation Army and 26 religious institutions included under the head of miscellaneous.

The principal Catholic churches are, of course, St. Peter's Cathedral and the churches of St. Francis Xavier and St. Francis de Sales. The most beautiful church edifice is St. Peter's Cathedral, built in the Corinthian style of architecture, with a spire of 224 feet. Its cornerstone was laid in 1839 and the church was consecrated in 1844 by Cardinal McCloskey. It cost a quarter of a million dollars. Beneath the altar for many years prior to the spring of 1904 lay the body of Rev. Father Stephen Baden, the first priest ordained in America. St. Francis de Sales Church contains the largest bell in America and the largest swinging bell in the world. It was cast in the old Buckeye Bell Foundry on October 30, 1895, and the pouring of the metal is said to have occupied 41 minutes. Its weight is about 30,000 pounds and the diameter of its rim nine feet, diameter of crown five feet and height seven feet. Its clapper alone weighs 640 pounds. It was cast after the pattern of the Westminster bell and swings upon a wheel 15 feet in diameter. It cost about $15,000, mainly contributed by Joseph Buddeke. It was consecrated on January 19, and placed in position in the steeple on February 7, 1896.

The Pro-Cathedral of the Protestant Episcopal Church is St. Paul's, at the southeast corner of Seventh and Plum. Christ Church is also a notable structure and attached to it is the Parish House.

The First Presbyterian Church is, of course, notable as that of the first congregation of the city and for its steeple, the highest in the city attaining with its spire a height of 285 feet, 10 feet higher than the spire of Trinity Church in New York. It was built in 1835 at a cost of $60,000 and has been several times remodeled.

The Plum Street Temple (K. K. Bene Yeshurun), built in 1866 at a cost of $275,000, is a beautiful specimen of Moorish architecture, designed after the Alhambra. The Mound Street Temple (K. K. Bene Israel) dedicated in 1869 is also of Moorish architecture and cost $180,000.

One of the oldest congregations in the city is that of the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, whose church built in 1870 cost $175,000. The ground cost $75,000. The building of the Second Presbyterian Church erected in 1872 is very handsome. It cost $100,000. Other notable church edifices are those of the Mount Auburn Presbyterian Church, Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, Ninth Street Baptist Church, the Unitarian Church on Reading road and the newly erected Swedenborgian Church on Oak street and Winslow avenue.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The early history of this organization has been given in the earlier part of this work. The pioneer society was organized as the Young Men's Society of Inquiry, October 3, 1848. The name "Young Men's Christian Association" was adopted in May, 1863. During the war the society showed little vitality, but in 1865 it was revived and held its meetings for a time at the Seventh Street Congregational Church and afterwards in rooms on Fourth street. In 1867 it removed to the building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Elm. In November, 1874, David Sinton presented the association with the sum of $33,000. Almost a quarter of a century later, Mr. Sinton again subscribed liberally to the institution, this time $13,000, to be used for the reduction of the debt. Alexander McDonald contributed $20,000 for the same purpose. In 1891 the building at the northwest corner of Seventh and Walnut was erected at a cost of a little over $200,000 and here the society is installed at present. There is a college department organized as a department for intercollegiate work in 1889, a night law school organized in 1893, and the University Branch and the Eclectic Medical Institute Branch, the latter at the corner of Court and Plum streets.

The Young Women's Christian Association has its rooms at No. 26 East Eighth street. Its object is the temporal, moral and religious welfare of women, especially the young, who are dependent upon their exertions for their support.

SPRING GROVE AND OTHER CEMETERIES.

The charter of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society authorized the establishment of a public cemetery, but it was soon ascertained that a separate organization could accomplish better results in this direction. On April 13, 1844, a number of gentlemen met at the residence of Robert Buchanan for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a rural cemetery more in accordance with the beautiful parks used for the purpose in the East. There were present at this

meeting, besides Mr. Buhanan, George W. Neff, William Neff, James Hall, Griffin Taylor, Salmon P. Chase, A. H. Ernst, S. C. Parkhurst, Dr. J. A. Warder, T. H. Minor, Dr. M. Flagg, David Loring, J. B. Russell and Peter Neff. After some discussion as to the requisites for a proper site, a committee consisting of William Neff, Flagg, Minor, Loring, Buchanan, Parkhurst and Ernst was appointed to determine upon a location. Curiously enough in addition to the requirements of proximity to the city, pleasant location and proper soil, there seemed to be a sentiment against placing the bodies of the departed in any place where there should be close companionship with fossil remains. Finally the Gerard farm, about four miles from the city, containing 166 acres, was selected and on the 4th of May a committee consisting of Timothy Walker, George W. Neff, Nathan Guilford, Nathaniel Wright, Davis B. Lawler, Miles Greenwood and Judge James Hall was appointed to prepare articles of association which were finally reported and published in the newspapers. A little later Salmon P. Chase, Judges Walker and Hall and Messrs. Wright, Guilford, Lawler and E. Woodruff were instructed to prepare a charter to present to the Legislature. The charter was passed on January 21, 1845, and on the 8th of the following February the first board of directors, consisting of Messrs. Buchanan, Loring, Ernst, Wright, Taylor, William Neff, Charles Stetson, J. C. Culbertson and R. G. Mitchell, was elected. Robert Buchanan became president, Griffin Taylor treasurer and S. C. Parkhurst, secretary. The grounds were consecrated on August 28, 1845, with appropriate ceremonies,—a prayer by Rev. J. T. Brooke, an address by Justice John McLean, a hymn by W. D. Gallagher and an ode by Lewis J. Cist. The buildings in Norman Gothic style of architecture were erected between 1863 and 1867 from designs of James K. Wilson.

The original plan of improving the grounds was made by John Notman, of Philadelphia, the designer of Laurel Hill Cemetery. It was partly carried out by the first superintendent, Howard Daniels, and his successor, Dennis Delany, under the charge of Thomas Earnshaw, chief engineer. The adoption of the system of landscape gardening was suggested in 1855 by Adolph Strauch and carried out largely by him and his assistant, Henry Earnshaw. From time to time additional tracts of land were purchased until at present the cemetery has an area of about 600 acres.

Other well known cemeteries are the Wesleyan at the northwest corner of Colerain avenue and Hoffner; Cathedral Cemetery (Rapid Run), the St. Mary's German Catholic and St. John's German Catholic in St. Bernard, St. Joseph's cemeteries, including one for German Catholics in the western part of Price Hill, St. Martin's Evangelical Protestant on Saffin avenue in St. Peterstown, Calvary Catholic Cemetery on Duck Creek road, the United Jewish Cemetery on Montgomery pike on Walnut Hills and also the Jewish cemetery on Ludlow avenue, Clifton, known as the Ahabath Achim and that on Lick Run pike known as Judah Torah, the Columbia Baptist, German Evangelical Protestant on Carthage pike in Clifton, German Evangelical Protestant Cemetery in North Fairmount and the German Protestant Cemetery on Walnut Hills, the Colored American Cemetery on Duck Creek road and the cemetery of the United Baptist Church (colored) on Cleves pike, and the City Cemetery (potter's field), Lick Run. The Odd Fellows' Cemetery is in Spring Grove. The Cincinnati Crematory on Dixmyth avenue, near Burnet Woods, was built in 1893 and contains a chapel and furnace room.

AMUSEMENTS.

The Cincinnati Base Ball Club has the record of age, being the oldest professional club in active service and also the unequaled record of not losing a single game from September, 1868, to June, 1870. The club in its first years has already been described. In 1870 the team was obliged to yield to the newly organized Chicago team. At the end of that year it was disbanded. The Wright brothers with Leonard and McVey went to Boston and the club thus became once more an amateur organization. Upon the organization of the National League, the Cincinnati "Red Stocking" Club was once more brought together and for five years was a member of that organization. It finished last three years out of the five and second one year (1878) and fifth in 1879. At the close of 1880 Cincinnati was dropped from the National League and no professional games were played here during the following year. In 1882 upon the organization of the American Association, the "Reds" joined its ranks and in its initial year won the pennant, winning 55 games out of 80. It was third a year later and dropped to fifth place in 1884. During the season of 1884 a rival organ-

ization, the Union Association, was formed and played at the grounds on Bank street. This club, however, lasted but for a season. In 1885 the Cincinnati Base Ball Club finished second and the year later fifth. It was again second in 1887 and fourth during the three following years. In 1891 it reentered the National League and since that date has been a member of that organization. Its highest position has been that of third place, which it reached in 1896, and it ended in the second division eight years out of 21. In other words, in 1891 it was the seventh of eight clubs; from 1892 to 1899, inclusive, when there were 12 clubs, it held places Nos. 5, 7, 10, 8, 3, 4, 3 and 6. Since 1900 there have been but eight clubs in the National League and in the first two of these years it held places Nos. 7 and 8, respectively, and the last two years it has held fourth position. In 1891 the American Association established a club in the city under the management of M. J. Kelly, known as "King" Kelly. A ball park was laid out on the site of the present Gymnasium grounds but the season was not successful and the club went out of existence in a short time. The ball park at present is on Western avenue between Findlay and York streets.

The Zoological Garden was started September 18, 1875, and is most largely indebted for its organization to the late Andrew Erkenbrecher. It contains 45 acres located between Clifton and Avondale and a number of handsome stone buildings which cost over $300,000. About a million dollars has been expended upon the Garden and its collection of wild animals and birds, exceeding in number 1,500, is regarded as among the best in the country. The "Zoo" is not only one of the most interesting institutions of the city but its educational value, also, with regard to the study of animals and plants, cannot be overestimated. The landscape features have been handled with the greatest care and not only has this resulted in a park of remarkable beauty but the intelligent marking of trees and shrubs has made it available as an arboretum for the study of tree life.

The theatres of the city include the Grand Opera House, Columbia Theatre, Heuck's Opera House, Robinson's Opera House, Walnut Street Theatre and the People's and Lyceum theatres. The Auditorium in the Odd Fellows' Temple is also frequently used for public performances and the audience room of the Scottish Rite Cathedral is admirably equipped with stage and scenery. Music Hall is frequently used for concerts, operas and entertainments.

There are races held regularly at Latonia, lying on the opposite side of the river west of Covington and at times at Oakley. The latter grounds have recently been utilized by the Hamilton County Fair Association. A fair was also given in 1903 at the old fair grounds in Carthage.

Other pleasure resorts are the Lagoon at Ludlow (Kentucky), Coney Island and Chester Park.

The Cincinnati Gymnasium, which has recently erected a building that is unsurpassed in the country in its equipment, also gives exhibitions regularly.

THE RAILROADS.

There are 15 railroads which can properly be classed as entering Cincinnati. These are the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway (the "Panhandle," part of the Pennsylvania system, entering the city over the Little Miami), the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railway (owned by the Baltimore & Ohio), the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, the Cincinnati Hamilton & Dayton Railway, the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway (Cincinnati Southern), the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway (the "Big Four," a Vanderbilt line), the Cincinnati Northern Railroad, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, the Kentucky Central Railroad (a division of the Louisville & Nashville), the Chicago, Cincinnati & Louisville Railroad (a Gould line), the Cincinnati, Georgetown & Portsmouth Railroad, the Norfolk & Western Railway, the New York, Lake Erie & Western Railroad (Erie), the Cincinnati, Lebanon & Northern Railway (owned by the Pennsylvania) and the Illinois Central Railroad (entering via the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern). These roads enter at six passenger depots,—the Central Union; Pennsylvania; Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton; Cincinnati, Lebanon & Northern and the Fourth street station of the Chesapeake & Ohio and Kentucky Central and the station at Eighth street and McLean avenue.

There are also a number of interurban electric railways connecting the city with neighboring towns and cities. Chief among these are the Interurban Railway & Terminal Company, operating Cincinnati and Eastern Division to New Richmond, Suburban Traction Division to Bethel

and Rapid Railway Division to South Lebanon; Cincinnati, Georgetown & Portsmouth, to Georgetown; Cincinnati, Dayton & Toledo; Mill Creek Valley Street Railway; Cincinnati, Lawrenceburg & Aurora and the newly opened line to Milford.

The Cincinnati Traction Company operates about 40 miles of electric street cars. The South Covington & Cincinnati Street Railway Company operates three divisions into Kentucky.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

The *Cincinnati Commercial* was founded in 1843 and its first number appeared on the 2nd of October of that year and for 40 years until it was united on January 4, 1883, with the *Gazette*, which had been for years one of the most prominent papers of the West. Its first publishers were Curtis & Hastings. Hastings, however, remained but a short time with the paper and L. G. Curtis, a son-in-law of Rev. Samuel J. Browne, soon associated with himself his brother-in-law, John W. Browne. In 1848 M. D. Potter, who was a practical printer, became connected with the paper and soon succeeded Mr. Browne in this management. The firm name then became Curtis & Potter. At the death of Mr. Curtis in 1851 his interest came into the hands of Richard Henry Lee and the firm was known as Lee & Potter. On March 9, 1853, Murat Halstead became a member of its staff having left the *Weekly Columbian* for this purpose. Mr. Lee died in 1853 and subsequently the firm became M. D. Potter & Company, composed of M. D. Potter, Henry Reed the chief editorial writer, John H. Strauss the bookkeeper and Murat Halstead, who was in charge of the news department. A little later John A. Gano and Cons D. Miller became partners. Subsequently Mr. Potter acquired the interest of Mr. Reed and Mr. Strauss died. The paper was first published at the southeast then at the northeast corner of Third and Sycamore on the property owned by J. W. Browne. In 1859 Mr. Potter purchased the lot at the northeast corner of Fourth and Race, where was erected a building especially adapted for the publication of a newspaper. To these quarters the paper moved in April, 1860. Almost its first experience in its new quarters was with the tornado which blew off the roof. Mr. Potter's death in 1866 brought about a reorganization and the new firm composed of Messrs. Halstead, Miller and Gano as general partners and Mrs. Potter and her daughter, Mrs. Pomeroy, was organized under the firm name of M. Halstead & Company. This firm was formed May 15, 1866. The death of Mrs. Pomeroy brought about a reorganization in 1879, at which time the stock company of M. Halstead & Company was formed. The stock was fixed at that time at $235,000. On January 4, 1883, the paper consolidated with the *Cincinnati Gazette*, which claimed lineal descent from *Liberty Hall*, organized in 1815.

The *Gazette* had improved much from the days when Charles Hammond and William Dodd were its sole staff and had achieved a reputation throughout the West especially for its high tone. It devoted an unusual amount of attention to the business side of the city life and at the same time was especially strong in its editorial staff. Three men connected with it for almost a quarter of a century stand among the leaders of Western journalism,—Richard Smith, Samuel Romeo Reed and John T. Perry.

Murat Halstead, for almost half a century a leader in Cincinnati journalism, is fortunately still (in his 75th year) engaged in the active life of his profession.

From the time that he took charge of the editorial department until his death, Richard Smith was one of the most marked figures of American journalism. Certain editors such as Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond and Charles A. Dana have impressed their personality upon the public mind to such an extent that their names have become household words. Mr. Smith and his "wicked partners" belonged to this class. For many years a reference to the city of Cincinnati brought to mind this trio of editors just as at a little later time the name of Murat Halstead became identified in the same way with the city. After the consolidation of the two papers, Mr. Smith as well as Mr. Reed and Mr. Perry became a member of the editorial staff of the *Commercial Gazette*. The office at Sixth and Vine was given up and the paper was published from the former office of the *Commercial* on the northeast corner of Fourth and Race. Later in the year 1897 a new consolidation was effected between the newly established *Tribune*, which had a very useful career of three years, and the *Commercial Gazette*, which resulted in the *Commercial Tribune*. The name *Gazette*, the oldest in continuous use in the city, was dropped and awaits the enterprise of some new aspirant for journalistic fame to be brought

to life again. In 1902 a large building on the east side of Walnut street between Fifth and Sixth was especially constructed for the use of the *Commercial Tribune* and here this veteran journal is now established under the control and management of E. O. Eshelby.

The *Enquirer* claims descent from the *Phoenix* of Moses Dawson. During his management of the paper, Mr. Dawson was one of the most prominent writers of the country. In 1844 James J. Faran took an interest in the paper and became its managing editor and the head of the firm of Faran & McLean, Washington McLean having purchased the interest of Mr. Derby. At other times such well known newspaper men as J. B. McCullough, John A. Cockerill, Charles Brough, G. M. D. Bloss and James E. Spear were in charge of its editorial policy. John R. McLean became its sole proprietor in 1882 and since that time has had entire control of the policy of the paper. The paper was first published on Fifth street between Main and Sycamore and afterwards on Third, then on the corner of Third and Main, on Main between Third and Pearl and on Vine near Baker, when it was burned at the time of the Pike's Opera House fire in 1866. It finally moved to its present headquarters on the west side of Vine between Sixth and Seventh. Although Democratic in politics it has always made a special claim to its independence as a gatherer of news and for many years as a result of this it is said to have had a wider circulation than any other paper published outside of New York City. The *Enquirer* can be bought on almost any newsstand in the United States that pretends to carry any assortment of papers other than those of local origin.

The *Times-Star*, an evening paper, claims descent in continuous life from the *Times* of 1841 (with succession from the *Times* of 20 years earlier and the *Chronicle*) and the *Star* established in 1872. It is Republican in politics. The *Evening Post* established in 1880 is one of the celebrated Scripps papers. It is independent in politics. Both the afternoon papers have a very large circulation.

The daily German papers are four in number, —the *Volksblatt*, the *Volksfreund*, the *Freie Presse* and the evening edition, the *Taegliche Abend Presse*.

Other daily papers are the *Cincinnati Daily Bulletin of Prices Current*, the *Financial and Commercial Bulletin*, *Live Stock Record*, *Price Current*, *Court Index*, *Trade Record*, the *Merchants' & Manufacturers' Hotel Reporter* and the *Italian Press*. The directory contains a list of one semi-weekly, 66 English and 13 German weeklies, a bi-weekly, a tri-weekly, 75 monthlies, six semi-monthlies, two bi-monthlies, 25 quarterlies and four annual publications.

SOME CINCINNATI WRITERS.

The literary life of the city has been referred to at considerable length in the treatment of the various epochs into which the earlier part of this work is divided. Much of the writing done by citizens of Cincinnati has been referred to in connection with the various narratives of the city and its journalistic phases. Such intellectual activity as existed in the earlier days centered around such men as Dr. Daniel Drake, his brother Benjamin and at a later time his son Charles, Edward D. Mansfield, Judge Burnet, Timothy Flint and the Cists (Charles and his son Lewis J.). But few, however, followed literature as a profession except as members of the journaliste fraternity. We hear of "Horace in Cincinnati," who was a merchant, "Ohio's Bard," who was the cashier of the United States Bank (Gorham A. Worth), and the writings of W. D. Gallagher an editor, James H. Perkins a clergyman and of William H. Lytle a lawyer. Not one of these men, however, regarded literature as a means of support. The work of Dr. Drake covers many phases of human knowledge. His earlier books as we have seen were quasi-historical and the great work of his life, that relating to the diseases of the interior valley of America, was purely medical in its character. His brother, Benjamin, wrote several volumes in which he combined history and fiction. Mansfield was an economist and an historian. Burnet's "Letters" and "Notes" were simply the reminiscences of a man who had taken a large part in the history of his times. Charles Cist's books can hardly be classed as literature, valuable as they are from a standpoint in history. Lewis J. Cist, a bank clerk, wrote many trifles in verse. Robert Clarke, the well known publisher, perhaps made as valuable contributions to the history of this section as any resident. His pamphlets with relation to the prehistoric remains and the first settlers of Losantiville are invaluable. Under his editorship appeared the "Ohio Valley Historical Series" in seven volumes, the most valuable set of works with relation to the pioneer history of this section that has

ever been published. Mr. Clarke also reprinted the celebrated "Olden Time" of Neville Craig and a large number of other works with relation to the history of this section appeared from his press and bore the imprint of his house, for many years the most prominent store house of Americana in this country. The list of biographies relating to the city is almost endless. They include lives of Dr. Drake, Dr. Locke, Larz Anderson, James H. Perkins, Samuel Lewis, Mrs. Israel Ludlow, Rev. Adam Hurdus, Judge Burnet, Levi Coffin, Samuel E. Foote, Generals Hayes and Harrison, Dr. Comegys, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise and a large number of other prominent citizens. The bibliography of the histories of the city and of the lives of its inhabitants would make a volume in itself. In fact a large number of the titles included in Peter G. Thomson's excellent bibliography of Ohio refer to Cincinnati. The antiquities, natural history, art, music, law and religion each have received full treatment. Such writers as Gen. Manning F. Force, Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Gen. Henry M. Cist have contributed to the history of the war and our own Prof. P. V. N. Myers has won distinction by his general historical work. It is impracticable, however, to mention all who in one manner or another have added to the literature of the country. There is a chapter in Ford's "History of Cincinnati," which is excellent as it shows that such an attempt results in little more than a list of names. Mr. Venable in his admirable work "The Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley" covers as no other man could have covered the earlier period and the same writer in his contributions on the "Ohio Literary Men and Women," published as part of the proceedings of the Ohio Centennial celebration at Chillicothe in 1903, takes up a later period and gives practically a complete list of the publications and authors of recent years.

APPENDIX A.—OFFICIALS.

ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR — OFFICERS OF THE TOWN AND OF THE CITY — SOME FEDERAL OFFICIALS — CITY OFFICERS IN 1904.

The first act to incorporate the town of Cincinnati passed January 1, 1802, vested the corporate powers in seven trustees, a president, recorder, assessor, collector and marshal. The president was practically the supreme officer of the town. The names of those that held this position have been given in Chapter XXVI.

By the act incorporating the town passed January 10, 1815, provision was made for the election of a mayor by the trustees, who should also preside over that body. The first mayor and president was William Corry, who served until the time of the incorporation of the city, February 5, 1819. By this latter act provision was made for a mayor to be elected by the City Council. The first mayor of the city was Isaac G. Burnet, who was reelected from time to time and served until the passage of the act of January 26, 1827, from which time the mayor has been elected by the people. Mr. Burnet was the first mayor elected by the people. The votes by which he and his successors to the present day have been elected are as follows, the successful candidate in each case being placed first:

ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR.

1827	Isaac G. Burnet	1,004
	Elisha Hotchkiss	984
1829	Isaac G. Burnet	1,042
	Andrew Mack	784
	William Corry	263
1831	Elisha Hotchkiss	1,697
	Samuel W. Davies	931
1833	Samuel W. Davies	1,882
	Elisha Hotchkiss	1,479
1835	Samuel W. Davies	1,560
	John C. Avery	1,168
	Elisha Hotchkiss	364
	Isaiah Wing	190
1837	Samuel W. Davies	1,754
	Elisha Hotchkiss	1,521
1839	Samuel W. Davies	2,048
	John A. Wiseman	1,173
	Elisha Hotchkiss	1,084
1841	Samuel W. Davies	3,658
	R. W. Lawrence	417
1843	Henry E. Spencer	3,193
	Henry Morse	3,112
	Marcus Smith	797
1845	Henry E. Spencer	3,360
	Henry Morse	3,161
	George W. Jones	418
1847	Henry E. Spencer	4,214
	Mark P. Taylor	3,599
1849	Henry E. Spencer	5,830
	John H. Gerard	3,802
	Samuel Perry	319
1851	Mark P. Taylor	6,023
	Henry E. Spencer	6,800
1853	David T. Snelbaker	5,943
	James D. Taylor	5,187
	Joseph S. Ross	2,881
	F. T. Chambers	900
1855	James J. Faran	9,454
	James D. Taylor	8,432
1857	N. W. Thomas	8,785
	C. J. W. Smith	8,559
1859	R. M. Bishop	10,717
	William J. Flagg	8,787
1861	George Hatch	12,587
	Charles F. Wilstach	10,404
	Crusel F. Robinson	589
1863	Leonard A. Harris	13,102
	Joseph Torrence	11,058
1865	Leonard A. Harris	11,252
	Joseph Torrence	4,683
1867	Charles F. Wilstach	13,733
	James Saffin	9,362
1869	John F. Torrence	13,654
	Charles Thomas	11,733
1871	S. S. Davis	15,474
	Leonard A. Harris	13,548
1873	George W. C. Johnston	16,509
	S. S. Davis	14,872
1875	George W. C. Johnston	21,595
	John Robinson	15,198
1877	Robert M. Moore	18,240
	George W. C. Johnston	16,606
	Charles A. Thompson	3,594
1879	Charles Jacob, Jr.	21,441
	Leonard A. Harris	21,020
1881	William Means	23,804
	Charles Jacob, Jr.	21,384

1883	Thomas J. Stephens	25,020
	Lewis L. Sadler	22,757
1885	Amor Smith, Jr.	27,638
	George Gerke	24,107
1887	Amor Smith, Jr.	17,998
	William H. Stevenson	17,317
	Isaac B. Matson	11,858
1889	John B. Mosby	22,000
	Thomas J. Stephens	21,454
	Daniel Stone	7,205
1891	John B. Mosby	25,582
	Gustav Tafel	25,444
1894	John A. Caldwell	26,667
	Theodore F. Horstman	19,912
	Isaac J. Miller	11,657
1897	Gustav Tafel	35,868
	Levi C. Goodale	28,423
1900	Julius Fleischmann	34,447
	Alfred M. Cohen	28,843
1903	Julius Fleischmann	42,871
	Melville E. Ingalls	27,275

The officers of the town (1802-19), other than those of president and mayor, were as follows:

RECORDERS.

Jacob Burnet	1802, 1812
Charles Kilgour	1803
Aaron Goforth	1805-09
James Andrews	1810-11
Samuel W. Davies	1813
Griffin Yeatman	1814
Oliver M. Spencer	1815-16
Martin Baum	1817-18
John W. Armstrong	1818

TREASURERS.

Jacob Williams	1813
Davis Embree	1814
David Kilgour	1815-16
Jacob Wheeler	1817-18

MARSHALS.

James Smith	1802
Andrew Brannon	1813
James Chambers	1814-18

CLERKS OF COUNCIL.

John Reily	1802
William McFarland	1803
Matthew Nimmo	1804
Griffin Yeatman	1805-06
John Mahard	1807
James Ewing	1808-09
Ethan Stone	1810
Daniel Symmes	1811
Jacob Burnet	1812
William McFarland and Dan Drake	1813
William Corry	1814
William Ruffin	1815
George P. Torrence	1816
Jesse Embree	1817-18

Some of the officers of the city (1819-1904), other than the mayors, were:

CLERKS OF COUNCIL.

John Tuttle and R. L. Coleman	1819
William Phillips and William Disney	1820
William Ruffin	1821
Thomas Tucker	1822-23
Daniel Roe	1824
John Gibson	1825-28
John T. Jones	1829-31
Charles Satterly	1832-49
William G. Williams	1850-53
Stephen B. Hulse	1854-57
Samuel L. Corwin	1858-61
George M. Casey	1862-63
H. G. Armstrong	1864-66
Julius F. Blackburn	1867-72
R. C. Rohner	1874-79
Edwin Henderson	1880—

RECORDERS.

William Oliver	1819-20
Samuel Perry	1821
Thomas Henderson	1822-23
Charles Tatem	1824
Oliver Lovell	1825-27, 1830-33, 1839-40
Samuel R. Miller	1828-29
Ebenezer Hinman	1834-38
Jonah Martin	1841
William Stephenson	1842
D. E. A. Strong	1843
L. E. Brewster	1844
Joseph G. Rust	1845
N. W. Thomas	1846
Daniel F. Meader	1847
Caleb Burdsal	1848
Benjamin Dennis and William B. Cassilly	1849
Thomas M. Bodley	1850
Charles F. Wilstach	1851
Joseph M. Blundell	1852

MARSHALS.

William Ruffin	1819-20
Samuel R. Miller	1821
John C. Avery	1822-24
William C. Anderson	1825-26
Zebulon Byington	1827-28
William Doty	1828-32
Jesse Justice	1833-34
James Saffin	1835-46
Ebenezer Hulse	1847-48
Charles L. Ruffin	1849-54
William Craven	1855-57
Benjamin Robinson	1858
John S. Gano	1859

TREASURERS.

Jacob Wheeler	1819-20
Richard L. Coleman	1820-30
Stephen McFarland	1831-32
James Comly	1833-34
Samuel Scott	1834-41
William Disney	1843-50
James Johnston	1850-59
E. B. Townsend	1850-61
J. M. Noble	1861-63
Adolph Carnes	1863-66
Ezekiel L. De Camp	1867-68
Robert Moore	1869-74

August Ligowski 1875-76
Henry Knorr 1877-81
William Boettger 1881-83
George L. Herancourt 1883-85
Albert Bohrer 1885-89
Henry M. Ziegler 1889-97
E. O. Eshelby 1897-1900
John R. Kinsley ..... 1900—

POLICE JUDGES.

William L. Spooner 1853-55
Andrew J. Pruden 1856-59
D. P. Lowe 1859-61
James Saffin 1861-63
John B. Warren 1863-67
Walter F. Straub 1867-73
Nathan Marchant 1873-75
George Lindeman 1875-77
Moses F. Wilson 1877-81
Warren Higley 1881-83
A. R. Von Martels 1883-85
James W. Fitzgerald 1885-87
John A. Caldwell 1887-89
James D. Ermston 1889-91
Ellis B. Gregg 1891-97
Edward Schwab 1897-1900
W. H. Lueders ..... 1900—

PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS OF POLICE COURT.

W. M. Dickson 1853
Thomas A. Logan 1854-55
H. B. Brown 1856-59
E. M. Johnson 1859-61
Fred C. Jones 1861-63
Walter F. Straub 1863-67
C. H. Blackburn 1867-68
Isaac J. Neall 1868-69
Moses F. Wilson 1869-71
Thomas C. Campbell 1871-75
Charles E. Callahan 1875-77
John P. Murphy 1877-81
John A. Caldwell 1881-85
John C. Schwartz 1885-89
P. J. Corcoran 1889-91
Fred Hertenstein 1891-94
C. L. Nippert 1894-97
W. H. Lueders 1897-1900
Scott Holmes ..... 1900—

CITY SOLICITORS.

E. A. Ferguson 1852-53
Patrick McGroarty 1854-55
Samuel Hart 1856-58
Rutherford B. Hayes 1859-61
Thomas C. Ware 1861-63
Thomas J. Gallagher 1863-65
Edward F. Noyes 1865
Henry A. Morrill 1867-68
J. Bryant Walker 1869-70
Fred W. Moore 1871-73
John W. Warrington 1873-74
Robert O. Strong (died in office) 1875
Hiram D. Peck (elected at special election) .. 1876
Clement S. Bates 1877-78
Philip H. Kumler 1879-83
Joshua M. Dawson 1883-85
Frank M. Coppock 1885-87
Theodore F. Horstman 1887-91

Corporation Counsel.

Theodore F. Horstman 1891-94
Fred Hertenstein 1894-97
Ellis G. Kinkead 1897-1900
Charles J. Hunt 1900-03

City Solicitor.

Charles J. Hunt ..... 1903—

AUDITORS.

Cyrus Davenport 1853-55
S. S. McGibbons 1856-58
Emanuel Wassenich 1859-61
George Stackhouse 1862-63
Charles S. Betts 1863-65
Harry H. Tatem 1865-68
Charles H. Titus 1869-71
William B. Folger 1871-72
S. W. Hoffman 1872-79

Comptrollers.

E. O. Eshelby 1880-89
Edwin Stevens 1889-91

Auditors.

Dan. W. Brown 1891-97
Henry P. Boyden 1897-1900
Paul M. Millikin 1900-03
William T. Perkins ..... 1903—

CIVIL ENGINEERS.

A. W. Gilbert 1851-55
S. W. Irwin 1856-57
Thomas S. Peter 1858-59, 1861-63
A. W. Gilbert 1859-61, 1863-66
Jacob Wirth 1867
R. C. Phillips 1869-70
A. Hickenlooper 1871-72
A. E. Tripp 1872-74
W. G. Halpin 1875
A. L. Anderson 1876-78
C. N. Danenhower 1879
H. J. Stanley 1880-84
C. N. Danenhower 1884-85
H. J. Stanley 1886-90
James A. Stewart 1891-92
H. J. Stanley 1892-98
Thomas B. Punshon 1898-1900
H. J. Stanley ..... 1900—

SOME FEDERAL OFFICIALS.

The Presidents of the United States from Cincinnati have been William H. Harrison, Rutherford B. Hayes and Benjamin Harrison.

William H. Harrison was for many years identified with Cincinnati and was clerk of the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas at the time of his election to the presidency.

Rutherford B. Hayes practiced law in Cincinnati for many years prior to the war and enlisted in the army from this city.

Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend and studied law in Cincinnati.

The members of the cabinet have been John

McLean, Postmaster General, 1823-28; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, 1861-64; Henry Stanbery, Attorney General, 1866-69; Jacob D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, 1869; Alphonso Taft, Secretary of War, 1876, and Attorney General, 1876-77; Judson Harmon, Attorney General, 1895-97, and William H. Taft, Secretary of War, 1904.

The judges of the United States Supreme Court have been John McLean, 1829-61, Salmon P. Chase, chief justice, 1864-73, Stanley Matthews, 1881-89.

The United States Senators have been John Smith, 1803-08; Ethan Allen Brown, 1822-25; Jacob Burnet, 1828-31; Salmon P. Chase, 1849-55 and 1860-61; Stanley Matthews, 1877; George H. Pendleton, 1879-85; Joseph Benson Foraker, 1897—.

Representatives in Congress.—The first territorial delegate was William Henry Harrison who served for a few months in 1799 and 1800. He resigned and his unexpired term was filled by the election of William McMillan. Paul Fearing of Marietta served from March 4, 1801, to the admission of Ohio as a State. Ohio had but one representative in Congress from 1803 to 1813.—Jeremiah Morrow of Lebanon. William Henry Harrison represented the First District, in which was Hamilton County, in the 14th and 15th Congress. The Congressmen from this district thereafter to the 33rd Congress inclusive were as follows: James W. Gazlay, 1823-25; James Findlay, 1825-33; Robert T. Lytle, 1833-35; Bellamy Storer, 1835-37; Alexander Duncan, 1837-41; Nathaniel G. Pendleton, 1837-41; Alexander Duncan, 1843-45; James J. Faran, 1845-49; and David T. Disney, 1849-53.

In 1852 Timothy C. Day was elected in the First and John Scott Harrison in the new Second District. The new alignment of parties began at this time and in 1854 the anti-Nebraska ticket for Congress, having as its candidates Timothy C. Day and John Scott Harrison, carried Hamilton County, defeating George H. Pendleton and William S. Groesbeck, Democrats, by pluralities of 3,274 and 3,671 respectively. Two years later Messrs. Pendleton and Groesbeck were elected, the former defeating Alphonso Taft and James S. Torrence, and the latter John A. Gurley and John Scott Harrison.

In 1858 Pendleton defeated Timothy C. Day his old antagonist by a small plurality of 346 and Gurley in the Second District defeated Groesbeck by a plurality of 791.

In 1860 Pendleton was elected in the First District, defeating Oliver M. Spencer, Republican, by a plurality of 903. Gurley defeated Alexander Long, Democrat, by a plurality of 803.

In 1862 strangely enough George H. Pendleton running on the Democratic ticket defeated his old associate William S. Groesbeck running on the Republican ticket by a majority of 1,127. In the Second District Alexander Long turned the tables on Gurley and defeated him by a plurality of 131.

Two years later, 1864, Benjamin Eggleston, Republican, defeated George E. Pugh, Democrat, by a plurality of 2,429 and Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, defeated Joseph C. Butler, Democrat, in the Second District by a plurality of 3,098.

In 1866 Benjamin Eggleston and Rutherford B. Hayes, Republicans, defeated George H. Pendleton and Theodore Cook, Democrats, by pluralities of 926 and 2,558 respectively.

In 1868 the First District went Democratic, Eggleston being beaten by Philip W. Strader by a majority of 211; in the Second District Job E. Stevenson, Republican, defeated Samuel F. Cary, Democrat, by a plurality of 497.

In 1870 the Republicans carried both congressional districts. Aaron Fyfe Perry and Job E. Stevenson defeated Milton Sayler and Samuel F. Cary by pluralities of 745 and 1,549 respectively. Perry subsequently resigned and was succeeded by Ozro J. Dodds, Democrat.

Both districts went Democratic in 1872. Sayler defeated Eggleston in the First by a plurality of 3,569 and Henry B. Banning defeated Hayes in the Second by a plurality of 1,502.

The same Congressmen were elected two years later over John K. Green in the First and Stevenson in the Second. The Democratic pluralities were 4,314 and 1,535.

Sayler and Banning were again elected in the centennial year over Manning F. Force and Stanley Matthews by pluralities of 670 and 750, respectively.

In 1878 Benjamin Butterworth, Republican, defeated Sayler in the First District by a plurality of 720 and Thomas L. Young, Republican, defeated Leonard W. Goss by a plurality of 974.

Butterworth and Young defeated Samuel F. Hunt and Henry B. Banning in 1880 by pluralities of 1,298 and 1,004.

In 1882 the Democrats once more were successful owing to the liquor and Sunday questions. John F. Follett and Isaac M. Jordan were

elected to Congress in the First and Second districts over Benjamin Butterworth and Amor Smith, Jr., by pluralities of 819 and 1,817.

Butterworth defeated Follett at the following election by a plurality of 1,609 and Charles E. Brown, also Republican, defeated Adam Kramer, Democrat, in the Second District by a plurality of 205.

In 1886 Butterworth and Brown were again elected, defeating Samuel A. Miller and Hugh Shields by pluralities of 2,357 and 1,799, respectively.

In 1888 Butterworth and John A. Caldwell, Republicans, were elected over Otway J. Cosgrave and Clinton W. Gerard, Democrats, by pluralities of 1,809 and 1,596.

In 1890 Bellamy Storer and John A. Caldwell, Republicans, carried the First and Second districts over Otway J. Cosgrave and Oliver Brown, Democrats, by pluralities of 2,288 and 7,730.

In 1892 Storer and Caldwell were reelected, defeating Robert B. Bowler and Charles T. Greve by pluralities of 1,255 and 2,166, respectively.

In 1894 Charles P. Taft and Jacob H. Bromwell, Republicans, defeated Hiram D. Peck and James B. Matson, Democrats, by pluralities of 8,937 and 11,554.

In 1896 William B. Shattuc and Jacob H. Bromwell, Republicans, defeated Thomas G. Donnelly and David S. Oliver by pluralities of 9,627 and 9,107.

In 1898 Shattuc and Bromwell defeated John F. Follett and Charles L. Swain by pluralities of 6,152 and 6,508.

In 1900 the same Congressmen were returned by pluralities over John B. Peaslee and Henry Ketter of 8,004 and 5,170.

In 1902 Nicholas Longworth and Herman P. Goebel, Republicans, defeated Thomas Bentham and Harry C. Busch by pluralities of 14,611 and 12,179.

CITY OFFICERS IN 1904.

The principal city officers of 1904 are as follows: Mayor, Julius Fleischmann, term expires 1905; vice-mayor and president of the Council, Harry L. Gordon, term expires 1905; president *pro tem* of the Council, William W. Granger; clerk, Edwin Henderson; city auditor, W. T. Perkins, term expires 1906; city solicitor, Charles J. Hunt; city treasurer, John R. Kinsley, term expires 1905; Police Court judge, William H. Lueders, term expires 1906; prosecuting attorney of Police Court, Scott Holmes; Board of Public Service,—W. C. Johnson, Samuel Weil, Jr., M. A. McGuire, William Magly and William E. Hutton; chief civil engineer, H. J. Stanley; superintendent City Water Works, William H. Boeh; superintendent Park Department, B. P. Critchell; health officer, Clark W. Davis, M. D.; wharf master, John A. Pentland; examiner of weights and measures, James H. Whitney; supervising engineer (smoke inspector), William F. Gass; inspector of buildings, Charles A. Tooker; city electrician, L. H. Weissleder; Board of Review,—Clark B. Montgomery, E. G. Schriefer and Frank Armstrong; Commissioners of Water Works,—August Herrmann, Maurice J. Freiberg, William B. Melish, Charles M. Holloway and Leopold Markbreit; Trustees of Sinking Fund,—Charles P. Taft, C. H. Kellogg, George W. Harris and Thornton M. Hinkle; Board of Public Safety,—Wade Cushing, James J. Faran, Max Burgheim and Abe Furst; chief of police, Paul M. Millikin; president Board of Education, John G. O'Connell; president Union Board of High Schools, John G. O'Connell; public librarian, N. D. C. Hodges; chief of Fire Department, J. A. Archibald; superintendent House of Refuge, James Allison; superintendent City Work House, William Ruehrwein; superintendent City Infirmary, Frank A. Tucker; superintendent Cincinnati Hospital, John Fehrenbatch; Superior Court of Cincinnati,—Rufus B. Smith, Howard Ferris, Lewis M. Hosea; and justices of the peace, Cincinnati township,—Philip Winkler, George W. Tibbles, Michael Muller, and James M. Brandt.

APPENDIX B.—WEATHER BUREAU.

Climatological Data — Ready Reference Sheet.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

Latitude N. 39° 6′.
Longitude W. 84° 30′.
Elevations above sea level:
City datum .....546.9 feet
Low water .....431.96 feet
Zero of river gage.....430.06 feet
Lowest river stage 1.9 feet, September, 1881.
Highest river stage 71.1 feet, February, 1884.
Average annual temperature 55 degrees.
Average annual precipitation 38.40 inches.

Other climatological data given in ready reference table on the next page.

Weather Bureau office was established on November 1, 1870.

The main business portion of Cincinnati is situated on a series of terraces in a basin eroded by the Ohio River. The elevation of the bluffs or "hills" ranges from 375 to 450 feet above low water mark, or about 800 to 880 feet above sea level.

The surrounding bluffs, widely known as the Cincinnati hilltops, largely protect the city from destructive winds, and mitigate the effects of passing storms. On the other hand, however, in foggy conditions and with little or no wind, the city in the basin is frequently so densely covered with fog and local smoke that artificial light is required in midday, while beyond the hills, in the suburban portion, clear skies may prevail.

The location of the city is such that it is more or less affected by all great storms crossing the country. Hot summer waves strike it with varying intensities, while the cold waves of winter bring a degree of discomfort depending upon whether they flow from the north over the lake regions and are in consequence damp or whether they come from the northwest and west and are dry and invigorating.

Weather Bureau instruments are located with the view of removing from them all improper influences, and register actual conditions. The rain and snow gages are 143 feet above the ground, practically free from eddies. The thermometers are 152 feet above the ground and in regulation shelters, free from moisture, wind and sunshine. The sunshine recorder is 156 feet above ground freely exposed to the sky. The wind vane and velocity measurer are 161 feet above the ground, and not influenced by surrounding "sky-scrapers." All instruments are electrically self recording and an unbroken record is made on registers in the office.

S. S. Bassler,
Local Forecaster.

November 1, 1870, to March 31, 1904.

READY REFERENCE SHEET.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Normal temperature	32	35	43	54	65	74	78	76	69	57	44	36
Warmest month	49°, 1880	46°, 1882	51°, 1878	62°, 1896	71°, 1896	79°, 1874	82°, 1901	80°, 1881	76°, 1881	65°, 1879	49°, 1883	48°, 1889
Coldest month	21°, 1893	23°, 1885	33°, 1885	48°, 1874	60°, 1897	70°, 1889	71°, 1891	71°, 1875	64°, 1879	51°, 1895	37°, 1880	25°, 1876
Highest temperature	71° 12, 1890	73° 16, 1883	84° 29, 1885	87 18, 1896 29, 1899	94° 27, 1875	98 28, 1874	105 22, 1901	101 12, 1881	99 6, 1899	88 3, 6, 1884 1, 1897	78 7, 1895	72 31, 1875
Lowest temperature	−12° 11, 1886	−17° 9, 1899	1° 4, 1873	18 18, 1875	33° 2, 1897	39 1, 1889	53° 1, 1885	51 28, 1885 23, 1890 25, 1891	35 30, 1899	27 29,30,1873 30, 1895	5 5, 1880	−8 22, 1872
Earliest date of first killing frost									30th			
Average date of first killing frost										25th		
Average date of last killing frost				14th								
Latest date of last killing frost				24th								
Average precipitation	3.30	3.42	3.59	2.90	3.40	3.98	3.48	3.43	2.38	2.25	3.27	3.09
Average No. of days .01 inch or more	13	12	14	12	12	12	10	9	8	9	11	12
Greatest monthly precipitation	9.49 1876	8.87 1884	9.89 1897	7.10 1893	8.47 1882	9.86 1880	9.63 1875	11.72 1879	5.00 1896	8.39 1883	6.80 1897	7.11 1879
Least monthly precipitation	0.60 1872	0.37 1895	0.56 1885	0.59 1896	1.02 1871	1.01 1900	0.13 1894	0.26 1889	0.28 1900	0.40 1892	0.74 1901	0.88 1876
Greatest precipitation in 24 hours	3.57 6, 7, 1895	2.98 2, 3, 1887	4.97 4, 5, 1897	2.21 22,23,1887	2.98 25,26,1879	3.12 14,15,1880	2.43 7, 8, 1891	2.68 24,25,1879	2.36 28,29,1896	3.06 28,29,1883	2.75 12,13,1873	3.10 4, 5, 1880
Greatest snowfall in 24 hours	4.00 12, 1895	5.50 15, 1886	4.00 15, 1896	4.00 5, 6, 1886	1.50 2, 1897	None	None	None	None	Trace 22, 1898	1.50 27, 1888	7.00 25, 1890
Average No. of clear days	7	7	7	10	9	9	11	12	13	14	8	7
Average No. of partly cloudy days	9	9	11	10	14	13	13	13	10	9	10	10
Average No. of cloudy days	15	12	13	10	8	8	7	6	7	8	12	14
Prevailing wind	S.W.	N.W.	N.W.	S.E.	S.E.	S.E.	S.W.	N.E.	S.E.	S.E.	S.E.	S.W.
Highest wind velocity	48—S.W. 9,14, 1889	41—N.W. 26, 1887	48—S.W. 3, 1901	44—S.W. 26, 1902	45—N. 20, 1902	52—N.W. 23, 1901	43—S.W. 15, 1896	50—N.W. 1, 1896	40—N.W. 22, 1885	41—S.W. 7, 1903	48—S.W. 26, 1895	40—N.W. 4, 1885

INDEX

ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTE.—The view of Cincinnati in 1802 is from a painting by R. Tschudi, owned by James Wilson Bullock. The picture of Old Hughes is from Cist's "Cincinnati in 1859," and the picture of the District School House is from Cist's "Cincinnati in 1841." The map of Cincinnati in 1815 is from Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" and the map of Cincinnati in 1819 is from the "Directory of 1819." The portrait of Matthias Denman is from a painting owned by D. F. Denman; the portrait of John Filson is from Durrett's "Life of Filson," and the portrait of Rev. James Kemper is from A. C. Kemper's "Life of James Kemper." The portrait of Salmon P. Chase is from a daguerrotype owned by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and the remainder of the portraits, with the exception of that of Rutherford B. Hayes, are from well-known originals, copies of which are in the collection of the society. The various views of the city in the "Thirties" are from contemporary paintings hanging on the walls of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, who also furnished other pictures except those of modern date.